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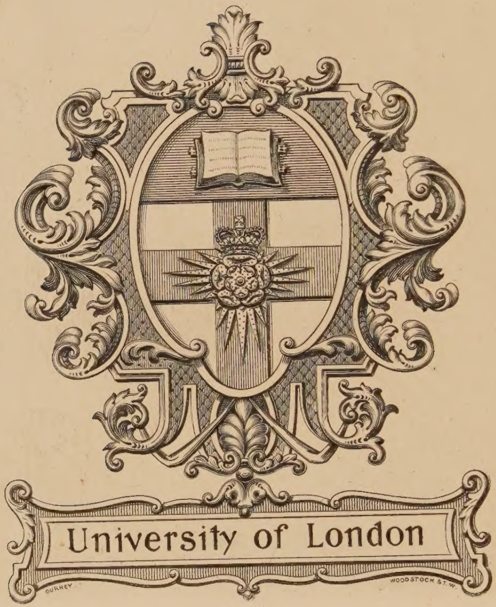
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THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

50° & 51 VICTORIÆ, 1887.

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THE SEVENTH DAY OF JULY, 1887,

TO

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Eighth Volume of the Session.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME CCCXVII.

THIRD SERIES.

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 7.

Page

Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—The Royal Review at Aldershot—The Volunteers—Question, Observations, Lord Dorchester; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) 2

Tithe Rent-Charge Bill (No. 115)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3^a,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury*) .. 3

Amendment *moved,*

To leave out all the words after ("That,") and insert ("no measure with regard to tithe rent-charge will be satisfactory to the country which does not provide for the re-valuation and re-adjustment of the said charge,")—(*The Lord Brabourne.*)

After short debate, on Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?"—*Resolved* in the *affirmative:*—Bill read 3^a accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"—Amendments made; Then the Queen's consent and the Duke of Cornwall's consent signified by The Marquess of Salisbury; and Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

Quarries Bill (No. 83)—

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Amendment to the Motion for the House to be put into Committee read:—Debate *resumed* accordingly 11

On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?"—*Resolved* in the *affirmative:*—House in Committee accordingly.

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 160.)

Land Transfer Bill (No. 138)—

Moved, "That the Report be now received,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 14

Amendment *moved,* to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months,")—(*The Lord Denman:*)—Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Report of Amendments *received* accordingly:—Bill to be read 3^a on *Monday* next; and to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 161.)

Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill (No. 143)—

Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 27

Further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow;* and to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 162.)

The Review of 2nd of July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews—Question, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris :)—Short debate thereon .. 28

Lloyd's Signal Stations Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord President*, for *The Lord Stanley of Preston*); read 1ª (No. 158) 30

Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Earl of Milltown*); read 1ª (No. 159) 30

[8.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 7.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Belfast Main Drainage Bill (*by Order*)—Lords' Amendments [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [20th June], "That the Lords' Amendments be now taken into Consideration :"—Question again proposed :—Debate *resumed* 31

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillon :*)—After debate, Question put :—The House *divided;* Ayes 164, Noes 178; Majority 14.—(Div. List, No. 288.)

Original Question again proposed 43

After debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and add the words "upon Tuesday next,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :"—After further short debate, Question put, and *negatived :*—Words "upon Tuesday next" *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh—Extra Attendance of Clerks—Questions, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 61

Tramways (Ireland)—Schull and Skibbereen Tramways—Question, Mr. D. Sullivan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 62

Magistracy (Ireland)—The Coroner of the Glenties Division, Co. Donegal — Question, Mr. Mac Neill; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 63

War Office—Promotion of Pioneer Sergeants—Question, Dr. Kenny; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 64

Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland)—The Works at Lough Erne and Beleek—Questions, Mr. W. Redmond; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 64

[*July* 7.] Page

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS) — THE BATHING LAKE IN VICTORIA PARK — Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 65

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—SECTIONS I. AND VIII.—PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 65

POST OFFICE—THE TELEGRAPHISTS ON THE JUBILEE DAY—Questions, Mr. Lawson; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 66

TRADE AND COMMERCE—BRITISH TRADE IN SPAIN AND THE SPANISH COLONIES—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 67

THE REVIEW OF 2ND OF JULY—THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY AND THE ROYAL NAVAL VOLUNTEERS — PRECEDENCE AT REVIEWS — Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 67

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) .. 68

THE CIVIL SERVICE—NOTICE OF EXAMINATIONS — Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, Sir Herbert Maxwell (A Lord of the Treasury) .. 70

WAR OFFICE—THE REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT—EXPOSURE TO THE HEAT—Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 71

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—INQUIRY INTO THE MOCHDRE RIOT—THE COMMISSIONER—Questions, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 71

WAR OFFICE—DEATHS FROM SUNSTROKE AT THE CURRAGH CAMP—Question, Colonel Gunter; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 72

THE CAPE COLONY—THE COLONIAL REGISTRATION BILL—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 73

MADAGASCAR—THE SLAVE TRADE ON THE WEST COAST—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 73

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—ALLEGED BLACKMAILING AT THE WEST END—Questions, Mr. W. L. Bright, Mr. Esslemont; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 74

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—CHARGES MADE BY THE HONOURABLE MEMBER FOR BARROW (MR. CAINE)—Question, Mr. W. L. Bright; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 74

CYPRUS — REPORT ON THE LOCUST CAMPAIGN, 1885 AND 1886 — Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 75

THE PARIS EXHIBITION, 1889—Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 76

ADMIRALTY — SHIPBUILDING — SHEATHED CRUIZERS — Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 76

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS—Questions, Mr. H. J. Wilson, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 76

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS—POLICE CONSTABLE ENDACOTT—Questions, Mr. H. J. Wilson; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 78

Pag

[*July* 7.]

Burials Act, 1880 — The Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed — Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 78

War Office — Competition for the Medical Staff — Question, Mr. Llewellyn; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 79

Fishery Board (Scotland)—Beam Trawling in Aberdeen Bay—Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 80

Wales — The Tithe Agitation — Riots at Llangwm — Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 80

Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Denbighshire Quarter Sessions —Riots at Llangwm—Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 81

Secretary for Scotland Bill—Question, Mr. D. Crawford; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 81

New Rules of Procedure (1882)—Motions for Adjournment at Question Time—Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 82

The Anglo-Egyptian Convention—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 82

Technical Education Bill—Questions, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 82

Law and Justice (Ireland)—The Summer Assizes—Charges of the Judges—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 83

Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill—Question, Sir John Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 84

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill [Bill 305]—Third Reading [First Night]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) 85

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:" —After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Bryce:*)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill [Bill 307]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) 152

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Supply—Report—Order for further Consideration of Postponed Resolution read 174

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £71,430, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens"

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£71,430," and insert £69,430,"—(*Mr. Plunket,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£71,430' stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*:—£69,430 *inserted*.

Resolution, as amended, *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—REPORT—*continued.*

Resolution [4th July] *reported.*

"That a sum, not exceeding £37,635, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Buildings of the Houses of Parliament" 180

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Butterine (Fraudulent Sale) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 175]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 181

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported,* with an amended Title (*changed to* "Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill;" as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Jackson, Colonel King-Harman, Sir Herbert Maxwell*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 313] .. 204

Poinding (Scotland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Watt, Mr. M'Ewan, Mr. J. C. Bolton, Mr. Baird, Mr. Howell*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 314] 204

[4.25 A.M.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 8.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Earl Brownlow 204

NAVY—H.M.S. "IMPERIEUSE"—Question, The Earl of Dunraven; Answer, Lord Elphinstone (A Lord in Waiting) 205

Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment Bill (No. 144)

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*) 205

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"—Amendments made:—Bill *passed,* and sent to the Commons.

Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Bill—

Commons Amendments *considered* (according to Order) 207

One *disagreed to*:—Remaining Amendments *agreed to.*

A Committee appointed to prepare Reasons to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said Amendment: The Committee to meet forthwith. Report from the Committee of the Reasons prepared by them; read, and *agreed to*; and a message sent to the Commons to return the said Bill with the Reasons. [5.0.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 8.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—OATHS "WITHOUT RELIGIOUS BELIEF"—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 208

HYDROPHOBIA — M. PASTEUR'S SYSTEM OF TREATMENT — Question, Dr. Farquharson; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 209

[*July* 8.] *Page*

ADMIRALTY—HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE—NON-COMBATANT OFFICERS—Question, Sir William Crossman; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 209

DOMINION OF CANADA—CANADIAN CUSTOMS TARIFF—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 210

THE COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS—Question, Mr. Reynolds; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) .. 210

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—QUALIFICATION FOR MONITORSHIPS—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 211

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DROMINTEE, CO. ARMAGH—Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 211

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS—A REVISION COURT AT BALLYGAWLEY, CO. TYRONE—Question, Mr. Reynolds; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 211

MALTA—CASE OF DR. GRECH—Question, Mr. M'Ewan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 212

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER—Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope).. 212

RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—STATION ACCOMMODATION—Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 213

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—REPORTS OF SCHOOL INSPECTION—Question, Mr. Milvain; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 214

ISLAND OF THE MAURITIUS—LIEUTENANT GOVERNORSHIP—CHARGES AGAINST SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 214

POST OFFICE—FACILITIES FOR THE SALE OF CONSOLS TO THE WORKING CLASSES—Question, Mr. Bartley; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 214

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED CHARGE OF DRUNKENNESS—CASE OF MARY WILLIAMS—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 215

METROPOLITAN POLICE—POLICE ORDER AS TO DEFAULTER SHEET OF CONSTABLES—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 216

UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 216

ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS—CONTRACT FOR NEATSFOOT OIL—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) .. 217

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—INSTITUTION OF A BOUNDARY COMMISSION—INCLUSION OF THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT—Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson, Mr. Whitmore; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 218

POST OFFICE—MEMORIAL OF THE SORTERS IN THE LONDON DISTRICT—Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 219

BULGARIA—THE ELECTION OF PRINCE FERDINAND OF COBURG—Question, Mr. Seton-Karr; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 219

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—TECHNICAL EDUCATION—LEGISLATION—EVENING SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 220

[*July* 8.] *Page*

Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Forwarding and Receiving Private Telegrams—The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company—Questions, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 220

Cardiff Savings Bank—A Royal Commission—Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 221

Contested Elections—The Lord Justices as Governors of Ireland—Questions, Mr. Mac Neill; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 221

Metropolitan Police Act—Arrest of Young Women for Alleged "Soliciting"—Arrest of Miss Cass—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 222

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Reduction of the Irish Bench—Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 223

Wales—The Tithe Agitation—The Riot at Mochdre—Question, Mr. Bowen Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 224

Business of the House—Questions, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Burt; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 224

Belfast Main Drainage Bill—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 225

Mr. W. O'Brien and Colonel Saunderson—Personal Explanation, Mr. W. O'Brien 225

Order—The Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire—Question, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson); Answer, Mr. Schwann; Observations, Mr. Speaker .. 226

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill [Bill 305]—Third Reading. [Adjourned Debate.] [Second Night]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [7th July], "That the Bill be now read the third time:"—Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 228

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 349, Noes 262; Majority 87.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 316

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Merchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 304]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 4th July*] 321

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) Bill [Bill 153]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Dr. Cameron*) .. 322

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn:*—Order for Third Reading *discharged.*

Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith:*)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Dr. Cameron:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* next.

Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.]—
Considered in Committee 323
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

Qualification of Guardians of the Poor Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Henry Wilson, Mr. Stuart, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. James Rowlands*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 315] 323

[1.15.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 11.

New Peers 324

Egypt—The Anglo-Egyptian Convention — Ratification — Questions, Observations, The Earl of Rosebery; Reply, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) .. 324

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill (No. 164)—
Bill read 1ª, and to be *printed*.. 325
After short debate, Bill to be read 2ª on *Thursday* next.

The Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women—Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Earl Brownlow; Observations, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) 327

Land Transfer Bill (No. 161)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 329
On Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative:*—Bill read 3ª accordingly.
On Question, "That the Bill do pass?" An Amendment *moved* (*The Lord Chancellor.*)
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury:*)—Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn:*—Further debate on the said Amendment *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

Quarries Bill (No. 160)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Sudeley*) .. 332
Motion *agreed to;* Amendments made; Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons. [5.15.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 11.

QUESTIONS.

Barbadoes—The Legislative Council—Railway and Water Companies—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 333
Post Office — The Lord Lieutenant's Letters—"Dublin Official Paid"—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 334
Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 335
Evictions (Ireland)—Statistics—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 335
Post Office—Telegraph Cables in the Western Isles (Islay)—Question, Colonel Malcolm; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 336

[*July* 11.] *Page*

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—PRIVATE RIGHTS IN MUSSEL BEDS—Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 336

THE JUBILEE NIGHT—PUBLICANS AND BEERHOUSE KEEPERS—EXTENSION OF HOURS OF OPENING—Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 337

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMISTRESS OF ANNYALLA, CO. MONAGHAN—Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 338

HER MAJESTY'S OFFICE OF WORKS AND BUILDINGS—EXAMINATION FOR CLERK OF THE WORKS—Question, Mr. Isaacs; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 338

THE JUBILEE WEEK—THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE AND POLICE—Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), Mr. Tatton Egerton .. 339

WAR OFFICE—ARMY CONTRACTS—THE CONTRACT FOR HIDES—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answers, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 339

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE MAYO CONSPIRACY PRISONERS—Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 340

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—PURCHASES OF SCHOOL REQUISITES—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 340

VACCINATION ACTS—IMPRISONMENT OF ROBERT ESSAM, OF KETTERING—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 341

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE VACANT SEAT—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 342

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD—Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 342

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY—CLOSING OF REFINERIES—Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 343

DISTRESS IN THE METROPOLIS—Question, Mr. Cyril Flower; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 344

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 344

SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU CHIEF USIBEPU—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 345

POST OFFICE—SUNDAY SERVICE IN THE SORTING DEPARTMENTS—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 345

SPAIN—DETENTION OF THE STEAMER "CARN BREA"—Question, Mr. Donkin; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 346

WAR OFFICE—SUBSCRIPTIONS TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 346

ADMIRALTY—RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT—Question, Mr. Jennings; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 347

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—THE DISTRESSED UNIONS ON THE WEST COAST—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 347

BRITISH COLUMBIA—DISPUTES WITH THE NATIVES—Question, Mr. W. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 348

COAL MINES—THE UDSTON COLLIERY EXPLOSION, LANARKSHIRE — THE INQUIRY—Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 349
WAR OFFICE—PROMOTION—SENIOR QUARTERMASTERS — Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 349
STREET CASUALTIES (METROPOLIS)—DEATH BY A POST OFFICE PARCELS POST VAN—Questions, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 350
MALTA—CASE OF DR. GRECH—Question, Mr. M'Ewan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 350
POST OFFICE—MAIL CONTRACTS — THE EAST INDIA AND CHINA MAIL CONTRACT—Question, Mr. Provand; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 351
CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS (WALES)—NOTICES—Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 351
THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—CONSTABLES' DEFAULTER SHEET—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 352
EGYPT—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 352
LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—CASE OF MARY WILLIAMS—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 353
LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (SCOTLAND) — Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 354
A MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE—Questions, Lord Henry Bruce, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 354
PARLIAMENT—HOURS OF SITTING AND RISING—Questions, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Mundella; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 355
IRISH LAND LAW BILL—THE GLEBE PURCHASERS—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 356
TRUCK BILL—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 356

NOTICES OF MOTION.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL—Notice, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie); Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Anderson; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), Mr. Ritchie 357
DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL — Notice, Mr. Dillon; Observation, Mr. Speaker 358

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill [Bill 176]—

Lords' Amendments *considered* 358
One *disagreed to.*
Committee *appointed,* "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill:"—List of the Committee 359

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENT—SESSIONAL ORDERS—INTERFERENCE OF PEERS AT ELECTIONS THE NORTH PADDINGTON ELECTION—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That the employment of the carriages of Peers of the Realm for conveying voters to the poll at the North Paddington Election, on July 8th, was an infringement of the Sessional Order of this House,"—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) 363

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 167, Noes 196; Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Irish Land Law Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 308]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) 372

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to Land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for providing such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillon:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) [SALARY, ADVANCES, &c.]—

Resolution [July 8] *reported* 447

Resolution read a second time.

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Maurice Healy:*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill [Bill 307]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved,* "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) 451

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

Law of Evidence Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 316]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 454

After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy:*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 74, Noes 208; Majority 134.—(Div. List, No. 293.)

[1.10 A.M.]

[*July* 11.] Page

Original Question again proposed 462

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Mac Neill*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 52, Noes 201; Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 294.) [1.40 A.M.]

Original Question again proposed 466

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Conybeare*:)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*: —Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill [Bill 309]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 475

After debate, Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill [Bill 252]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Colonel Nolan*) .. 485

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*. [3.20 A.M.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 12.

NEW PEERS 486

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—HOUSE OF LORDS—ACOUSTIC PROPERTIES OF THIS HOUSE—Personal Explanation, The Earl of Milltown:—Short debate thereon 486

Allotments for Cottagers Bill (No. 109)—

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read .. 488

Order *discharged*.

Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension Bill (No. 69)—

House in Committee (according to Order) 489

Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 168.)

Land Transfer Bill (No. 161)—

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Amendment moved yesterday on the Third Reading read 490

Debate *resumed* accordingly; the said Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

Amendments made: Then the Queen's consent and the consent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in right of his Duchy of Cornwall signified: Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—THE CENTRAL HALL—THE STATUE OF THE LATE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH—Question, Observations, Lord Mount-Temple; Reply, Lord Aveland 492

Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill—

Commons' Amendments to Lords' Amendments, and Commons' Reason for disagreeing to one of the Lords' Amendments *considered* (on Motion) 493

The Amendment to which the Commons have disagreed, *not insisted on*; and the Amendments made by the Commons to the Amendments made by the Lords *agreed to*. [6.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 12.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Belfast Main Drainage Bill (*by Order*)—LORDS' AMENDMENTS [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [20th June], "That the Amendments made by The Lords to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill be now taken into consideration:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 494

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Lords' Amendments *considered*:—Lords' Amendments *agreed to*.

QUESTIONS.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—LOANS TO FISHERMEN UNDER THE CROFTERS ACT—Questions, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 497

ARMY—PROMOTIONS IN THE ROYAL ARTILLERY—Question, Captain Cotton; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 498

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—LEITRIM ASSIZES—ARREST OF JOHN MELLEY—Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Conway; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 498

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF A PRESBYTERIAN CHAPLAIN TO THE CORK ASYLUM—Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 499

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DR. HARTY, CORONER, KINGSTOWN—Questions, Mr. P. M'Donald, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) .. 500

ADMIRALTY — SHIPBUILDING — THE ROYAL DOCKYARDS — Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 501

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SKIBBEREEN AND BALTIMORE—Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 502

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—REMOVAL OF THE LOO ROCK, BALTIMORE HARBOUR — Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 503

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—AN UNVENTILATED CELLAR UNDER THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 504

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM—THE TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS—Questions, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 504

HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE FLOATING DOCK AT LIMERICK—Question, Mr. H. J. Gill; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 506

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—LOUGH CORRIB DRAINAGE DISTRICTS—Question, Mr. Pinkerton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 507

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF A LUNATIC IN STAFFORD COUNTY GAOL—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 508

WAR OFFICE — THE ROYAL JUBILEE REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT — Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 509

[*July* 12.] *Page*

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS AT GWEEDORE, CO. DONEGAL—Questions, Mr. O'Hea; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 509

WALES — THE TITHE AGITATION — THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM — TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS AT RUTHIN—Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 510

HEREDITARY REVENUE OF THE CROWN—THE RECEIVER — Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 511

ADMIRALTY—DEVONPORT AND OTHER DOCKYARDS—DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN —Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 511

STATE OF IRELAND—CHARGE OF MR. JUSTICE O'BRIEN AT CLARE ASSIZES—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. M. J. Kenny, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 513

PRISONS (SCOTLAND)—SALARY OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF GLASGOW — Questions, Mr. Caldwell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 513

THE JUBILEE DAY IN LONDON—MEDALS FOR THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 514

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—CONTRACT FOR HIDES—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) 515

PUBLIC WORKS AND IMPROVEMENTS (IRELAND) — ALLOCATION OF THE GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION OF £50,000—Questions, Mr. W. A. Macdonald, Mr. Hayden, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 515

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—HELMETS AND CLOTHING FOR SUMMER WEAR—Questions, Mr. Quilter; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 517

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW—Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 517

EGYPT—THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson); Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] 518

THE JUBILEE WEEK—THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 519

WALES — THE TITHE AGITATION — DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM — TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS AT RUTHIN—Questions, Mr. T. E. Ellis, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. Puleston; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 519

IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN PAUPERS—Questions, Mr. Agg-Gardner, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. T. M. Healy [No reply] 520

METROPOLITAN POLICE REGULATION ACT—THE METROPOLITAN MAGISTRATES —Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 521

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 522

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 522

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS ON THE BROOKE ESTATE, COOLGREANY, CO. WEXFORD—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 522

LICENSED PREMISES (EARLIER CLOSING) (SCOTLAND) BILL — Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 523

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES—Observation, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst); Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 523

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Irish Land Law Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 308]—SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [SECOND NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 525

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday*.

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) [SALARY, ADVANCES, &C.] — RESOLUTION [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [11th July], "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 588

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to*.

Prison (Officers' Superannuation) (Scotland) Bill [Bill 233]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald*) 589

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

Sheriffs (Consolidation) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 262]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General*) 590

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) Bill [Bill 196]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 593

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*: — Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

Truck Bill [Bill 299]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 610

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned," — (*Mr. Attorney General*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday*.

MOTION.

—o—

Metropolitan Police Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 321] 629

[2.50.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 13.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(1.) £150,000, to complete the sum for Surveys of the United Kingdom.

(2.) £12,206, to complete the sum for Science and Art Department Buildings.

(3.) £6,090, to complete the sum for British Museum Buildings.

(4.) £11,708, to complete the sum for Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 629

(5.) £21,150, to complete the sum for Peterhead Harbour.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 638

(6.) £131,105, to complete the sum for Rates on Government Property in Great Britain and Ireland.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 652

(7.) £5,000, to complete the sum for Metropolitan Fire Brigade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 657

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £134,662, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Erection, Repairs, and Maintenance of the several Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and for the erection of Fishery Piers, and the Maintenance of certain Parks, Harbours, and Navigations, and for Repayments to Baronies under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883'" 658

After short debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £133,632, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After further short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Picton*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £133,632, be granted for the said Services:"—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

(8.) £20,000, to complete the sum for Science and Art Buildings, Dublin.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 672

(9.) £8,866, to complete the sum for Lighthouses Abroad.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 674

(10.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £19,871, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries Abroad" 675

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £14,871, be granted, &c.,"—(*Mr. Plunket*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £28,020, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the House of Lords" .. 681

Moved, "That the Item of £5,545, for the Department of the Lord Chancellor, be reduced by £2,000,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 72, Noes 182; Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 298.)

[3.40 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed 683

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £25,920, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 120, Noes 184; Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 299.) [4.40 P.M.]

Supply—Civil Service Estimates—Committee—*continued.*

Original Question again proposed 697

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £33,969, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Offices of the House of Commons" .. 699

After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Business of the House — Arrangement of Public Business — Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill—Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. Fenwick; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 709

[5.55.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 14.

Egypt—The Anglo-Turkish Convention—The Debate of Monday, June 11—Correction, The Earl of Rosebery 710

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill (No. 164)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Ashbourne*) .. 710

After debate, Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow.* [8.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 14.

QUESTIONS.

Universities (Scotland) Bill—Legislation—Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 755

Law and Police—Prostitutes in Manchester and Liverpool—Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 756

Labourers Acts (Ireland)—The Return—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 756

Poor Law (Ireland)—Poor Rate Collectors in Wicklow—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 756

Post Office—Irregularities at the Vere Street Post Office—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 757

Education Department — Keighley School Board — Frank Heap, an Unvaccinated Pupil Teacher—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) .. 758

Law and Police—"Bayfus *v.* Saville"—Summonses in the Marlborough Street Police Court—Question, Mr. Addison; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 759

Law and Justice—"Boss *v.* Saville"—Attempting to Extort Money —Question, Mr. Addison; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 760

Law and Police—Molesting Women and Young Girls—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 760

Royal Irish Constabulary—Civil Employment of Police for Protection Duty—Question, Mr. Kennedy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 761

[*July* 14.] *Page*

Railways (England and Wales)—The Londonderry Railway (Sunderland and Seaham Harbour)—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) .. 761
War Office—Medical Examination of Colonels before Promotion—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 762
Ireland — Drilling in Orange Lodges — Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 763
Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Scientific Committee—Expenditure—Questions, Mr. A. L. Brown; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald), Mr. Speaker 763
Post Office (Ireland)—The Rural Post Office Messenger of Dromard, Co. Sligo—Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 765
British Guiana and Venezuela — The Disputed Boundary — Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 765
Royal Irish Constabulary—Promotion of District Inspector Tilly—Questions, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 766
Vagrant Act Amendment Bill—Street Solicitation—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Mr. C. T. D. Acland 767
Merchant Shipping—Prevention of Collisions at Sea—The Regulations—Article 19—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 767
Post Office (Ireland)—Detention of New Silver Coins—Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 769
Post Office—The Jubilee Day—Detention of Telegraphist Clerks—Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 770
Law and Justice—Court Houses — Accommodation for Prisoners awaiting Trial—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 779
Inland Navigation and Drainage (Ireland) — Lough Erne Drainage Works—Question, Mr. W. Redmond; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 771
Trustee Savings Banks—Cardiff Trustee Savings Bank — Questions, Mr. Howell, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 771
The Metropolitan Fire Brigade—Deficiency of Horses—Questions, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Webster; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 772
Local Government Board—Local Administration—Legislation—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 773
Police Force Enfranchisement Act — Registration — Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 773
The New Boundary Commission—Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) .. 774
Mauritius—Sir John Pope Hennessy—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Chance, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Mundella, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland); Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor [No reply] 774
Crime (Ireland)—Statistics, 1886—Question, Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 776
War Office (Auxiliary Forces)—Arms of the English, Irish, and Scotch Militia—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 777

[*July* 14.] *Page*

Criminal Lunatic Asylums (England and Ireland)—Comparative Pay—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 778

Contagious Diseases Ordinances in the Colonies—Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 778

Post Office (Ireland)—The Postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's Co.—Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 779

War Office—Medical Officers in Cork Barracks—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 780

Admiralty—The Coastguard in the South of Ireland—H.M.S. "Shannon"—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 781

War Office—The Garrison Chaplain in Cork—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 781

State of Ireland—Orange Procession from Portadown—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 782

The Magistracy (England and Wales)—List of Nominees for the New Borough Bench—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 783

Wales—Civil Service Examinations—Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 783

Public Health—Insanitary Condition of the Thames—Questions, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Colonel Makins; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 784

Post Office—Conveyance of Mails to Australia and the East *vid* Canada—Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 784

Poor Law Guardians (Ireland)—The Ennistymon Union—Question, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 785

Excise (Scotland)—Illegal Searching at Slumbay—Question, Dr. R. Macdonald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) .. 786

Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission—Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 786

Post Office (Ireland)—Orange Political Meetings—Questions, Mr. W. Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 788

Law and Police—The Bolton Riots—Importation of Foreign Labour—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 788

Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass—Mr. Newton, Marlborough Street Police Court—Questions, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 789

Fishery Board (Scotland)—The Report—Beam Trawling in Aberdeen Bay—Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 790

Burmah (Upper)—The Ruby Mines—Questions, Mr. Watt, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 790

The Queen's Jubilee—Medals for the Metropolitan Police—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 792

[*July* 14.] *Page*

RUSSIA—ARREST OF MR. DILLON, A BRITISH SUBJECT, IN ODESSA—Questions, Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 792

STREET IMPROVEMENTS (METROPOLIS)—STEPS OF ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS—Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 793

LAW AND JUSTICE—APPOINTMENT IN THE PROBATE COURT, MANCHESTER—Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 793

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—"SOLICITATION" IN THE PUBLIC STREETS—Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 794

LUNACY ACTS AMENDMENT BILL—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 795

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE—ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY FROM THE LADIES OF THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE—Questions, Mr. P. Stanhope; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 795

PUBLIC BUSINESS—CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL—Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 796

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS ON THE BROOKE ESTATE, COOLGREANY, CO. WEXFORD—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 796

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 798

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 799

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 799

COAL MINES, &C. REGULATION BILL—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 800

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY BILL—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 800

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—THE DEBATE OF JULY 12—Correction, Mr. T. W. Russell 800

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Irish Land Law Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 308]—SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [THIRD NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 800

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) Bill [Bill 196]—CONSIDERATION [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed* .. 887

After short debate, Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) Bill [Bill 141]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 894

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

[*July* 14.] Page

MOTION.

Copyright (Musical Compositions) (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Bartley, Mr. Addison, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Lawson*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 322] .. 896

[2.5.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 15.

New Peer—

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, Bart., G.C.B., created Baron Magheramorne, of Magheramorne, in the county of Antrim.

Teinds (Scotland)—Motion for Returns—

Moved for—

"Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881),"—(*The Earl of Minto*) 896

Motion amended, and *agreed to.*

Church Patronage (Scotland)—

Motion for Returns (*The Earl of Minto*) 897

After short debate, Motion amended, and *agreed to.*

Parliament (House of Lords)—Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes—Resolution—

Moved to resolve—

"That when the name of any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be entered in the Journals or Minutes of Proceedings of the House, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament; and in the event of the Motion being agreed to, to move that the Motion be declared a Standing Order of the House, and be numbered XXXIIA,"—(*The Earl of Minto*) 899

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill (No. 161)—

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee,"—(*The Lord Ashbourne*) 899

After debate, Motion *agreed to*:—House in Committee accordingly.

Moved, "That the Report be now received,"—(*The Lord Ashbourne*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Bill *reported*, without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Marquess of Lothian*); read 1ª (No. 176) 932

[8.30.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 15.

QUESTIONS.

Board of National Education (Ireland)—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools—Questions, Mr. Carew, Mr. Sexton, Dr. Kenny; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 932

War Office—Sergeant Instructors of Musketry—The Queen's Regulations—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) 934

[*July* 15.] *Page*

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (IRELAND)—THE ANNUAL REPORT—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 935
LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE ANNUAL REPORT—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 935
POST OFFICE—PENSIONERS FROM OTHER SERVICES UNDER THE CROWN—Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 936
POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—A TELEGRAPH OFFICE FOR SMITHSBORO', Co. MONAGHAN — Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 937
INDIA—TRANSFER OF THE PROVINCE OF SCINDE—Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 938
DOG TAX (IRELAND)—COLLECTION OF THE TAX—Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 939
EMIGRATION OF PAUPER CHILDREN (METROPOLIS)—INCIDENCE OF COST—Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) 939
AGRICULTURAL RETURNS—ACREAGE OF WOODS AND FORESTS—Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 939
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — EMIGRATION TO THE COLONIES — TECHNICAL EDUCATION—Question, Mr. Brooke Robinson; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 940
CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1886—EVASION OF THE ACT—THE BARCALDINE ESTATE—Question, Dr. R. Macdonald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 940
LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—BONA FIDE OCCUPATION—FAIR RENTS—SUB-LETTING — Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell, Sir Charles Lewis; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) .. 941
LAW AND POLICE—OPEN-AIR SERVICES AT GRANTHAM—ARRESTS—Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 943
ADMIRALTY—CASE OF BERTIE WILMOT MAINPRISE—LITERARY EXAMINATION —Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 944
ZANZIBAR—RECALL OF SIR JOHN KIRK, HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 944
LONDON COAL AND WINE DUTIES CONTINUANCE BILL—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 945
BURMAH—REVENUES FROM TEAK FORESTS AND MONOPOLIES OF EARTH, OIL, AND PRECIOUS STONES — Question, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst); Question, Mr. Bradlaugh [No reply] 945
FISHERIES—HOME OFFICE AND BOARDS OF CONSERVATORS—Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 946
POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—INCREASED MAIL ACCOMMODATION, Co. DOWN—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 946
WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—CONTRACTS FOR COLLAR HIDES FOR THE CAVALRY—Questions, Colonel Hughes-Hallett, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 947

War Office—Directors of Army Contracts—An Annual Report—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) 948

Extraordinary Tithe Act, 1886—The Land Commissioners—Question, Mr. Brookfield; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 948

The Council of India—Representation of the Bombay Presidency—Question, Sir Richard Temple; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 949

Burmah (Upper)—The Ruby Mines—Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 949

Egypt—Departure of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff—Ahmed Mouktar Pasha—Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson); Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] 949

Egypt—The Great Depression in the Desert—The Lake Moeris Scheme—Question, Mr. Woodall; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 950

Metropolitan Police Fund — The Jubilee Medal — Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 951

Metropolitan Police—Rewards for Extra Service on Jubilee Day—Post Office—Telegraphists — Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 951

Arrangements of this House—The Library—Communication with the House—The Reading Room—Exclusion of the "United Ireland"—Questions, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke, Mr. W. H. James, Mr. Handel Cossham; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), Question, Dr. Kenny [No reply] 952

Business of the House—The Oaths Bill—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 953

Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions—Questions, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. Anderson, Sir George Campbell, Mr. A. L. Brown, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 954

Parliamentary Elections—Trinity College, Dublin—Votes of the Irish Judges—Question, Mr. Mac Neill; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 956

Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—Naval Review at Spithead—Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 957

Supply—The Navy Estimates—Observations, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 957

Supply—The Army Estimates—Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 957

Business of the House—Morning Sittings—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 958

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Services and Revenue Departments—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a further sum, not exceeding £1,885,100, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the

Supply—Civil Service Estimates—Committee—*continued.*

Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, viz.:— [Then the several Services are set forth] 958

After debate, *Moved*, "That the item of £50,000, for the Metropolitan Police, be reduced by the sum of £1,162,"—(*Mr. Pickersgill*:)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 989

Moved, "That the Item of £5,000, for Criminal Prosecutions, &c., be reduced by the sum of £2,000,"—(*Mr. Thomas Ellis*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1002

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Item of £50,000, for Public Education (Ireland), be reduced by the sum of £500,"—(*Dr. Kenny*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 83, Noes 245; Majority 162.—(Div. List, No. 301.) [6.35. p.m.]

Original Question again proposed 1013

Moved, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 252, Noes 78; Majority 174.—(Div. List, No. 302.) [6.45 p.m.]

Question put, "That a further sum, not exceeding £1,185,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888:"—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 242, Noes 64; Majority 178.—(Div. List, No. 303.) [6.55 p.m.]

It being after Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report the Resolution to the House at Nine of the clock.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again *this day.*

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £27,969, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1014

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £34,045, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of Her Majesty's Treasury, and in the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel" 1016

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Item A of the Salaries, &c., in regard to the Salary of the First Lord of the Treasury, be reduced by the sum of £3,000,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 60, Noes 156; Majority 96.—(Div. List, No. 304.) [10.55 p.m.]

Original Question again proposed 1045

After short debate, *Moved*, "That Item A of the Salaries, &c., in regard to the Salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, be reduced by the sum of £3,000,"—(*Mr. Labouchere*:)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 56, Noes 174; Majority 118.—(Div. List, No. 305.) [11.5 p.m.]

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £55,947, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices" 1050

After debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £54,847, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Colonel Nolan*:)—Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed 1071

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson*:)—Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Truck Bill [Bill 299]—

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed* .. 1071

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh*:)—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

Local Government Boundaries Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Long*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 324] 1101

Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Amendment Bill — *Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 325] 1101

Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Picton*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 326] 1101

Bankruptcy (Discharge and Closure) Bill — *Ordered* (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Baron Henry De Worms*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 327] 1101

[2.50.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 18.

ARMY (RE-ORGANIZATION)—Postponement of Motion, The Earl of Wemyss 1102

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill (No. 164)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Ashbourne*) .. 1102

After debate, Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 3ª accordingly, and *passed*.

[8.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 18.

QUESTIONS.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON AND THE BROSNA—Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1145

LICENSING LAWS—OCCASIONAL LICENCES—MINSTER BRANCH OF THE ISLE OF THANET CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION—Question, Mr. Munro-Ferguson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1146

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS OF MODEL SCHOOLS—RESULTS FEES—Question, Sir Charles Lewis; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1147

WAR OFFICE—GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS—OFFICIALS INTERESTED IN CONTRACTING FIRMS—Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1147

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—THE "BOXER" MARTINI-HENRY CARTRIDGE—Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1148

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE FRENCH FLAG IN BADIBOO, ON THE RIVER GAMBIA—Question, Mr. Houldsworth; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1149

[*July* 18.] *Page*

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. WILLIAM TYRRELL, OF BALLINDERRY, Co. KILDARE—Question, Mr. Carew; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1149

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—COST OF THE ORDINARY DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN EGYPT AND CONSTANTINOPLE—Question, Mr. Cremer; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Sir James Fergusson) 1150

METROPOLITAN COMMONS—TOOTING BEC COMMON—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1151

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—THE TELEGRAPH TO THE BEN NEVIS OBSERVATORY—Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1152

IRELAND—THE MARTELLO TOWER AT BRIGHTON VIEW, Co. DUBLIN—ADVERTISING PLACARDS—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1152

WATER SUPPLY (SCOTLAND) — VALUE OF WATERWORKS OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS—A SELECT COMMITTEE—Questions, Mr. E. Robertson; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) .. 1153

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OLD NICHOL STREET, BETHNAL GREEN, BOARD SCHOOL—A STARVING PUPIL—Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1154

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—SUB-LETTING TO COTTIERS—Questions, Sir Charles Lewis, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) 1154

THE BAHAMAS — MR. L. D. POWLES, A MAGISTRATE — Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1155

ADMIRALTY—H.M.S. "CHERUB"—THE ROYAL NAVAL ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS—THE CLYDE BRIGADE—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1156

WAR OFFICE—CHELSEA HOSPITAL—BURTON'S COURT—Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1157

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE SUB-TROPICAL GARDEN IN BATTERSEA PARK —Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1157

MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1157

ADMIRALTY—H.M.S. "IMPERIEUSE"—Question, Captain Price; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 1158

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—OVERCROWDING—Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1159

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—SEATS IN THE MALL—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1159

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—THE ARCHITECT'S DEPARTMENT—Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1160

METROPOLITAN POLICE — PROMOTION TO SERGEANT — Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1161

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION OF £50,000—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Colonel Waring; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1161

WAR OFFICE—REGIMENTAL BANDS AT POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS — Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1163

THE COLONIAL OFFICE—THE MARQUESS OF CARMARTHEN—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1163

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—OUTBREAKS OF PLEURO-PNEUMONIA IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND—Question, Mr. Halley Stewart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1164

THE PUBLIC SERVICE—BETRAYAL OF OFFICIAL AND CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1164

"METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE EXPENSES BILL"—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Webster, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1165

LAND TRANSFER BILL—INHERITANCE, PRIMOGENITURE, AND REGISTRATION OF TITLES—Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1165

LICENCES (BELFAST) BILL AND BANKRUPTCY COURTS (IRELAND) BILL — Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1166

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1167

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) .. 1167

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—COMPLAINT (DR. TANNER)—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That in consequence of the disgraceful and insulting words addressed in the Lobby of the House on Friday evening last, by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, to an honourable Member of this House, Dr. Tanner be suspended from the Service of the House, and excluded from its precincts for a Month,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 1171

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton*:)—After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday*.

Moved, "That Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, do attend in his place on Thursday next, at half-past Four o'clock,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 1188

Question put, and *agreed to*.

The Entry in the Votes 1188

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £1,732,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888" 1188

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) £71,800, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.
(3.) £65,900, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.
(4.) £21,700, Marine Divisions.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [15th July] *reported* 1295
First Resolution *agreed to.*
Second Resolution read a first and second time:—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*
Third Resolution *agreed to.*

VOTE ON ACCOUNT, £1,885,100.

Resolution [15th July] *reported:*—After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) Bill [Bill 196]—
Order for Third Reading read, and *discharged:*—Bill *re-committed*, in respect of Clauses 40, 42, 43, 51, and a new Clause; *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, *considered* 1297
Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*The Lord Advocate:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Truck Bill [Bill 299]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh*) .. 1298
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MOTIONS.

Labourers Allotments Bill—MOTION FOR LEAVE—FIRST READING—
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to facilitate the provision of Allotments for the Labouring Classes,"—(*Mr. Ritchie*) .. 1309
Question put, and *agreed to:* — Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Secretary Stanhope, Mr. W. H. Long*); *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 329.]

Poor Law Settlement and Removal Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Norton, Sir Edward Birkbeck, Mr. Pickersgill*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 330] .. 1309

Technical Instruction Bill—
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to facilitate the provision of Technical Instruction,"—(*Sir William Hart Dyke*) 1310
Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC PARKS AND WORKS (METROPOLIS) [PENSIONS]—
Considered in Committee 1310
Resolution *agreed to;* to be reported *To-morrow.*

ADJOURNMENT—
Moved, "That this House now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) 1310
Question put, and *agreed to.* [2.5.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, JULY 19.

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill (No. 129)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Hobhouse*) 1311
After short debate, Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 180.)

Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension Bill (No. 69)—
Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 1324
After short debate, furthur debate adjourned to *Tuesday* next.

[*July* 19.] *Page*

Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Bill (No. 176)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Marquess of Lothian*) .. 1326
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment Bill—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*) .. 1327
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Coroners Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Chancellor*); read 1ª (No. 177) .. 1328
[7.30.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, JULY 19.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill [Bill 257]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Baron Henry De Worms*) 1329
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

QUESTIONS.

Paris Exhibition, 1889—Questions, Sir Bernhard Samuelson; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1332
Piers and Harbours (Ireland)—Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Commissioners—Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) .. 1333
Mines Regulation Act—William Shaw, Fireman at the Park Mine, Taend Vale Colliery, Skelmersdale—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1334
Public Health—A "Thames Swimming Bath"—Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) .. 1335
Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—The Naval Review off Spithead—Accommodation for Members—Questions, Captain Colomb; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1336
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Clerkenwell Police Court—"Arbitrary Conduct of a Police Magistrate"—Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1337
Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—The Naval Review off Spithead—"Total Complement" of the Ships—Question, Captain Colomb; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1338
Inland Revenue Department—"Ride" Officers—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1339
Ceylon—Pardon of Martinez Pereira—Question, Sir John Dorington; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 1339
Trade and Commerce—Exports and Imports of the Port of Dublin—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde [Not put] 1340
Ireland—Kingstown Harbour Commissioners—Inclosure of Grounds—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1340

[*July* 19.] Page

ARMS (IRELAND) ACT—JOHN HENCHEY, OF BODYKE, CO. CLARE—Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1341

TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION—EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGNERS IN LONDON—Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1342

WAR OFFICE—IMPORTATION OF CANADIAN HORSES—Question, Mr. C. W. Gray; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 1343

ADMIRALTY — THE DIRECTOR OF DOCKYARDS—Question, Sir William Plowden; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1343

WAR OFFICE—OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA—ARMY SIGNALLING—Question, Mr. Llewellyn; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1344

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—REMISSION OF SENTENCES—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1344

COMMISSIONERS OF METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE OFFICE OF LEGAL ADVISER—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1345

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—SIR CHARLES WARREN'S LETTER TO SIR JAMES INGHAM—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1345

ADMIRALTY—EXAMINATION IN SEAMANSHIP—THE REPORTS—Question, Mr. Craig Sellar; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1346

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION—RATIFICATION—Questions, Mr. Bryce, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1346

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF A LUNATIC IN STAFFORD GAOL—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1347

BULGARIA—ELECTION OF A PRINCE—Question, Mr. Legh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 1347

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—DUNDRUM CRIMINAL LUNATIC ASYLUM—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1348

THE PANAMA CANAL — EXCESSIVE MORTALITY — Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1348

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM—Questions, Mr. T. E. Ellis, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1349

LAND TRANSFER BILL—REFERENCE TO A SELECT COMMITTEE—Question, Mr. Henry H. Fowler; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1350

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE MOTIONS ON "LONDON CORPORATION (CHARGES OF MALVERSATION)"—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1350

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1351

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL—Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1351

LONDON CORPORATION (CHARGES OF MALVERSATION)—SIR ROBERT FOWLER AND MR. HOWELL—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Speaker 1352

SUPPLY—THE NAVY ESTIMATES—Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1352

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1353

NAVY—COLLISION BETWEEN H.M.SS. "AJAX" AND "DEVASTATION" OFF PORTSMOUTH—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1353

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (1882)—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE)—WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM—

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. T. E. Ellis*) .. 1353

After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 129, Noes 198; Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 310.)

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £48,063, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs" 1372

Moved, "That the Item C, £5,980, Messengers' Salaries, be reduced by £1,000,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £26,524, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £34,321, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council and Subordinate Departments" 1391

Moved, "That the Item F, £12,567, Salaries of the Agricultural Department, be reduced by the sum of £100,"—(*Sir Richard Paget :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1407

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £63,107, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Subordinate Departments" 1409

After debate, *Moved*, "That the Item A, £55,175, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,000 in respect of the Salary of the Assistant Secretary in charge of the Harbour Department,"—(*Mr. T. W. Russell:*)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 56, Noes 127; Majority 71.—(Div. List, No. 311.) [10.0 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed 1421

Moved, "That the Item A, £55,175, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £100, in respect of the Salary of the Chief Inspector of Fisheries,"—(*Mr. Rowntree :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £172, to complete the sum for the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1434

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales" 1438

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £15,525 be granted to Her Majesty for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Jesse Collings :*)—*Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. J. E. Ellis :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That the sum of £15,525 be granted to Her Majesty for the said Service :"—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Hunter :*)—After further short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

[*July* 19.] Page

Technical Instruction Bill—MOTION FOR LEAVE—FIRST READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th July:] Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* 1464

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Sir William Hart Dyke, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Jackson*); *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 332.]

Temporary Dwellings Bill [Bill 256]—

Order for Second Reading read 1476

Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee.

Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [Bill 153]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 8th July*] 1476

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered;* read the third time, and *passed*.

Public Libraries Act Amendment (No. 2) Bill [Bill 220]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 7th July*] 1485

After short time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday*, and to be *printed*. [Bill 331.]

MOTIONS.

Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Maitland, Sir Joseph Bailey*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 333] 1488

Trustee Savings Banks Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, The First Lord of the Treasury*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 334] .. 1488

[2.25.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, JULY 20.

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—SESSIONAL ORDERS—INTERFERENCE OF PEERS IN ELECTIONS—THE HORNSEY ELECTION—Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland), Mr. Speaker, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1489

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1491

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales" 1491

Supply—Civil Service Estimates—Committee—*continued.*

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £15,525, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Mr. Jesse Collings:*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 39, Noes 188; Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 313.) [3.50 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed 1526

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £21,531, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Civil Service Commission" .. 1534

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £21,491, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Evelyn:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1540

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £32,934, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

(4.) £4,227, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 1560

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £12,797, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Land Commissioners for England, and for defraying the repayable Expenses to be incurred in matters of Inclosure and Land Improvement, and under 'The Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886" 1566

After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Friday,* at Two of the clock.

Supply—Report—Resolutions [19th July] *reported* 1569

Resolutions read a second time:—First Resolution *agreed to.*
Second Resolution *postponed:*—Third and Fourth Resolutions *agreed to.*
Fifth Resolution *postponed:*—Postponed Resolutions to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

Scotland—Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities—Motion for a Select Committee—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the Law relating to the Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities in Scotland, and to report what alterations are necessary therein,"—(*Mr. Edmund Robertson*) .. 1569

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Rating of Machinery Bill—

Reported from the Select Committee.
Special Report, with Minutes of Evidence, *brought up,* and read; Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed.* [No. 231.]
Bill, as amended, to be *printed* [Bill 335]; *re-committed* to a Committee of the Whole House for *Wednesday* next.

Business of the House — Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. John Morley, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1570

[5.50.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, JULY 21.

The Mar Peerage—Postponement of Motion, The Earl of Galloway:—Short debate thereon 1571

[*July* 21.] *Page*

First Offenders Bill (No. 140)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Earl of Belmore*) 1573
Amendment *moved*, to leave out all the words after the word ("That,") and insert ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee,")—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)
After short debate, Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*:—Motion *agreed to*; House in Committee accordingly.
Amendments made; the Report thereof to be received *To-morrow*; and Bill to be *printed*, as amended. (No. 182.)

Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Bill (No. 43)—
Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) 1574
After short debate, Committee of the Whole House *put off* to *Monday* next.

Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill (No. 169)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*Viscount Powerscourt*) .. 1575
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 1*st of August* next.

Coroners' Bill (No. 176)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Chancellor*) .. 1580
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly.

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill (No. 180)—
Amendments *reported* (according to Order) 1581
Bill to be read 3ª on *Tuesday* next.

NEW ZEALAND—MOTION FOR PAPERS—
Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Papers relating to the emigration of pensioners to New Zealand,"—(*The Lord Sandhurst*) .. 1582
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE CHANCERY DIVISION—Question, Observations, The Earl of Selborne; Reply, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) 1591
CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Lord Elphinstone (A Lord in Waiting) 1593
CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL—Protest against the Third Reading 1595
[7.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, JULY 21.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Willesden Local Board Bill (*by Order*)—
Lords' Amendments *considered*, *amended*, and *agreed to* 1596

QUESTIONS.

INCOME TAX — RETURNS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY JOINT STOCK, &C. COMPANIES—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1598

[*July* 21.] *Page*

Scotland — General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh — Attendance of Clerks—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1598

London Brokers' Relief Act—A Royal Commission — Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1599

Evictions (Ireland)—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreaney—Captain Hamilton—Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1600

National Education (Ireland)—The Lismacaral (Derry) School—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1601

Admiralty—Use of Petroleum as Fuel for the Navy—Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1602

Public Health (Ireland) — Insanitary Condition of Portarlington — Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1602

Ireland—Artizans' Dwellings, Kingstown—Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1603

Public Health — Insanitary Condition of Margate — Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1603

Royal Irish Constabulary Fund—Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1604

Meteorological Office—Invention of Mr. B. A. Collins—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1605

Western Australia—Resignation of Mr. Hensman, Attorney General—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1605

High Court of Justice—"Billing *v.* Brogden"—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 1606

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Mr. Thomas Hewson, B.L.—Question, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1606

Land Courts (Ireland)—Tenants of Major Gallway, Dingle, Co. Kerry—Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1607

Labourers (Ireland) Acts—Labourers' Cottages—South Dublin Union—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1608

Irish Land Commission—Appeals—Inspection of Reports by Litigants—Questions, Mr. Mahony, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1608

Law and Police (Metropolis)—Condition of Cells at Police Stations—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1610

Mersey Dock and Harbour Board—Ferry Communication between Bootle and New Brighton—Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) .. 1611

Burials (Metropolis)—Brompton Cemetery — Question, Sir Algernon Borthwick; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1612

Lunacy (Scotland)—Loans Contracted by the District Boards of Lunacy—Question, Mr. R. Preston Bruce; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 1613

[*July* 21.] *Page*

FOREIGN ENLISTMENT ACT—MR. BAIRD—Question, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1614
ADMIRALTY — DOCKYARD APPRENTICES AT SHEERNESS — Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) 1614
SALE OF INDECENT BOOKS AND PICTURES—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1615
INDIAN CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT—REPEAL—Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1615
TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE EAST—THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE ROUTE—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1616
INDIA—PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT—A MOSQUE AT BIJAPUR—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1616
CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ATTACK ON THE CHILDREN OF THE WESTPORT PROTESTANT SUNDAY SCHOOL, CO. MAYO—Questions, Mr. Macartney, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Mac Neill; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1617
RATING OF MACHINERY BILL—VALUATION OF MUNICIPAL WATERWORKS—Question, Mr. J. C. Bolton; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 1618
ALASKA (NORTH AMERICA)—SEIZURE OF A BRITISH SHIP—Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1619
POST OFFICE—NEW BUILDINGS (COLDBATH FIELDS PRISON)—Question, Captain Penton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 1619
PARKS (METROPOLIS)—SUPPLY OF CHAIRS—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) .. 1620
ADMIRALTY — THE JUBILEE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD — COLLISION BETWEEN THE "AJAX" AND "DEVASTATION"—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 1620
MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—PILOTS' CERTIFICATES TO ALIENS—"THE QUEEN *v.* TRINITY HOUSE CORPORATION"—Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1621
CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—ALLOTMENT OF TICKETS—Question, Sir Joseph Bailey; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1622
CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS—Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1622
EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1623
LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MR. SAUNDERS, POLICE MAGISTRATE—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1623
LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—CASE OF MR. WILLIAMS—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1624
LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—RESCUE FROM DROWNING—POLICE CONSTABLE 483 J—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1626

[*July* 21.] *Page*

War Office — Parliamentary Election for the Basingstoke Division of Hants — Passes — Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1626

Hares Preservation Bill — A "Close Time" — Question, Colonel Dawnay; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. Edward Harrington [No reply] 1627

Business of the House—Legal Proceedings Reports Bill—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1627

Business of the House—Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill—Questions, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1627

Duchy of Lancaster—The Chancellor of the Duchy—Question, Mr. Brookfield; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1628

Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—Pardon of Offenders—The Royal Navy—Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1628

Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign—Address of the Grand Council of the Primrose League—Question, Mr. P. Stanhope; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W.H. Smith) 1629

Africa (Central)—Expedition for the Relief of Emin Pasha—Reported Death of Mr. Stanley—Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) .. 1629

Irish Land Law Bill—Questions, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1629

Spain—Alleged Murder of a British Seaman at Bilbao by a Spanish Sentry—Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1631

Irish Land Law Bill—Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour).. 1631

PRIVILEGE.

Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner) — Resolution [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read for the Attendance of Dr. Tanner, and Dr. Tanner being in his place:—Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th July:]—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 1631

After debate, Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House is of opinion that, as the words complained of by Mr. W. Long were not spoken within the House, and resulted from a conversation initiated by him, the better course for the honourable Gentleman aggrieved would have been to have first claimed the good offices of Mr. Speaker, in accordance with precedent; but that this House is prepared, should the private intervention of Mr. Speaker prove ineffectual, to repress all disorders in the Lobbies as in the House itself,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After further debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Irish Land Law Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 308]—

Order for Committee read 1665

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the reduction of family charges on Irish Land."—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Moved, "That Mr Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*:)—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Illingworth*:)—After debate, Motion, by leave *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1692

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Supply—Report—Order for Further Consideration of Postponed Resolutions [19th July] read 1726

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £26,624, be granted, &c."

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£26,524," and insert "£25,524,"—(*Mr. M'Ewan.*)

Question proposed, "That £26,524 stand part of the Resolution:"—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 162, Noes 74; Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 314.) [12.55 A.M.]

(5.) "That a sum, not exceeding £172, be granted, &c."

Resolution *agreed to.*

Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill [Bill 307]—Committee [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question proposed [11th July], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for Committee on the Bill:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 1736

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillon*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

Sheriffs (Consolidation) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 262]—

Order for Committee read 1739

After short debate, Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2) Bill [Bill 220]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 1739

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

School Fees (Non-Paupers) Bill [Bill 106]—

Order for Second Reading read 1740

After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock. [1.30.]

LORDS, FRIDAY, JULY 22.

The Mar Peerage—Observations, The Earl of Mar:—Short debate thereon 1741

ARMY (RE-ORGANIZATION)—MOTION FOR A PAPER—

Moved, "That the statement regarding Army organization recently made by Major General Brackenbury by authority of the Secretary of State for War at the Royal United Service Institution be laid upon the Table,"—(*The Earl of Wemyss*) .. 1743

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE TITLES OF PEERS—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That when any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be named in any official record of the Proceedings of the House, or of any Committee thereof, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament,"—(*The Earl of Minto*) 1751

Motion *agreed to*.

Ordered, That the above Resolution be declared a Standing Order of the House (to come into operation at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament), and be numbered XXXIIA.

[5.30.]

COMMONS, FRIDAY, JULY 22.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (*City of Dublin Junction Railways*) *Bill* (*by Order*)—

Moved, "That, in the case of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into Consideration, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited,"—(*Sir Charles Forster*) 1752

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS — PRACTICE WITH HEAVY GUNS—Questions, Mr. Mallock, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1752

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—SUPPLY OF LEATHER—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1753

INDIA (MADRAS)—MILITARY PAY EXAMINERS' OFFICE—MR. SOEFELDT—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1753

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — POSTMASTERSHIP IN SIX MILE BRIDGE, CO. CLARE—Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1754

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT) — MULES FROM EGYPT FOR REGIMENTAL TRANSPORT PURPOSES—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1755

IRISH LAND—COMMISSION — PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885 — SEC. 23—ORDERS MADE—Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1755

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—MULLINGAR DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM—Questions, Mr. Tuite, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) 1756

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. V. VESEY FITZGERALD, R.M.—COMMITTAL OF DENIS FLANAGAN FOR WIFE MURDER—Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) 1758

COMMISSIONERS OF VALUATION (IRELAND)—BALTINGLASS UNION—MR. B. DOUGLAS, RATE COLLECTOR — Question, Mr. Byrne; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1759

[*July* 22.] Page

COMMISSIONERS OF VALUATION (IRELAND) — BALTINGLASS UNION — MR. GEORGE CRAIG, VALUER—Question, Mr. Byrne; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1759

WAR OFFICE—DEFECTIVE WEAPONS—Question, Major Rasch; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1760

LAW AND JUSTICE—RIPLEY PETTY SESSIONS—EXCESSIVE WHIPPING OF A CHILD—Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1760

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA IN IRELAND—Questions, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1761

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — EXAMINATION OF TEACHERS—Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1763

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE NATIONAL REGISTRATION ASSOCIATION, BLACKROCK, CO. DUBLIN—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1763

BURMAH — SALE OF INTOXICATING SPIRITS AND OPIUM — Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1764

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) — THE O'GRADY PROPERTY, CO. TIPPERARY—Questions, Mr. John O'Connor (Tipperary, S.), Mr. W. O'Brien, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Chance; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1765

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC — HAWAII — REPORTED REVOLUTION—Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1766

RAILWAYS (METROPOLIS)—USE OF WHISTLES AT NIGHT—Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1767

JUBILEE NAVAL REVIEW AT PORTSMOUTH—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) 1768

POST OFFICE—THE PATTERN POST—Question, Mr. Schwann; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1768

NORTH SEA FISHERIES — OUTRAGE TO THE NETS, &C. OF YARMOUTH FISHERMEN—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Sir Edward Birkbeck; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms), The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1768

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS—EXAMINATION OF POLICE CONSTABLE ENDACOTT—Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1769

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON—ALLEGED CHANGES PROPOSED IN THE MINISTRY—Question, Mr. J. Ellis; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1772

AFRICA (CENTRAL) — EXPEDITION FOR RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA—REPORTED DEATH OF MR. STANLEY—Questions, Mr. Lawson, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1772

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DEATH OF A CONVICT FROM SUNSTROKE—Question, Mr. Bonsor; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1773

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD — Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1773

MOTION.

IRISH LAND LAW [REMUNERATION]—

Moved for—

"Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration to any barristers and valuers that may be appointed to act with and aid the County Court Judges, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' and 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' and of remuneration to certain officers for performing additional duties connected with the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland in pursuance of the said Act,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) 1774

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*;—Queen's *Recommendation* signified, upon *Monday* next.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £12,797, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £244,241, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation" 1776

Moved, "That the Item of £16,500, for Public Vaccination, be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*:)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 66, Noes 196; Majority 130.—(Div. List, No. 315.) [6.20 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed 1822

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,227, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners in Lunacy in England" 1829

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. William Corbet*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next. [6.55.]

LORDS, MONDAY, JULY 25.

NEW PEER 1829

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND — LEGISLATION — Question, The Earl of Rosebery; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (The Marquess of Lothian) 1830

CENTRAL ASIA (AFGHANISTAN)—THE FRONTIER QUESTION—Questions, The Earl of Kimberley; Answers, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) 1830

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION—RESOLUTION—

Moved to resolve, "That this House, in view of the yearly increasing armaments of European nations, is of opinion that the formation of an international tribunal for the reference of national disputes in the first instance is highly to be desired,"—(*The Marquess of Bristol*) 1830

After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT) — THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON WARLIKE STORES—Observations, The Earl of Morley, Lord Napier and Ettrick; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) 1843

Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Bill (No. 157)—

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read .. 1845

Order *discharged*, and the House to be put in Committee on *Thursday* next.

TEINDS, &c. (SCOTLAND)—MOTION FOR PAPERS—

Moved, "That there be laid before this House Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland, and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881),"—(*The Earl of Minto*) .. 1846

Motion *agreed to*.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL—Protest against .. 1846

[6.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, JULY 25.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (*City of Dublin Junction Railways*) *Bill* (*by Order*)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [22nd July :]—Question again proposed :—Motion, by leave, *withdrawn* .. 1848

Moved, "That the Bill be now considered :"—After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Maurice Healy* :)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 1873

After short debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE OFFICE OF HIGH SHERIFF—MR. H. C. LEVINGE—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) .. 1876

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND AND WALES) — STATION ACCOMMODATION AT DARTMOUTH (GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY) — Question, Mr. Seale-Hayne; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) 1877

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—RETURN OF EXPENSES—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1878

EXCISE—NUMBER OF SPIRIT GROCERS IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT, DUBLIN—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman); Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] 1879

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—ASSAULT ON C. ROBERTSON, KINREACHIE, INVERNESS-SHIRE—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) 1879

OFFICE OF COLLECTOR GENERAL OF RATES, DUBLIN—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1880

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

[*July* 25.] *Page*

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS—SUPPLY OF MEAT TO LYDD, KENT—Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1881

WAR OFFICE—THE MARTELLO TOWERS AT BLACKROCK, Co. DUBLIN—Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) 1881

INDIA—DESTITUTE ENGLISHMEN IN INDIA, AND NATIVES IN ENGLAND—Question, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1881

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—MAIL ACCOMMODATION IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND—Questions, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1882

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE FORCE AT MAGHERAFELT—Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1883

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—THE COURT VALUER'S VALUATION—"ADAMS *v.* DUNSEATH"—Question, Mr. Mahony; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1883

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—ALLEGED ASSAULT BY AN EMERGENCY MAN AT NEWTON HYLAND, Co. DUBLIN — Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1884

THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—REPRESENTATION IN THIS HOUSE—Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1885

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVAL OF PLACARDS—Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1886

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA — REPORTED DEATH OF MR. STANLEY — Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1887

BRITISH GUIANA AND VENEZUELA—THE BOUNDARY QUESTION—Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1887

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS — Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1888

LICENSING LAWS—EXTENSION OF HOURS OF OPENING—KINGSTON-ON-THAMES—Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1888

PUBLIC BUSINESS — TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (SCOTLAND) BILL — Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) 1889

CENTRAL ASIA—THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION — THE FRONTIER OF AFGHANISTAN—Question, Mr. Legh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1889

EGYPT—MOUKHTAR PASHA—Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) .. 1890

WAR OFFICE (SMALL ARMS)—THE MAGAZINE RIFLE—Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) .. 1890

HER MAJESTY'S TITLES—"QUEEN AND EMPRESS"—Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1890

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—CASE OF MR. WILLIAMS—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1891

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—IRISH NATIONAL TEACHERS—Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) 1891

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT—ALLEGED PERSONATION IN NORTH HANTS—Questions, Mr. Conybeare; Anewers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1892

LAW OF LIMITED LIABILITY—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. J. M. Maclean; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1893

CITY CHARTER FOR BELFAST—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 1894

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—LAND OUT OF CULTIVATION—Questions, Mr. Beadel, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1895

PUBLIC BUSINESS—TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (SCOTLAND) BILL—Question, Mr. R. Preston Bruce; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1896

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—THE PROCLAMATIONS—Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Mac Neill, Mr. Sexton, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chance, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1896

THE NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD—FATAL ACCIDENT—Questions, Mr. Woodall; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1902

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Irish Land Law Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 308]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress* 21*st July*] [FIRST NIGHT] .. 1903

After long time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Trustee Savings Banks Bill [Bill 334]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) .. 2001

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast) Bill—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Colonel King-Harman*) 2002

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Johnston*:)—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed 2004

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

Juvenile Offenders Bill [Bill 245]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Secretary Matthews*) 2005

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Marriages (Attendance of Registrars) Bill [Bill 164]—

Moved, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Sir Richard Webster*) 2006

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn.*

[*July* 25.] *Page*

IRISH LAND LAW [REMUNERATION]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Jackson*) 2007

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—MATTER *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Moved, "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration to any barristers and valuers that may be appointed to act with and aid the County Court Judges, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' and 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' and of remuneration to certain officers for performing additional duties connected with the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland in pursuance of the said Act."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Open Spaces (Dublin) Bill [Bill 80]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" 2008

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Colonel King-Harman*:)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered* in Committee:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp) Bill [Bill 326]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. James Stuart*) 2011

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Tomlinson*:)—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 75, Noes 75.—(Div. List, No. 321.)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment Bill [*Lords*]—

Bill *considered* in Committee [*Progress 21st July*] 2015

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 317]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 2016

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Bankruptcy Courts (Ireland) Bill [Bill 124]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Sexton*) .. 2017

Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

[3.5.]

LORDS.

NEW PEERS.

MONDAY, JULY 11.

Claude, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, created Baron Bowes, of Streatham Castle in the county of Durham, and of Lunedale in the county of York.

Henry William Eaton, Esquire, created Baron Cheylesmore, of Cheylesmore in the city of Coventry and county of Warwick.

TUESDAY, JULY 12.

Cornwallis, Viscount Hawarden, in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireand, created Earl de Montalt, of Dundrum in the county of Tipperary.

William Henry Forester, Baron Londesborough, created Viscount Raincliffe, of Raincliffe in the North Riding of the county of York, and Earl of Londesborough in the said county.

George Edmund Milnes, Viscount Galway in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created Baron Monckton, of Serlby in the county of Nottingham.

Sir John St. Aubyn, Baronet, created Baron Saint Levan, of St. Michael's Mount in the county of Cornwall.

The Right Honourable George Sclater-Booth created Baron Basing, of Basing Byflete and of Hoddington, both in the county of Southampton.

FRIDAY, JULY 15.

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, G.C.B., created Baron Magheramorne, of Magheramorne in the county of Antrim.

MONDAY, JULY 25.

The Right Honourable John Gellibrand Hubbard, created Baron Addington, of Addington in the county of Buckingham.

SAT FIRST.

THURSDAY, JULY 7.

The Lord Saye and Sele, after the death of his father.

THURSDAY, JULY 14.

The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, after the death of his brother.

The Lord Gerard, after the death of his father.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

TUESDAY, JULY 12.

For *Lambeth Borough (Brixton Division)*, *v.* Ernest Baggallay, esquire, Steward o Bailiff of Her Majesty's Manor of Northstead in the county of York.

FRIDAY, JULY 15.

For *Gloucester (Forest of Dean Division)*, *v.* Thomas Blake, esquire, Steward o Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the county of Buckingham.

FRIDAY, JULY 22.

For *the City of London*, *v.* The Right Honble. John Gellibrand Hubbard, now Baron Addington, called up to the House of Peers.

MONDAY, JULY 25.

For *the Borough of Glasgow (Bridgeton Division)*, *v.* Edward Richard Russell, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, JULY 7.

North East Division of the County of Cork—William O'Brien, esquire.

MONDAY, JULY 11.

Borough of Paddington (North Division)—John Aird, esquire.

Borough of Coventry—William Henry Walter Ballantine, esquire.

TUESDAY, JULY 12.

Western or St. Ives Division, Cornwall—Thomas Bedford Bolitho, esquire.

THURSDAY, JULY 14.

Dublin University—Dodgson Hamilton Madden, Serjeant-at-Law in Ireland.

THURSDAY, JULY 21.

County of Hants (Northern or Basingstoke Division)—Arthur Frederick Jeffreys, esquire.

Borough of Lambeth (Brixton Division)—Honble. George Godolphin Osborne, commonly called Marquess of Carmarthen.

County of Middlesex (Hornsey Division)—Henry Charles Stephens, esquire.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

SECOND SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*,
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1887.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 7th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—SAT FIRST IN PARLIAMENT—The Lord Saye and Sele, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Lloyd's Signal Station * (158); Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment * (159).

Committee—Quarries (83-160).

Committee—Report—National Debt and Local Loans * (141).

Report—Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment * (144); Land Transfer (105-161); Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) (143-162).

Third Reading—Tithe Rent-Charge (115), and *passed*.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Committee*—Gas * (123).

Third Reading—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries * (136); Metropolis (Cable Street, Shadwell) * (134); Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) * (135); Local Government (No. 4) * (125); Tramways (No. 2) * (133), and *passed*.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE ROYAL REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT—THE VOLUNTEERS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD DORCHESTER, in rising to ask the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether Volunteer corps have been invited to parade at the Review to be held on the 9th instant, at Aldershot; and, if so, whether her Majesty's Government will recommend that the whole, or any part, of the cost of such attendance shall be defrayed by the country, or whether it shall be a personal charge on the commanding officers, and on those who attend under arms? said, that all who saw the Volunteers on Saturday last march past Her Majesty must have been surprised at the military aspect of the regiments, and at the manner in which they discharged their respective duties. He was informed that on the 19th of May an intimation was sent to the various Volunteer corps that their presence would be acceptable on the occasion of the Royal Review at Aldershot on Saturday next; but there had been great apprehension which had deterred several Volunteer corps from joining. There was a fear that each man would be put to an expense which many of them were not able to bear, and that they would not be conveyed free to the scene of action; he understood also that they were to be called upon to pay their own expenses for the day. Many of the men would have to start at 2 o'clock in the morning, and they would be lucky indeed if they got home within 24 hours. The plea of economy could hardly be received since the whole cost of the Volunteers attending from the Metropolis would not involve an outlay of more than £1,000. He thought it was for the credit of the country, and would be a testimonial to the work performed by the Volunteers, that some efforts should be made to secure that the men should not at any rate be out of pocket by attending a long and arduous day at Aldershot.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord HARRIS): In the encomiums passed by the noble Lord upon the Volunteers who marched past Her Majesty on Saturday last, I most cordially concur. With regard to the noble Lord's Question, a Memorandum was issued on April 22nd, inviting such Volunteer corps desirous of attending the Review to notify their wish to the Adjutant General. It stated that an allowance, as in the case of Windsor Review of 1881, of 2*s.* per head for corps whose head quarters were over 50 miles from Aldershot, and 1*s.* for those under 50 miles would be granted, and that all other expenses of attending the Review would have to be met by the corps. All the corps accepting under the provisions of that Memorandum have been authorized to attend.

TITHE RENT-CHARGE BILL.—(No. 115.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Lord Dorchester

LORD BRABOURNE, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

> "That no measure with regard to tithe rent-charge will be satisfactory to the country which does not provide for the re-valuation and re-adjustment of the said charge,"

said, he thanked the noble Marquess at the head of the Government for having postponed the third reading until a day when he (Lord Brabourne) could be present to enter one last word of protest and warning against the shape in which it was proposed to send the Bill down to the other House. He would say that the Bill dealt with a great subject in a manner which unsettled everything and settled nothing. The measure had been introduced by the Government, because there had been certain disturbances connected with the levying of tithe, and the remedy the Government proposed was to abolish the Law of Distraint. But no complaint had been made against the mode of enforcing the collection of the rent-charge; the complaint was against the impost itself, its amount, and its inequality; and the effect of the Bill would be in no way to lessen the grievance. There were two classes who paid tithes—those who occupied their own lands, and those who occupied lands which were not their own. With respect to the latter, the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) had said that they were made responsible for a debt which was not their own, but this was scarcely a correct statement, because they had deliberately taken the debt upon themselves in taking their farms and agreeing to the rent. At present the occupiers of land paid tithes, because they had contracted with their landlords to do so, and if the Bill passed the only result would be that landlords would stipulate that their tenants should pay the equivalent to the tithe rent-charge in their rent settlement, instead of paying the actual rent-charge to the owner as at present. His (Lord Brabourne's) noble and learned Friend (Lord Bramwell) had, on a previous occasion, twitted him with ignorance upon this point, saying that the tithe rent-charge was entirely an owner's question. His noble and learned Friend spoke without practical knowledge of the subject. It might seem that if an occupier paid £150 per annum, it mattered not to him whether he paid it all to one person, or £100 to one and £50 to the other. But an occupier knew perfectly well that if he paid the whole to one landlord, he had a much better chance of reduction than if he paid £100 to the landlord and £50 to the tithe owner. Moreover, on hiring a farm, the tenant knew that there was this £50 per annum charged upon it, for which the landlord was liable, and which was, therefore, the basis of the rent he must demand, and that rents would be lower in proportion if the charge did not exist. But the great difficulties of tithe collection did not arise from occupiers, for the very reason that the owners were ultimately responsible. It arose with the small owners, a very numerous class, whose number it was sought to increase by their legislation. His noble and learned Friend had committed himself to the declaration that this class would be under no greater liability than at present under this Bill. But they were to be brought to the County Court, disobedience to whose orders was punishable by 14 days' imprisonment, and it seemed to him strange to say that there was no increase of liability when a man was to be made liable to imprisonment to which he was not liable under the present law. Throughout the country the amount of tithe was very much complained of, its commutation having been attended with gross inequalities. Great complaint was also made of the manner in which the averages were taken, tail wheat and wheat of an inferior quality not being taken into account, and the average being thereby forced up beyond what was gain. Moreover, a great deal of land now laid down in grass paid arable tithe, which was considerably higher than pasture tithe. He (Lord Brabourne) wished again to enter his earnest and emphatic protest against the doctrine laid down by the noble Marquess, that tithe was the gross produce of the land, irrespective of cost. That doctrine was all very well in the earlier history of the world, when a virgin soil required little or no cost to cultivate; but now, when £5 or £6 per acre had to be expended in order to obtain the crop estimated at £7, the doctrine could not and would not be accepted by the people of this country. A Bill passed in the belief that such was the true doctrine with regard to tithe would not remove friction between the clergy and their parishioners, and would not add to the popularity of the clergy. Nor would this be the result of that part of the Bill which provided that if the orders of the County Court were not satisfied, the clergy might be put in possession of the farms of these small owners. This would never be endured. The question of tithe was of great importance to the small owners of land throughout the country, and ought to be dealt with in a large and comprehensive spirit. If this was not done, and, with regard to kindred questions also, the Government would find that they would have other Spalding elections, and they would not retain the confidence of the agricultural community now suffering under such grievous depression. In order to give their Lordships an opportunity of expressing their views upon the subject, he begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment *moved*,

To leave out all the words after ("that") and insert ("no measure with regard to tithe rentcharge will be satisfactory to the country which does not provide for the re-valuation and re-adjustment of the said charge").—(*The Lord Brabourne.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, that there was nothing which had been said by his noble Friend which differed from what their Lordships had heard upon several previous occasions. Therefore, he was not going to take up the time of the House by going over the arguments again. The Bill undoubtedly did not effect to deal with the larger parts of the question, those of re-valuation and of re-adjustment, but it was a simple effort to alter the machinery by which the tithes were now collected, and it had been introduced because it was believed that hardships to the occupier had occurred in practice; that the machinery occasionally operated with harshness, and tended to mislead the occupier as to the real incidence and burden of the tax, which was indeed imposed upon the land—though as between the owner and occupier it had by private agreement been paid by the latter. The Government, indeed, believed that the tithe was essentially in the nature of a tax upon land, and as such ought to fall upon the landowner, and not upon the occupier. They also believed that if the effect of the Act of 1836, in throwing the payment of the tax upon the occupier, were removed much misapprehension of the nature and incidence of the tax, which was the source of some popular agitation, would disappear. There was, therefore, ground for asking their Lordships to deal with this small part of the subject, rather than to enter upon the extensive field on which his noble Friend had invited them to enter. He would earnestly impress upon the House the consideration that whatever loss this Bill inflicted on the landowners, or on the owners of tithes, it could not inflict any hardship upon the occupiers. It certainly changed the situation for the owner; but as far as it changed it in respect of the occupier, it changed it for his advantage, for, as had been said by his noble Friend (Lord Brabourne), it would be better for the occupier to pay £150 a-year to one man, the landowner, than to pay £100 to the landowner and £50 to the titheowner. In dealing with one man instead of two, he would be in a far better position. In his opinion, it was as dangerous to make the allegation that the owners objected to the obligation of tithes, and that therefore they ought to be free from that obligation, as to make the suggestion that mortgages ought to be put an end to, because the mortgagees did not wish to discharge their legal obligations in respect to them, and were sufficient in number to make the matter a political question. His noble Friend had protested against the doctrine that tithe had to be paid without references to the cost incurred in producing it. Well, in answer to that, all he (the Marquess of Salisbury) could say was, that he was sorry for it, but the practice now followed was that which had prevailed for 1,000 years, and that the Act of 1836 did not in any way interfere with it. The Act of 1836 was simply a contrivance for the payment of a charge which, before that time, had always been of a varying and indefinite character, and putting it in a definite form; but it made no change in the right of titheowners to the payment of one-tenth of the gross profits, and they might just as well take the nine-tenths from the landlord and give it to the titheowner as to take the one-tenth from the titheowner and give it to the landlord. The rights of the landowner and of the titheowner might come under consideration at some future period, but their Lordships might depend upon it that any scheme of reform which involved the plundering of the titheowner would not, in the long run, be of any advantage to the landowner. Such considerations as his noble Friend had urged were not usually very powerful in that House, and he was sure that their Lordships would not be induced by such considerations as to the wider question to reject the modest reform which Her Majesty's Government now submitted to the House.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, though not opposed to the principle of the Bill, he most decidedly demurred to the rather stringent doctrines which the noble Marquess had just laid down on the subject. On his side of the House they were far from objecting to the Bill, so far as it went; but he objected to the doctrine as to the basis upon which the tithe rent-charge rested. No doubt, there was no more reason why they should take away the property of the titheowner than of the landowner; but, at the same time, it must be borne in mind that the conditions upon which the tithe rested were of comparatively recent date, and they must well consider what was going on around them. There could be a re-examination without plundering anyone. But he thought it was essential for the interests of all, and especially of the Church, that their rights of property should be enforced in such a manner as to secure general acquiescence. He was quite sure that they would not get out of these difficulties without a full examination of the tithe rent-charge in all its bearings, and making some re-adjustment of it. He did not, however, see why this Bill should not be passed, because there were other matters which must be considered thereafter; and as he agreed with the noble Marquess that it was not necessary to wait for any general re-adjustment of the law before they passed it, he should give it his general support.

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?"

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

On the Motion of The Earl of POWIS, the following Amendments made:—In

Clause 8, page 7, line 27, at end of clause insert—

"Provided that any redemption money paid in respect of tithe rentcharge—

"(*a.*) If payable to any professor in the University of Oxford or Cambridge, may, at the option of the professor, be paid and applied in manner provided with respect to the purchase money of land sold under the Universities and College Estates Act, 1858; and

"(*b.*) If payable to a charity, may, at the option of the trustees or other persons administering the charity, be paid to the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales;"

in Clause 16, page 13, line 28, at end of clause insert—

"This Act shall apply, in the case of tithe rentcharge payable to any churchwardens, parish clerk, or other parish officer, in like manner as if such churchwardens, parish clerk, or other parish officer were an ecclesiastical corporation."

On the Motion of The Lord Bishop of LONDON, the following Amendments made:—In Clause 9, page 8, line 7, after ("sums") insert ("charged on the fund and all expenses"); line 8, leave out ("section") and insert ("Act"); line 30, after ("thereupon") insert—

("And also upon the Land Commissioners in case of disagreement determining the amount of the annuity");

and in page 9, line 15, leave out from ("Act") to end of section.

On the Motion of The Marquess of SALISBURY, the following Amendments made:—In Clause 3, page 2, line 40, leave out ("or") and insert ("and"); Clause 8, page 6, line 41, leave out from ("section") to the end of line 42; page 7, line 2, leave out ("so paid") and insert ("paid as hereinafter mentioned"); after Amendment proposed by the Earl of Powis at Clause 8, page 8, line 6, insert—

("And (*c.*) if payable to any trustees of a settlement or tenant for life within the meaning of the Settled Land Act, 1882, may be paid to the trustees of the settlement and invested in like manner as if it were capital money arising under that Act");

Clause 11, page 10, line 22, after ("pay") insert ("to the person redeeming the tithe rentcharge"); line 24, after ("rentcharge") insert—

("Payable to any ecclesiastical corporation aggregate or sole, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners");

Clause 12, page 11, at end of clause insert as a New Sub-section—

"Where tithe rentcharge redeemed under this Act is subject to a mortgage, or to any charge annual or capital, the amount paid, whether as capital or by way of annuity for the redemption of such tithe rentcharge, shall be subject to the same mortgage or charge;"

Clause 15, page 13, line 13, at end, insert as a New Sub-section—

"Where on any redemption of tithe rentcharge under this Act any person is treated by the Land Commissioners or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as owner of any lands, and liable to pay any sum for the redemption, whether such sum is a capital sum or an annuity, and is the whole or part of the amount payable for such redemption, and such person is owner of any portion of the lands charged with the tithe rentcharge redeemed, such person shall be liable to pay the sum notwithstanding that he is not the owner of the whole of the lands in respect of which the same is payable, but he shall be entitled to recover from the owner of the rest of such lands a proper proportion of the sum paid by him;"

Second Schedule, page 18, line 18, at end of line insert—

"9 & 10 Vict. c. 73.

"An Act further to amend the Acts for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales.

"Section one and section five, so far as they relate to tithe rentcharge, to which this Act applies payable to an ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners;"

line 31, after ("thirty") insert—

"And sections thirty-one and thirty-two, so far as they relate to any tithe rentcharge to which this Act applies payable to an ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners");

line 31, at end insert—

"41 & 42 Vict. c. 42.

"An Act to amend and further extend the Acts for the commutation of tithes in England and Wales.

"The following portions, so far as they relate to tithe rentcharge to which this Act applies, that is to say—

"In section one the words 'for a sum equal to twenty-five times the amount thereof,' and section four, and so much of sections three and five as relates to tithe rentcharge payable to an ecclesiastical corporation, sole or aggregate, or to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners;"

after Clause 7 insert—

(Provision in case of two rentcharges on the same land.)

"Where by reason of a tithe rentcharge in respect of the great tithes being separate from a tithe rentcharge in respect of the small tithes, or from any other cause, two tithe rentcharges are charged on the same lands, and the amount of any such tithe rentcharges for any twelve months exceeds the profit of the lands for those twelve months within the meaning of this Act, the said profit shall be divided between the persons entitled to such tithe rentcharges in proportion to the amount thereof fixed by the apportionment or any altered apportionment, and in any proceedings for the recovery of either of such tithe rentcharges, the court shall make such orders as may appear to the court necessary for giving effect to this enactment."

Then the Queen's consent and the Duke of Cornwall's consent signified by The Marquess of SALISBURY; and Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

QUARRIES BILL.—(No. 83.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

COMMITTEE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Amendment to the Motion for the House to be put into Committee read.

Debate *resumed* accordingly.

LORD SUDELEY said, that when this Bill was before the House on the last occasion he was afraid it was not sufficiently understood that this Bill had been fully considered by the other House, and as the Bill was passing through the other House, a large number of Amendments had been introduced by the Home Office, with a view to meet the objections which had been made against it. He was now able to state that most of the objections which had been raised during the previous debate had, he believed, been met, and that two small Amendments had been agreed to between the Lord Chancellor and the Promoters of the Bill, which, he thought, satisfied the objections raised by the noble and learned Lord on the last occasion. He trusted they would fulfil the desired purpose in a satisfactory manner, and that their Lordships would now consent to go into Committee.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, although the whole of his objections had not been fully met by the Amendments which had been made, yet he would not any further oppose the Motion for going into Committee, though it was with some misgiving that he assented; because he believed the Bill went very much further and had a much wider application than the necessity of the case demanded. He understood that there were a great many dangerous quarries in and about the Forest of Dean, and it was to meet such a state of things that the Bill was designed. But the width of the language of the Bill, as amended, appeared to him to be of a somewhat serious character. Many of their Lordships were acquainted with the slate quarries of Wales, and if the Bill were passed in its present shape the owners of those quarries would be obliged to withdraw the permission, now freely given to visitors, to see the picturesque parts of the mountains, for it was proposed in the Bill that places not now considered dangerous must be "reasonably fenced," whatever that might mean. The authors of the Bill could have hardly any idea of the extent to which the Bill went.

On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?"

Resolved in the *affirmative.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 and 2 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Fencing of quarries).

Amendment *moved*, in page 1, line 11, after ("unenclosed land") to leave out ("or is").—(*The Earl Brownlow.*)

LORD BRAMWELL said, that if the Bill simply provided that a pit, or quarry, or opening, which was so near the highway that it constituted a danger should be fenced, he should have no objection. But what he understood it to propose was, that a pit, or quarry, or opening, should be fenced although it was such a distance from the highway that a person must be a wilful trespasser if he came to any harm. This was a most unreasonable provision, which would put owners of pits and quarries to the expense of erecting thousands of miles of fencing, although no earthly injury could occur to any person who did not go trespassing.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he would remind their Lordships that Parliament had already passed legislation of this description. By the 41st section of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, it was made an offence not to fence a disused coal pit, even though the pit might be on private land. That was a much stronger measure than the one now before their

Lordships, which had been dictated by considerations similar to those connected with the section of the Mines Regulation Act to which he had referred. Beside that, the question of human life was not to be lightly dealt with. The public were perfectly powerless in this matter, for they could not be expected to have dangerous quarries fenced up. When persons passed along a highway, if there was an open quarry in a dangerous proximity, it was but right that the public should have a short and simple remedy against the owner. That was all he contended for.

LORD THRING said, the Bill was a good Bill, and a well drawn Bill. It was monstrous that persons should be allowed to lay traps for their neighbours by leaving their quarries unfenced.

LORD HALSBURY said, that the clause, as it was worded, would include chalk cliffs, and adjoining proprietors might be required under its provisions to fence the Coast of Kent. Such a provision, therefore, might be a very serious matter.

LORD SUDELEY said, that whilst he could not complain of the criticisms of the noble and learned Lord, he must point out that the position was somewhat peculiar, and that not only had the Bill received the support of several Members of Her Majesty's Government, amongst others, a letter had been written on behalf of the noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cross) to say that he would be glad to assist in passing the Bill through that House. He hoped his noble Friend would now help to give him the warm support he had promised.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Further Amendment made in page 1, line 13, by substituting the word ("reasonably") for the word ("securely").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Interpretation).

On the Motion of The Marquess of SALISBURY, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, line 20, add the words ("but not any natural opening").

LORD BRAMWELL said, he wanted to know what would happen if a quarry got filled with water, and became a pond? It was quite as likely that a harmless trespasser would get into a pond as into a quarry.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clause *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 160.)

LAND TRANSFER BILL.—(No. 108.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

REPORT.

Order of the Day for receiving the Report of Amendments read.

Moved, "That the Report be now received."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

LORD DENMAN said, he rose to move—according to Notice—that the Report be received that day six months. The Bill before their Lordships included the Bill for the succession to real property, brought in from "another place" several years ago, but never revived till now. He believed that the compulsory division of land on intestacy would do more harm than good. He, in the year 1835, had met a family in France, consisting of five, and one of them said—"On our parents' death, I must by law have an equal share of their property." He had inquired for them lately, and had only just heard that three of them survived, and that a mill possessed by the parents had been sold, and was now desolate. He was sure that one of them could have carried it on. He would go and inquire into the facts. He did not think their Lordships wished to turn executors into heirs, with a sort of gavelkind to control them. His lamented Predecessor had written—in 1832, in a letter to Mr. Mervale—that by disturbing the largest properties, the smallest properties would be endangered, and an agrarian law, causing change every month, week, or day, would be introduced. He found that Lord Tennyson's poem, "Love thou thy Land!" had been recited at the Eton speeches, on 4th June. He had copied it out from memory, and could recite it to their Lordships, if they should wish it. He was sure if their Lordships acted on the advice contained in that poem that they would never err in legislation. He wished the Report could be delayed for three months; and he would give their Lordships the result of his inquiries. He tried to find a Teller, but failed.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out ("now,") and add at the end of the Motion ("this day three months").—(*The Lord Denman.*)

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury): Will the noble Lord name a co-Teller?

Lord DENMAN: My Lords, I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Report of Amendments *received* accordingly.

Clause 2 (Registration required to carry legal estate).

Lord HERSCHELL said, he moved to leave out words rendering the trouble and expense of a second registration after purchase unnecessary. As the Bill was drawn, it rendered two registrations necessary after the law became compulsory. He apprehended that that condition would in many cases prevent sales, and he failed to see that anything more could be necessary than to compel registration on the sale.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 7, to leave out from ("specified") to the second ("the") in line 10.—(*The Lord Herschell.*)

Lord HALSBURY said, he did not know that he had anything to add to what he had already said on this point. The matter was in their Lordships' hands, and they had already decided against the proposal by a majority of 40 to 16. After carefully considering the question, he could not see any objection to that provision of the Bill as to complete registration. No additional burden was thrown on the owner of the land, and compliance with the Bill would simplify the present cumbrous system. The object of the measure was to compel registration in every way possible, and, consequently, it was provided that if a person only sold a part, he should register the whole.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, he was convinced that so far as this clause had operation it might inflict considerable hardship. If a landowner did not register the whole of his property at the time he disposed of a piece, that would necessitate double registration, double expense, and double trouble. It was perfectly fair that when the land changed hands the registration should be compulsory; but he did think that they should be very careful not to put upon men who had no idea of disposing of their property the expense of registration merely for the sake of posterity.

On Question "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill?"

Their Lordships *divided:*—Contents 73; Not-Contents 67; Majority 6.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 39 (Succession to real estate on intestacy).

The Earl of FEVERSHAM said, he would move to omit the clause, which provided that on the death of any person intestate as to any real estate, that real estate should be divisible among the same persons as if it were personal estate, subject to certain provisoes giving right of survivorship to husbands and wives in each other's real estate. In Committee on this Bill he ventured to make some observations in opposition to this clause, and, considering the nature of the clause and the important Constitutional principle involved in it, he was not without some hope that the Government might have seen their way to withdraw it. A sense of duty, therefore, compelled him to explain, as shortly as he could, the reasons he had for moving the omission of it. This proposal was open to two very grave objections. The first was, that so far from having a beneficial effect upon the various classes affected by it, it would do no good but harm; the second was the great and important change it made upon the system of the devolution of landed estate, which brought it out of harmony and made it inconsistent with the Constitution. Now, with regard to the first objection, there had not been any demand for this measure from any body of the landed classes. The usual mode by which they gauged public opinion had not shown itself. Where were the Petitions in support of it; and was it right that they should make such a change in the law, unless they were satisfied that the landed interest was in favour of it? This proposal would affect three classes. The large landed proprietors, no doubt, would not, as long as the Laws of Settlement and Entail were maintained, be affected to the same extent; but no provision with regard to them had been made to meet the case of either lunatics or minors. The result would be, that if a lunatic or minor died who was last in entail, the property would be divided in accordance with this clause. Was it their Lordships' wish that honours, titles, and Peerages should be inherited, and all the property which had descended from generation to generation should be cut up and divided and subdivided? Was such a proposal likely to be to the advantage of the landed interest of this country, or conduce to the honour and dignity of their Lordships' House? Would it be in accordance with the spirit of our mixed Constitution? Would it be of any practical benefit to anybody? The next class that this clause would affect disadvantageously was the small landed proprietor—the yeoman of the country. Take a proprietor living on his own farm and cultivating it. He and his family had inherited it for generations, he had been content to do without the assistance of a lawyer, and he had not made a will. This Bill passed, he died, and the property was cut up and divided into several portions. But there was only one house, there was only one homestead; therefore, unless the farm was worked as a whole, the value of the property would be seriously depreciated. The result would be that it would be sold to some larger proprietor, probably, and this ancient yeoman family, the backbone of the country, was obliterated. Or, if the attempt was made to cultivate the several portions by different persons, the inconvenience would be great, and the cause of agriculture, already only too suffering, would be further injured. Coming to the third class of proprietors, the small freeholders of the country, possessors of a cottage and garden, or in some cases of one or more acres of land, these were a class of people who did not make wills as a rule; at all events, they had been satisfied with the law which did not require it. They preferred not to go to the expense of legal advice, and in their case they died intestate not unfrequently, and how was their property to be divided? It could not be divided. The house and the garden were scarcely large enough, and if they cut up their cow-keeping they depreciated their property, and it came into the market and was bought up. And, again, this small freeholder's property, just as the landowner's or yeoman's was broken up. Was this desirable, was this politic, was this prudent? They were the backbone of the country. They were classes of men who were, in no Party sense, the true Conservative element of the Constitution, who would rally to their standard in time of war, who would be the foremost to maintain law and order in time of peace. The other great objection to this proposal was, that it would make the Law of Succession to real property out of harmony with the Constitutional system of this country. He was supported in that view by very high authorities both in that and the other House of Parliament. He understood the noble Marquess the Prime Minister to say the other night that this proposal had been opposed by the Party of which he was the head as long as it formed a Party question, but that was not now the case. But he (the Earl of Feversham) would refer his noble Friend to the opinions of those sitting on both sides of the House who supported the view he took. He found that the late Lord Brougham, who had introduced a Bill upon the transfer of real estate, said—

"Some persons were desirous of altering the laws relating to land by attacking the law of primogeniture; but he thought that law was sound in principle, and any alteration of it would inflict a fatal blow upon the British Constitution. That law was well suited both to give proprietors a power of dealing with their property and to support the aristocratic branch of our mixed Constitution by a power of entailing within certain not very large limits. He was not apt to be an alarmist, but holding our Constitution to be essentially a mixed one, whatever anyone might think of the possibility of getting a better system or purer Constitution, he was perfectly certain that the system, as it now stood, had worked well, and did still work well, to secure at once the liberties of the people and the stability of our institutions. Any interference with the law of primogeniture would inflict an injury on our mixed Constitution, which those who aided or permitted such an attempt would probably be the first to repent of having either helped or suffered."

Sir George Cornewall Lewis said in the debate in the House of Commons in 1859—

"It had been argued on both sides of the question as if this were a narrow and limited Bill, as if it did not affect the whole mass of real property; but would in its operations be only confined to a small portion of that class of proprietors. As he understood the Bill, its effect would be to assimilate the law of descent of real property to that of personal property. The effect would be to extinguish that class of persons who were denominated as heirs. There would be no such thing as inheritance. No person hereafter would be heir to landed property. That he apprehended would clearly be the effect of the Bill. If this Bill became law the natural feeling would be entirely inverted; a person who made a marriage settlement according to the present system of marriage settlements would be robbing the younger children of the rights which the common law would give them. The House had to consider what would be not only the economical but the political effects in this country of distributing real property equally among all the children."

On the same occasion Lord Palmerston said he objected to the Bill on every possible ground, declaring it to be at variance with the habits, customs, and feelings of the people of this country and incompatible with the maintenance of a Constitutional Monarchy. In the debate in 1866, Lord Selborne, then Attorney General, said—

"If the policy of the law be wrong, injustice may be inflicted as much in cases of wills and family settlements as in the case of omission through accident to make a will. But really the question we have to consider is one of public policy, and in questions of public policy the burden of proof is on those who propose to alter a particular institution of the country. But I have no objection to examine the state of the law, and to contend that the law of primogeniture is not inexpedient. It is not arbitrary, because the greatest freedom of action over property is allowed. I cannot help thinking that it would not be desirable that there should be a general system of division of estates. It seems to me that considerable benefits have always arisen and do arise in this country from keeping landed property together. By means of this system the duties of property are handed down and are better performed; there is more family and hereditary interest felt in the welfare of labourers and tenants, and improvements in land are made on a larger prospect, with a greater interest in their permanence. The class composed of the owners of landed property stand between the Crown and the lower orders, supporting the Throne and the higher institutions of the country, and at the same time maintaining excellent relations with those below them. The existing gradations of society in this country, including the hereditary peerage, are in harmony with this state of the law, and the maintenance of that graduated scale of society has been in times past of essential importance to public liberty."

He thought that he might say he was fortified in the course he ventured to take, and, in the opinions he had expressed, by very high and distinguished authority. He might be told that circumstances had changed since those opinions were uttered. How had they changed? We had admitted, no doubt, the working classes to the franchise, and had given them a large share in political power; but was that any reason why we were not to consider the position and interests of other classes? He maintained, notwithstanding what they had done, that this Constitution of ours was still a mixed Constitution, and that it would be an evil day for the country when the upper and middle classes lost their share of political power, and were unable to exercise their just and legitimate influence in the country. It was because he felt that this clause did, in principle and in operation, undermine the Constitutional system of this country—that limited and liberal Constitution which was the glory of England and the envy of the world—that he begged to move that the clause be omitted from the Bill.

Lord ABINGER, in seconding the Motion, said, he thought that the Bill had been misnamed. Instead of being called a Land Transfer Bill, it should have been entitled a Bill for the destruction of Primogeniture and other Privileges. The subject of land transfer was of sufficient importance to be dealt with in a separate Bill; and the noble and learned Lord Chancellor would be acting wisely, at that period of the Session, if he abandoned the whole of the fourth part of the Bill as not being germane to the measure. If it were intended to abolish the principle of primogeniture, it should be done not by a technical clause in a so-called Land Transfer Bill, but by a measure introduced for the express purpose of abolishing the existing system. Should the noble and learned Lord decide on not adopting that course, he (the Earl of Feversham) was satisfied that it would meet with considerable opposition in the other House of Parliament. The whole law relating to wills also required modification; and he could not give a better example of the difficulties which those who attempted to make their own wills had to encounter than what had occurred to himself. One night, after the death of his father, he suddenly woke up at 3 o'clock in the morning, and remembered that he had not made his will, and he thereupon got out of bed and drew up a will. The following morning he took the will to a lawyer, and asked whether it was properly drawn. The lawyer said that it would not effect its object at all. That was the way some people thought they were effecting a particular object, and they died in the odour of sanctity, and found that their object was not accomplished. There could be no doubt that their Lordships held a very high position in the country, and why? Not because they were the descendants of persons who might have been distinguished, but because, socially, they held such a position that everyone in the land knew they could neither be intimidated nor corrupted. Their Lordships should be very careful how they acted, and should not interfere with laws which had lasted so many years, and had worked so well for the country generally. He hoped his noble Friend (the Earl of Feversham) would press his Amendment to a Division.

Moved, in page 19, line 29, to omit Clause 39.—(*The Earl of Feversham.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that if he were to pass a criticism on the speeches of his two noble Friends, it would only be to say that they were pitched in too high a key, and dealt with questions not in the least degree affected by the measure before the House. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) entirely agreed with the general principles laid down by his noble Friend (the Earl of Feversham), and he should be exceedingly sorry to see the practice of devolving the land on the eldest son discontinued, believing, as he did, that any contrary practice would have an injurious effect upon society. He thought, however, that it was most likely to continue. But the question was, How would this Bill bring upon us the dangers of which his noble Friends were afraid? There was one expression which dropped from his noble Friend who moved the omission of the clause, which threw a light upon the difference between his noble Friend and himself. His noble Friend said it was a great hardship for a man to make a will. Now he (the Marquess of Salisbury) took a different view.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, that the noble Marquess had quite misunderstood him.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that his opinion was very strong that it was the duty of everyone to make a will, and that those who did not deserved very little, or absolutely no consideration, at our hands. He could not agree with his noble Friend who had seconded the Amendment (Lord Abinger), that it was at all difficult to make a will. If a man tried to be a lawyer, and made use of legal expressions, he was likely to get into trouble; but if he expressed himself plainly, and as if he were speaking to a friend, he was not likely to experience any difficulty. Intestates very generally belonged to a comparatively poor class, and were not likely, as was the case with his noble Friend, to have property in Scotland and to live in London. His noble Friend had spoken of the difficulty he found in making the Law of Entail applicable to his own son. No doubt, there were great difficulties in the Law of Entail, and one of the objections to it was that the devolution might take effect in a different manner from what was intended. At the time when Lord Brougham deprecated any interference with intestates, that class was numerous, because the art of writing was then comparatively rare. Though there were a great many people who could write, there were a great many also who could not. But since then education had made great progress, and there were few now who would find any difficulty in making their wills from inability to write. The number of persons who were innocent intestates — he meant intestates not through their own fault—was becoming very small. The law did not make for them, at present, the kind of will which most people would be anxious to make; because very few would wish to leave the whole of their property to one son. There was that balance to be established. He quite admitted that the great authorities quoted by his noble Friend were right when they said that the inconveniences which would be produced by altering the law would be so great that the law ought not to be altered. But, with the progress of time and the increase of culture, the force of that argument vanished, and we had now arrived at a period when it was no longer necessary to have the same consideration for innocent or involuntary intestacy.

There was nothing to induce us to continue a provision which occasionally caused inconvenience of a serious kind. He was unable to treat this matter as one of the great importance which his noble Friends attached to it. He did not think what was now proposed would affect the devolution of property in this country in the slightest degree. His noble Friend (The Earl of Feversham) talked of the presumption and sanction of the law influencing the testator, so that he would no longer settle his land upon his eldest son. He thought his noble Friend exaggerated very much the effect of a Parliamentary sanction. He did not know whether their Lordships had noticed the effect of the laws abolishing dower. That was one of the most remarkable instances in the history of the English law of the powerlessness of the law in affecting the feelings and action of the people. For the last three centuries he believed that the instances were exceedingly rare in which the presumption of the law in that respect had been allowed to operate. That law lay like a derelict upon the waters. Men always preferred some other provision for the wife than the law made for her. So all that was proposed by the Bill before the House was, that if men would not make wills with all the facilities afforded them, the law would make that disposition of their property which was most convenient to its machinery. Further, it was by no means irrelevant to introduce this provision in a Land Transfer Bill. The Bill would be imperfect and incomplete without it. He believed that in itself this was a matter of small importance, and that it would not produce the dispersion of large estates, or the abandonment of the practice of primogeniture. He did not believe that there was any danger that these things would happen. But still at the same time it was not desirable to make this change merely for a theoretical reason. Where, however, great practical convenience was presented, and it appeared to be a very important part in facilitating land transfer, it would be unfortunate if his noble Friend persuaded the House to reject the clause. He could not help saying, in conclusion, that he greatly doubted, if the noble Earl and his Friends succeeded, whether they could cling to their victory for any considerable number of years. That was a consideration on which he would not dwell; but they must watch the current of opinion outside. He did not say that they should slavishly bend to it; but they ought not to take an accidental opportunity of resisting it or delaying it, unless they were well satisfied that they could carry out that resistance to the end. He believed that the clause would be useful for the purpose of facilitating the operation of the Bill, and he should vote for it.

Earl BEAUCHAMP said, that something might have been said for this clause if it had been simply a clause of pains and penalties against those who had failed to make their wills. The clause, however, went further, and contained a harsh and cruel provision for the division of estates in cases where no provision could have been made to meet the difficulties in a way which seemed to be attended with considerable danger. He believed that some advantage might, perhaps, be derived from substituting tenancy in fee simple for tenancy in tail, provided that the interests of infants and lunatics were safeguarded.

Lord HALSBURY said, that he had an Amendment on the Paper which, he thought, would meet the objection of the noble Earl. The words which he proposed to insert would make the section read thus—

> "This section shall not apply to any real estate of a person being an infant or a lunatic at the passing of this Act, and thenceforward until his death, or being an infant at the passing of this Act and becoming before the age of twenty-one years and remaining thenceforward until his death a lunatic, if the infant or lunatic either was seized in fee simple in possession of the real estate at the passing of this Act, or is or becomes entitled to the real estate under a settlement executed before the passing of this Act."

The noble Earl would see that, under this Amendment, all settlements executed before the passing of the Act were precluded; and anyone, after the passing of the Act, might make provision for the contingencies of lunacy and minority.

Earl BEAUCHAMP said, that what he wanted to secure was, that the provision which the noble and learned Lord admitted to be just in the case of infants and lunatics succeeding under settlements existing at the time of the passing of the Act should be extended to those succeeding under settlements after the Act was passed.

On Question, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill?"

Their Lordships *divided* :—Contents 66; Not-Contents 55: Majority 11.

CONTENTS.

Halsbury, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)
Cranbrook, V. (*L. President.*)

Bedford, D.
Buckingham and Chandos, D.

Hertford, M.
Salisbury, M.

Lathom, E. (*L. Chamberlain.*)
Brownlow, E.
Buckinghamshire, E.
Camperdown, E.
Fortescue, E.
Jersey, E.
Kimberley, E.
Mar, E.
Minto, E.
Nelson, E.
Onslow, E.
Spencer, E.
Stanhope, E.
Strafford, E.
Strathmore and Kinghorn, E.

Cross, V.
Hereford, V.
Oxenbridge, V.
Powerscourt, V.

Balfour of Burley, L.
Belper, L.
Boston, L.
Brabourne, L.
Bramwell, L.
Braye, L.
Burton, L.
Castletown, L.
Colville of Culross, L.
Dormer, L.
Elphinstone, L.
FitzGerald, L.
Hamilton of Dalzell, L.
Harris, L.
Herschell, L.
Hopetoun, L. (*E. Hopetoun.*) [*Teller.*]
Hothfield, L.
Kensington, L.
Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*) [*Teller.*]
Lawrence, L.
Leigh, L.
Manners, L.
Monk-Bretton, L.
Monteagle of Brandon, L.
Northington, L, (*L. Henley.*)
Poltimore, L.
Rowton, L.
Sandhurst, L.
Saye and Sele, L.
Shute, L. (*V. Barrington.*)
Sinclair, L.
Somerton, L. (*E. Normanton.*)
Sudeley, L.
Thring, L.
Tweedmouth, L.
Vernon, L.
Watson, L.
Wenlock, L.
Wigan, L. (*E. Crawford and Balcarres.*)
Zouche of Haryngworth, L.

NOT-CONTENTS.

Grafton, D.
Manchester, D.

Abercorn, M. (*D. Abercorn.*)
Bristol, M.
Exeter, M.

Annesley, E.
Bandon, E.
Beauchamp, E.
Caledon, E.
Dartrey, E.
Denbigh, E.
Feversham, E,
Harewood, E.
Ilchester, E.
Kilmorey, E. [*Teller.*]
Manvers, E.
Mar and Kellie, E.
Milltown, E.
Powis, E.
Romney, E.
Rosse, E.

Gough, V.
Halifax, V.
Hood, V.

Abinger, L. [*Teller.*]
Ardilaun, L.
Beaumont, L.
Blantyre, L.
Brodrick, L. (*V. Midleton.*)
Brougham and Vaux, L.
Carysfort, L. (*E. Carysfort.*)
Chelmsford, L.
Clanwilliam, L. (*E. Clanwilliam.*)
Clements, L. (*E. Leitrim.*)
Colchester, L.
Cottesloe, L.
Digby, L.
Egerton, L.
Fermanagh, L. (*E. Erne.*)
Herries, L.
Hylton, L.
Kenlis, L. (*M. Headfort.*)
Lamington, L.
Lingen, L.
Macnaghten, L.
Midleton, L.
North, L.
O'Neill, L.
Raglan, L.
Stewart of Garlies, L. (*E. Galloway.*)
Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Templemore, L.
Ventry, L.
Wemyss, L. (*E. Wemyss.*)
Wynford, L.

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Lord MONTEAGLE of BRANDON, in proposing, as an Amendment, to insert the following clause, after Clause 47:—

"Part IV. of this Act, intituled Amendments of the law of real property, shall extend to Ireland.

"In the application of the said part of this Act to Ireland, the Act of the Session of the fourth and fifth years of the Reign of King William IV., cap. 92, intituled, 'an Act for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple forms of Assurance in Ireland,' shall be substituted for the Act for the Abolition of Fines and Recoveries in England, therein referred to,"

said, that the insertion of the clause was necessary to correct the grievances and hardships attending ownerships that were created under the Land Purchase Act.

Moved, after Clause 47, page 23, to insert the following Clause:—

(Application to Ireland.)

"Part IV. of this Act, intituled Amendments of the Law of Real Property, shall extend to Ireland.

"In the application of the said part of this Act to Ireland, the Act of the Session of the fourth and fifth years of the Reign of King William the Fourth, chapter ninety-two, intituled, 'An Act for the abolition of Fines and Recoveries, and for the substitution of more simple forms of Assurance in Ireland,' shall be substituted for the Act for the abolition of Fines and Recoveries in England, therein referred to."—(*The Lord Monteagle of Brandon.*)

Lord HALSBURY said, he felt a little delicacy and difficulty in introducing into the Bill anything which might create additional Obstruction elsewhere. If, in "another place," it should be desired to extend the Bill to Ireland, he would make no objection.

LORD MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON said, he was satisfied with the assurance of the noble and learned Lord, and would withdraw the clause with a view to raising the question in "another place."

Clause (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Further Amendments made.

Bill to be read 3ª on *Monday* next; and to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 161.)

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACTS (IRELAND) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

(*The Earl of Erne.*)

(NO. 143.) REPORT.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

EARL SPENCER, in briefly referring to the circumstances surrounding the introduction of the Bill, said, that originally it was connected with the main drainage scheme for Belfast, when great opposition was offered; because it was proposed, at the same time, to extend the municipal franchise. Ultimately it was agreed to separate the question of the franchise from that of drainage, and the present Bill had been introduced, which, as it now stood, would come into operation in November, 1888. It was, of course, desirable that the large drainage scheme which had been sanctioned should be carried out, if it were possible, by a municipal council representing the enlarged municipal electorate; but it had been represented that that was impossible, and that the Bill could not possibly come into operation before next year. He had, however, caused inquiries to be made, which satisfied him that the thing was practicable, and that the Bill could be put into operation this year; and he would therefore move an Amendment, providing that the Act should take effect immediately after its being passed, so as to be effective next November.

Moved, to leave out from ("borough") in page 1, line 8, to the end of the Clause.—(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THE EARL OF ERNE said, he was reluctant to oppose the Amendment of the noble Earl, because he himself concurred with the object which had prompted its proposal—namely, that those invested with the municipal franchise should enjoy the privilege at the earliest possible moment. It was, however, not so much a question of what was desirable as what was practicable, and his opinion, which had been derived from the best possible sources, was that it would be quite impossible that such a mass of voters could be brought in within the short period indicated by the noble Earl in his Amendment.

LORD FITZGERALD supported the Amendment.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 18; Not-Contents 9: Majority 9.

Amendment *agreed to.*

LORD FITZGERALD said, he should like to throw out as a suggestion to the noble Earl that at least at the first election under the Bill the revising barrister should be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant.

THE EARL OF ERNE, in reply, said, that those for whom he was acting in the conduct of this measure had pointed out that as the ratepayers had to pay the revising barrister, it was only right that they should have a voice in his selection.

LORD FITZGERALD asked, whether the noble Earl would consider the matter before the next stage was taken?

THE EARL OF ERNE said he would.

A further Amendment *moved;* objected to; and (by leave of the House) *withdrawn;* further Amendments made; Bill to be read 3ª *To-morrow,* and to be *printed* as amended. (No. 162.)

THE REVIEW OF 2ND OF JULY—THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY AND THE ROYAL NAVAL VOLUNTEERS—PRECEDENCE AT REVIEWS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN in asking, Why the Royal Naval Volunteers were not drawn up on the right of the line at the Review held on Saturday, 2nd July, in accordance with invariable practice; and whether it is intended to make any change in the Regulation in this respect? said, that this question arose on a former occasion, at the Review in 1881, between the Honourable Artillery Company and the Naval Volunteers, when it was decided in favour of the latter. In accordance with that precedent, the General in command on Saturday last ordered the Naval Volunteers to take the right of the line, but subsequently altered that arrangement, and ordered the right to be occupied by the Honourable Artillery Company. He wished also to ask whether the Honourable Artillery Company claimed this right in virtue of the fact that they are not under the direction of the War Office and are not Volunteers. He desired to know further, whether the Honourable Artillery Company were, or were not Volunteers; and, if not, by what right were they present on that occasion.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Lord Harris), in reply, said, that as to the question whether the Honourable Artillery Company were Volunteers or not, a special exemption was made in favour of the Honourable Artillery Company by Section 52 of the Volunteer Act, which provided that "nothing in this Act shall apply to the Honourable Artillery Company"; but, in a subsequent Act, the term "Volunteer" did include that regiment. If a Volunteer meant a person who gave his services voluntarily, undoubtedly the members of the Honourable Artillery Company were Volunteers, seeing that the only assistance they had received from the Government had been in the shape of arms and harness. As to the late Review, he had to say that by a General Order of 1883, Her Majesty was pleased to grant the Honourable Artillery Company, in consideration of its antiquity, precedence immediately after the Regular Forces, and therefore, before the Militia and Yeomanry, who themselves took precedence of the Volunteers. While, therefore, the right of men of the Royal Navy to take the right of the line when in alignment with the Land Forces was not contested, nor that of the Royal Naval Volunteers to take precedence over other Volunteer Corps, the Honourable Artillery Company must be regarded as on a separate footing, with precedence over Volunteer Corps of every description.

Lord SUDELEY said, he thought the answer of the noble Lord was very vague; either the Honourable Artillery Company were Volunteers, or they were not; and, whilst he understood, from what the noble Lord had said, that the Honourable Artillery Company took precedence before the Militia and Yeomanry; but the point really was this—whether, in the absence of these two Corps, they took precedence thus of all other Volunteers. It seemed to him that if they were Volunteers they would rank only as such when none of the regular forces were present, and thus the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers would have their right precedence, and he hoped the noble Lord would have the matter properly looked into.

Lord HARRIS said, that the answer he had given was perfectly clear—namely, that a General Order of 1883 gave the Honourable Artillery Company precedence.

The Earl of CAMPERDOWN said, he was aware that the Honourable Artillery Company had precedence over the Militia and the Yeomanry. That was by Order, and that might be a very good answer as regarded those corps. But that Order did not refer in any way to the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, and it did not appear that the Order giving the Honourable Artillery Company precedence over other Volunteers referred to them.

Lord HARRIS said, that the Militia and the Yeomanry had precedence over all Volunteers, and as the Honourable Artillery Company had precedence over the Militia and Yeomanry, they necessarily had precedence also over all Volunteers.

LLOYD'S SIGNAL STATIONS BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to confer powers on Lloyd's to take lands for signal stations; and for other purposes—Was *presented* by The Lord President, for The Lord Stanley of Preston; read 1ª. (No. 158.)

LEGITIMACY DECLARATION ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Legitimacy Declaration Act, 1858—Was *presented* by The Earl of Milltown; read 1ª. (159.)

House adjourned at Eight o'clock,
till To-morrow, a quarter
past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 7th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—William O'Brien, esquire, *for* the North East Division of the County of Cork.

Supply—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [July 4 & 6] *reported.*

Public Bills — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation * [313]; Poinding (Scotland) * [314].

Second Reading — Distressed Unions (Ireland) [307].

Committee—Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2) * [220]—r.p.

Committee—Report—Butterine (Fraudulent Sale) (*re-comm.*) [309] (*changed to* Margarine (Fraudulent Sale).

Third Reading — Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) [*First Night*] [305], *debate adjourned.*

Provisional Order Bills — *Report* — Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * [288].

Considered as amended—Local Government (No. 7) * [282].

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) (Ballyshannon, &c.) * [272], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

——o——

BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL
(*by Order*).

LORDS' AMENDMENTS. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [20th June], "That the Lords' Amendments be now taken into Consideration."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I regret very much that I am compelled by the circumstances of the case to ask the House to adjourn for another week the consideration of this Bill. ["Oh!"] Perhaps hon. Gentlemen, before they express their disapprobation, will listen to my explanations. It will be in the recollection of the House that this Bill has for a long period been postponed from time to time, for one object, and for one object only—namely, to secure the passing of another Bill which relates to the subject, in order to provide that something should be done to secure for the ratepayers of Belfast the full control over the expenditure of the money which is involved in the passing of this Bill. At this very moment, I understand that the House of Lords is engaged in considering the Report and Amendments of the Security Bill, and we are absolutely in the dark as to what shape that Bill will ultimately take. That has been the sole object with which these repeated adjournments have been assented to by the House, and that object has not yet been achieved. I cannot conceive anything more absurd than that this House, having consented to repeated postponements for a certain object, should now allow this Bill to be passed before that object has been attained. No doubt, it will be urged by the promoters of the Bill that they have been subjected to great inconvenience by these repeated adjournments; but, in reply to that argument, I say that they have to thank "another place," where the progress of Public Business is extremely slow. That is not our fault. If the Irish Members had any control over the matter, the Security Bill would have been passed long ago, in order that the questions it involved might receive full discussion here. I feel bound, under the circumstances of the case, to move that the further consideration of the Lords' Amendments be adjourned until this day week.

Mr. SPEAKER: May I suggest to the hon. Member that the proper course is to move the adjournment of the debate?

Mr. DILLON: Then I beg to do so.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Sir JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): It is absolutely impossible that we can consent to this Motion. We have repeatedly consented to adjournments, and on the last occasion when the Bill was before the House the debate was adjourned, at the suggestion of the Chairman of Ways and Means, until to-day, on the distinct understanding that the Lords' Amendments should be then considered. I think it is very unfair to ask for a further postponement. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has referred to a Bill which is in "another place;" but my hon. Friend the Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart) has given Notice of a clause which he proposes to add to the Main Drainage Bill which will give to the ratepayers of Belfast the most complete control over the drainage works and the expenditure which they will involve. This clause has been very carefully drafted, and I know that it meets with the approval of the Chairman of Ways and Means. I believe that it will give to the ratepayers of Belfast even more complete control over the expenditure of money than the clause which has been inserted in the Franchise Bill in "another place." It is not possible for me to discuss the Franchise Bill at the present moment; but I feel bound to resist the Motion for Adjournment.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The hon. Baronet has informed the House that it is not possible for him to consent to the further adjournment asked for by my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo. I think I shall be able to show in a very few words that it is utterly impossible for the House to proceed with this measure at the present moment. The hon. Baronet referred to an understanding which was come to in my absence on Monday last. I very much regret that, in consequence of certain important business in Ireland, I was prevented from being present on that occasion. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny) said on that occasion that he believed there would be a prospect of the Lords' Amendments being considered to-day; but he was then under the impression that what my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo has rightly called the "Security Bill" would be in our hands to-day. Unfortunately, that is not the case. The Security Bill is still in the House of Lords, and that House is engaged at the present moment considering the Report of the Amendments upon it. We have now a demand made upon us, which I can only characterize as unprecedented, to allow this Bill to go out of our hands without having the Franchise Bill before us, and without being able to arrive at any notion of the form which the security is to take. No doubt, there have been repeated postponements; but why has the Bill been postponed? It has been postponed in order to obtain an object which has not yet been achieved. This House has passed a Bill to extend the municipal franchise in Belfast, and this House has declared not only that the franchise shall be extended, but that the extended franchise shall be applied to the Register of the present year; in other words, that the present Town Council are to go out of office this year, and, until the new Council are elected, no steps shall be taken to fix upon the borough of Belfast the liability involved in carrying out this scheme—a liability of the expenditure of £500,000, imposed upon a town which is already burdened with a debt of £750,000. Then, how can we proceed with the Lords' Amendments to this Bill to-day? The very first Amendment of importance is a new provision which has been inserted in the Bill by the House of Lords. The Lords have struck out the clause inserted here which extends the municipal franchise in Belfast. It was in view of the Amendment that this House passed the Municipal Franchise Bill. The Lords have allowed an extension of the franchise; but they have struck out the provision which applied the new franchise to the Register of the present year, and they have struck out a further provision which forbade the Town Council of Belfast from proceeding with their scheme until the new Council shall have been elected. Noble Lords, acting on behalf of the Town Council of Belfast, have struck out every vestige of security without being in possession of any absolute knowledge of the merits of the question. I understand that it is intended to move the restoration of those clauses, and we may know the result in the course of an hour or two. At present, however, we do not know the result, and yet we are, nevertheless, asked to give up the last security we have in regard to the question. I will ask you, Sir, how, in such a case, I am to proceed? How am I to decide whether or not I ought to ask the House to disagree with the Lords' Amendments, which have so materially altered the character of the Franchise Clause? When the Bill comes down from the House of Lords we shall know the final shape the Amendments have assumed. If I knew now that the new Town Council will be elected upon the extended franchise this year I could make up my mind; but until we are able to make up our minds on that point it is impossible to say what course we ought to take. No doubt, before this day week, we shall know what has been done by the House of Lords, and whether we ought to accept these Amendments or not. If the House refuses the reasonable request of my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo, I shall have no alternative but to move that the House disagree with the Amendments of the Lords; and, to begin with, it will be necessary to discuss at length the most important one —namely, that which relates to the extension of the municipal franchise. I will only ask the House if it is necessary or desirable that a long debate should take place upon that point, which subsequent events may render altogether unnecessary? Under the circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I will ask you for a moment to give your kind attention to the question, especially in reference to the clause which the hon. Member for North Belfast proposes to introduce. As the House is aware, we are now in the stage of considering the Lords' Amendments, and I ask you, Sir, if it will be in Order to discuss any Amendment which does not deal strictly with the Amendments which have been introduced by the House of Lords? I take it that the only Constitutional right which this House now possesses is to consider the Amendments which the House of Lords have made in the Bill. The hon. Member for North Belfast proposes to introduce an Amendment which does not deal with any matter that has been touched upon by the Lords' Amendments. The Bill proposes that the franchise shall be exercised in a certain manner, but the hon. Member proposes that it shall be dealt with in another manner. There is nothing in this Bill which deals with Schedule 3 of the Public Health Act, and I would submit to you, Sir, that it is not competent for the House to consider, or for the hon. Member to move, any clause of this kind. The protection which the clause offers to the ratepayers of Belfast is altogether illusory. I regard it as a breach of faith, and as one of the Representatives of the people of Belfast, who are the persons most concerned in the Bill, I protest against it, and shall resist it to the utmost—in the first place, because it is out of Order; and, secondly, because it stultifies the action of the people of Belfast. The House has passed a clause declaring that the powers of the Bill shall be exercised after a public election of the Town Council under a certain franchise, and the hon. Member who proposes this clause is clearly asking the House to stultify itself in deciding the question before it can possibly know what course has been taken in "another place" in reference to the Franchise Bill. I am astonished that the hon. Gentleman should have the audacity to come here, while the matter is in suspense, to ask us to traverse and overcome the settlement which has already been arrived at by admitting an absurd and fantastic clause which it is altogether out of Order to introduce into a Private Bill. Under these circumstances, I maintain that it is impossible to proceed with the Bill to-day; and I ask you, Sir, if it is in Order for the hon. Gentleman to propose the clause he has placed upon the Paper, and to represent it as a proper question to discuss on the consideration of Amendments of the House of Lords which have no reference whatever to the subject?

MR. SPEAKER: In reference to the point of Order I will read Clause 33^a, which has been inserted in the Bill by the House of Lords in substitution of Clause 34—

> "The Corporation shall, within seven years from the passing of this Act, make and complete such low level sewers and works as may be necessary for intercepting and diverting into the outfall works by this Act authorized all the sewage flowing into the River Lagan and the Victoria Channel through the sewers of the Corporation which shall not be intercepted by the high level sewers by this Act authorized, and the Corporation shall commence such low level sewers and works as soon as the other works by this Act authorized shall be so far advanced that they can conveniently do so."

The new clause proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart) proposes to restrict the action to be taken, or the expenditure to be incurred under the Act, until the execution of the works has received the consent of the owners and ratepayers of the borough. I cannot say that such a proposal is out of Order. It appears to be consequential upon the new clause introduced by the House of Lords to restrict the liability which may be incurred under the Act, and it is certainly not irrelevant to that clause.

MR. SEXTON: May I, Sir, respectfully explain that as the Main Drainage Bill stood in the House of Commons it was optional with the Corporation of Belfast to proceed with the second part of the Bill? It was compulsory upon them to proceed with the first part; but the Committee of the House of Lords made a material change in the measure by inserting a clause which obliges the

Corporation of Belfast to proceed with certain works within a limited number of years after the passing of the Act. That is the point which I raised as a question of Order.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think I can rule in any other way than that in which I have already ruled. As I have said before, I do not think it is out of Order, or that it would be improper, to restrict the action of the Corporation in reference to the incurring of any liability in respect of the drainage works until the execution of the works itself has received the sanction of the owners and ratepayers of the borough.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): On the point of Order, Sir, I think your ruling is conclusive. With regard to the question of adjournment, I would remind the House that this Bill was exactly in the same position on Monday as it is now. The plea then raised for an adjournment was solely that it was undesirable to consider the Bill in the absence of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). ["No!"] There was no other ground assigned. I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon who says "No!" I was present myself on the occasion, and I know that that was the only objection which was raised to proceeding with the Bill. Indeed, it was said that if the hon. Gentleman had been present no objection would have been raised to go on with the consideration of the Lords' Amendments, and it was solely in consequence of the absence of the hon. Member that the debate was adjourned until to-day upon the distinct understanding that however unavoidable his absence might be, whether he was here to-day or not, the Bill would go on. The matter having been decided in that way, I confess I think that the House would scarcely be acting consistently with what was done last Monday if it were to consent now to a further adjournment.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse): The Question before the House is whether the debate should be again adjourned, and I wish to say a few words in order to explain the reason which induces me to support the Motion of the hon. Member for East Mayo. I entirely concur in every word that has been stated by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). I think we are not only justified, but bound, to hang up a final decision upon the Drainage Bill until we are in a position to know whether, in the interests of local self-government, there is to be a satisfactory extension of the municipal franchise in the borough of Belfast or not. A great deal has been said about local self-government; and what does local self-government mean in this case but the extension of the municipal franchise? Therefore, I think it is perfectly consistent with the principles I hold and our advocacy of this Bill that in the absence of the measure now in the House of Lords for the extension of the municipal franchise further time should be given for the consideration of the Lords' Amendments in the Drainage Bill. The hon. Member for West Belfast has pointed out that the Lords' Bill is not now before us; and, therefore, we are unable to consider the principle upon which the extension of the municipal franchise in Ireland is to be carried out, and whether the local self-government which we are continually advocating for this country is to be extended to Ireland or not. I therefore hope that hon. Members on this side of the House will join with me in supporting the Motion for the adjournment of this debate. I would remind hon. Members that on a former occasion, when a local question connected with West London was before the House, many Members gave way in deference to the opinion and feeling of the people who were principally interested. I regard the present circumstances as of a similar character; and with these few words I beg to say that I, on my part, shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for East Mayo.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I hope, Sir, that the House will refuse to listen to any proposition for the further postponement of this important question. As one of those Members whose constituents are deeply interested in the passing of the Bill, I am almost ashamed of the number of times hon. Members have been required to come down to support the measure, with the only result of finding the Bill postponed, from time to time, in order to meet the convenience of hon. Gentlemen opposite. If any pledge was ever given in this House that was of a positive character, it was the pledge given on Monday last by the hon. Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny), on behalf of the hon. Member for West Belfast, that the Lords' Amendments should be taken into consideration to-day. The ratepayers of Belfast will be afforded a full opportunity of considering the measure and of controlling the execution of the works, as will be evident to every man who will read the new clause which is proposed to be inserted by my hon. Friend the Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart). I know that it would be out of Order to discuss that clause now, and, therefore, I will not attempt to do so; but hon. Gentlemen who have urged so strongly that the ratepayers should be given full control over the expenditure before the works are carried into execution must be aware that the delay in proceeding with the Municipal Franchise Bill in "another place" is not attributable to any action on the part of my hon. Friend the Member for North Belfast, or of the promoters of the Drainage Bill, but, on the contrary, that the postponement of that measure until to-day was resolved upon at the instance of a noble Lord who supports the views of the hon. Member for West Belfast. I think that we, who are deeply interested in the matter, on behalf of the citizens of Belfast, should be no longer trifled with, but that the House should proceed at once to take the Lords' Amendments into consideration.

Mr. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): As I moved the Amendment on Monday I desire to say one or two words. When the House adjourned the debate upon the Bill on Monday last, it was not solely on the ground of the absence of my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast, but equally on the ground that we expected, on this day, that the House would be in possession of the Bill which is now under consideration in "another place," and which was down for consideration on Monday last, but which, instead of being considered and disposed of on Tuesday, as we had every reason then to believe and expect, has been adjourned for consideration until this day. The result is that both Bills have been set down for consideration on the same day—one in the other House and one in this House. Now, I think it is absolutely impossible for this House to proceed with the consideration of the present Bill, with any degree of satisfaction, until it is in possession of the final shape which the Municipal Franchise Bill is to take in "another place." It was on these grounds that I moved the adjournment of the debate on Monday, and since then the second of those grounds has become of considerable importance.

Mr. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.): As one of the Members for Belfast, I wish to state the feeling which I entertain upon this matter. I am perfectly ready to say that, as far as I can understand the conclusion which the House arrived at in regard to this question on a previous occasion, it was that, in the mind of the House, it was our duty to give the people of Belfast popular control over the public expenditure. It appears to me that the action taken by the House of Lords in reference to the Franchise Bill, which would enable the ratepaying class of Belfast to give full expression to their opinion in regard to the merits of this measure, has practically rescinded the decision arrived at in this House. If there was any undertaking in regard to the course to be taken in reference to the Main Drainage Bill, it was accompanied by an undertaking, on behalf of the promoters of the measure, that the Franchise Bill, which is now in the House of Lords, should be before this House before any final decision was arrived at. There was a clear understanding that if the Franchise Bill was passed in an unobjectionable form, we in this House were quite ready to allow the Main Drainage Bill to pass. But the promoters of the Main Drainage Bill in the House of Lords, who are the friends of the Corporation of Belfast, have endeavoured to defer the operation of the Franchise Bill until November, 1888; and our view is that if the Franchise Bill cannot be brought into immediate operation, and the whole of the ratepaying classes cannot have the power of dealing with the question on the 25th of next November, all the objections we have expressed to the passing of the Drainage Bill, in the absence of a complete control over the execution of the works by the inhabitants, will be defeated. If, on the contrary, it is provided that the opinions of the ratepayers shall be clearly expressed on the 25th of November next, all our objections to the immediate passing of the present measure will be removed, and I should then be disposed strongly to advise the House to pass the Bill. I received a copy of a resolution passed unanimously by the Corporation of Belfast, in which they asked the Members for the borough of Belfast to support the immediate passing of the "Franchise Act," which was to extend the municipal register of that borough. After passing this resolution to meet the eye of the people of Belfast, the representatives of the Corporation went to the House of Lords, to get that House to delay the operation of the Franchise Act, so that the Main Drainage Bill might have a start of it by nearly a year and a half. I consider that to be a most perfidious breach of faith with the working classes of Belfast, but perfectly in harmony with the course the promoters of both measures have pursued from the first. I think the House ought to be able to trust the people of Belfast; and I respectfully submit that the inhabitants of that borough have quite as strong a claim upon the consideration of both Houses of Parliament as the Corporation—a privileged class who are the promoters of this main drainage scheme. If a guarantee is given by the promoters of the Bill that the expenditure involved in carrying out the drainage scheme will be placed immediately under the control of the ratepayers, then I am prepared to consent to the passing of the present Bill; but if no such guarantee is given, I trust the House will agree to the Motion for adjourning the debate.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Having voted in favour of the previous adjournment of the consideration of this Bill, I desire now to express a hope that the House will not consent to a further adjournment, and I will state, in a few words, why I take that ground. A great many Members consented to the adjournment of the Bill on account of the state of the borough franchise in Belfast. A measure to remedy that state of the franchise has passed through this House, and is now before the other House of Parliament. It is quite true that in "another place" Amendments have been made of which I and others do not approve; but those Amendments will have to come back here for the sanction of this House before they can become law, and the promoters of the Bill have done everything in their power to meet the wishes and aims of the hon. Member for West Belfast. Indeed, they have consented to insert in the Bill a clause which will enable and entitle every ratepayer in Belfast to vote "Aye" or "No" whether one farthing shall be expended in carrying out the provisions of the Franchise Bill or not. Under these circumstances, I earnestly hope that the House will not consent to postpone the Bill one day longer. The measure is earnestly needed in Belfast, and it ought to be allowed to pass at once.

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.): I will not detain the House for more than a moment. I only wish to say that the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) has entirely failed to meet the arguments which have been brought forward in favour of going on with the Bill. On the last occasion when the Bill was under discussion, I pointed to the fact that it was impossible to get the new Burgess Roll ready in time for the next election in November, and that the risk would be run of bringing the town affairs of Belfast to a deadlock. I pass over the abusive observations of the hon. Member for West Belfast; but, in reply to the remarks of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), I wish to say that the promoters of the Bill are not responsible for the delay which has occurred in the House of Lords. Some allusion has been made to a noble Lord having been employed by the Town Council of Belfast to take charge of the matter in the House of Lords; but I think I might retort on hon. Members opposite and say that the noble Lord who has been employed by the opponents to take charge of their interests was the very person who moved the adjournment of the consideration of the Franchise Bill from Monday last until to-day. Consequently, the promoters of the Bill are in no way responsible for the delay which has occurred. If the House of Lords make any Amendments in the Franchise Bill which are not palatable to this House, the House will have an opportunity of dealing with them when the Bill comes down here. I believe that the clause which I propose will meet all the objections of the hon. Member behind me (Mr. De Cobain). It places the entire power in the hands of the constituency, who will be able to say when and how the Bill is to be brought into operation.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 164; Noes 178: Majority 14.—(Div. List, No. 288.)

Original Question again proposed, "That the Lords' Amendments be now taken into Consideration."—(*Mr. Ewart.*)

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): On the question of the consideration of the Lords' Amendments, it may, perhaps, save a little time if I am allowed to make a short statement. The House will remember that when this Bill was originally before us clauses were inserted in it dealing with the municipal franchise of Belfast—a matter which, at the time, I thought was foreign to the subject-matter of the Bill, and I opposed their insertion. Nevertheless, the House agreed to those clauses, and the Bill went up to the House of Lords, where they were struck out. Substantially, therefore, a great change was made in the Bill, and the matter came back to this House for reconsideration. It was then argued with great force, and I thought with great substantiality, that it was improper that the important works which were to be undertaken under the provisions of the Bill should be conducted under the auspices of a Town Council elected by a very restricted franchise. It was suggested, in order to avoid what was conceived to be the impropriety of entrusting the execution of the works to a Corporate Body elected upon the basis of a narrow franchise, that another Bill should be brought in dealing with the municipal franchise in Ireland, and that the existing municipal franchise should be reduced throughout the whole of the boroughs of Ireland. On the understanding that a Bill of that character should be promoted as rapidly as possible the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the present Bill was suspended, and this House ultimately arrived at conditions under which the main drainage scheme might be set going, with a proper control of the expenditure on the part of the ratepayers of Belfast. The Franchise Bill, however, was cut down, in the first instance, from a measure which dealt with the boroughs of Ireland generally to one which dealt with the borough of Belfast alone. Such a measure, however, would secure that the popular control should still be exercised in regard to these works; and, therefore, it was considered that the Bill might be allowed to go on, and the Lords' Amendments be accepted. The Bill which deals with the municipal franchise of Belfast was introduced into this House by the promoters of the Drainage Bill, and it passed this House with a clause in it making the first election of the full Town Council of Belfast come into operation during the present year. In that form the Franchise Bill went up to the other House of Parliament. What hon. Members below the Gangway on this side of the House objected to was that the Town Council of Belfast, in an unreformed and unregenerate condition, should be allowed to exercise control over these drainage works. But objection has now been taken that it is impossible to complete a new Burgess Roll this year, so as to secure the election of a Town Council in November next upon the proposed new and extended municipal franchise. Therefore, as I understand, an alteration has been made in the provisions of the Bill in "another place" delaying for one year the election of the Town Council upon the new and extended franchise. Of course, if that stood alone without any further change, and the Lords' Amendments to this Bill were accepted, we should again lose what has been substantially aimed at throughout the consideration of this measure; we should entrust the existing Town Council of Belfast with the power of carrying out this great scheme, although it may not possess the confidence of the ratepayers, and although it may not act for the public good of the city. There may be great force in the allegation which is made as to the difficulty of making up the Burgess Roll this year, and there may be good ground for an Amendment, in consequence, postponing the election of the new Town Council until next year. This question, however, arises—namely, what is to be done with this Bill? Can we assent to the Lords' Amendments in this Bill and give the existing Town Council unrestricted control over these drainage works? That is the substantial question we have to consider. A clause is now about to be submitted to the House for consideration which you, Sir, have admitted to be in Order, and I have no doubt that it is in Order, because it is consequential in substance, if not altogether in form, with the provisions of the Bill so far as the Lords' Amendments are concerned. That clause is intended, and I conceive that it would secure, the complete control of the ratepayers of Belfast over the execution of these works. The clause provides that—

> "No action shall be taken for liability incurred in respect of the works by this Act authorized unless or until the execution of such works has the consent of the owners and ratepayers of the borough to be expressed by resolution in the manner directed by Schedule 3 of the Public Health Act, 1875, which, for the purpose of such resolution, shall be read and have effect as applicable to the borough and as if the expression 'ratepayers' meant all persons liable to the payment of the general purposes rate or the borough rate."

If this clause is adopted it will have the effect of bringing into operation what is commonly known as the Borough Funds Act, and nothing can be done under the Bill until there has been a poll, and the wishes of the ratepayers have been consulted—not a restricted body of ratepayers, but ratepayers under the largest and widest possible franchise getting rid altogether of questions which relate to compounding and *quasi*-compounding for the rates, which, I believe, is largely the custom in the borough of Belfast. Therefore, what is aimed at by those who are in favour of the decision, in regard to the execution of the drainage works, being given to the ratepayers at large will be secured by the adoption of this clause, although it may be found that the reconstitution of the Town Council of Belfast, according to the Franchise Bill as it may come back from the House of Lords, will be postponed for a year on the ground of the technical difficulty of getting a new Burgess Roll completed before November. If the Franchise Bill comes back to this House in that form, surely there will be secured to the ratepayers of Belfast complete control over the execution of these works, because it is provided by the clause which the hon. Member for North Belfast intends to propose that nothing shall be done and no liability incurred unless there shall have been a meeting of the ratepayers held previously under the Borough Funds Act. I am quite aware that hon. Members who think that the subject dealt with by the Drainage Bill ought not to be settled by an unreformed Town Council are, in consequence, disinclined to part with the measure, believing that if they do so part with it the powers conferred under it may be exercised before the salutary changes to be effected by the Municipal Franchise Bill can be introduced. I quite understand the position of hon. Gentlemen who hold those views; but I think that their objection is met by the amending clause which stands on the Paper.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees may be able to read these things better than I do; but I do not think he is quite as well acquainted with the character of the Corporation of Belfast and their furtive methods of proceeding as I am, or he would not consider that the clause proposed by the hon. Member for North Belfast is any security whatever. By the simple method of calling a meeting, which the Corporation of Belfast are quite capable of doing, to consider the proposed execution of these drainage works at an hour when it would be impossible for large numbers of the owners and ratepayers of the borough to be present, the object and intention of the clause might be altogether defeated.

MR. COURTNEY: The hon. Member forgets that the meeting is to be followed by a poll.

MR. SEXTON: But the poll, also, may be taken at a most inconvenient hour. Nothing would be easier than, by a device of that kind, to defeat the intentions of this Bill. I am most unwilling, therefore, to part with the security of an extended Burgess Roll for any other security whatever. Let me point out how this clause, which the Chairman of Ways and Means admires so much, is likely to be carried out. The Lagan Pollution Committee is composed of certain Orangemen who follow the lead of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and they held a meeting on the 1st of July, at which they passed a Resolution requesting the Town Council not to study the convenience of the ratepayers, but to act, in regard to this measure, in direct opposition to the declared wishes of the people of Belfast. The action of the Town Council is not only unfair, but inconsistent, seeing that they are creating a difficulty as to the point of time where none really exists. There is a fear on the part of the people of Belfast that in reference to the proposed adoption of Schedule 3 of the Public Health Act efforts are still being made to place in the hands of the existing Town Council the power of spending the money involved in the execution of the drainage works. That is the whole secret of the matter. The Town Council has endeavoured throughout, in a stealthy manner, to obtain complete control over the spending of this money, and I protest against their being able to secure what they desire by having recourse to any mean and underhand device. There can be no two opinions that the interests of the Town Council are directly adverse to those of the ratepayers, and I shall certainly resist the Lords' Amendments in this Bill to the utmost. The real objection of the Town Council to the adoption of an extended and revised franchise is not an objection which applies to this year, but to every year. Let me call attention to the extraordinary conduct of the promoters of the Bill in this House last year, although they have always contended that the measure is urgently required in order to preserve the health of the borough. They declared last year that rather than allow the franchise to be reformed they were prepared to lose the Drainage Bill altogether. Rather than allow the people of Belfast to have the control of their own affairs they preferred to allow 200,000 people to be poisoned every year. By an Amendment inserted at their own instance in the Belfast Municipal Franchise Bill, the time of qualification for a vote is changed from the last day of August to the first day of January in each year. The notices in reference to a Parliamentary vote are similar to those for municipal purposes, and the Parliamentary list will afford a general basis for the municipal list, because the qualifications are almost identical. The number of inhabitants included in each is from 25,000 to 30,000, and one list is quite sufficient for the two qualifications. Lord Erne, in the House of Peers, inserted an Amendment which ought to put an end to any difficulty, seeing that it provides that the Mayor shall appoint revising barristers to carry out the work of preparing the Burgess Roll on the 20th of July. The Burgess Roll, consequently, ought to be completed in adequate time to allow the election of the Town Council, on the new list, to take place on the 25th of November, a period of four months. Why should there be more difficulty in revising the municipal list than in revising the Parliamentary list? The Mayor's assessors can appoint revising barristers at once; they will have ample time to do so. I would myself undertake to go to Belfast and revise the Municipal Bill in three weeks, without assistance, and under the Franchise Bill four months are left in which the work can be done. It is an attempt to give new life to a condemned body of men—a moribund Town Council—so as to enable them, by an effete vote, to control the expenditure of £500,000. I leave it to the majority which has just opposed the Motion I made for the adjournment of the debate to consider whether it is worth while to force me to proceed to-day with the opposition I propose to offer to the Lords' Amendments, in regard to which opposition I am unable to say, at the present moment, whether I am right or not. The Franchise Bill may leave the Lords in such a shape as may render it unnecessary for me to move Amendments, or it may leave it in such a shape as to compel me to do so. At the present moment the Government are not in a position to apply the clôture to this discussion. I warn them that they had better make arrangements to increase their 174 supporters to 200, for they will certainly not succeed in carrying the Lords' Amendments to this Bill, unless they take some effectual steps to close the discussion upon them.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I would ask if it is possible to discuss this Main Drainage Bill in the absence of the Franchise Bill? As I understand the case, it is this. This Main Drainage Bill was made dependent, to a very great extent, upon the Franchise Bill. But we are now told that when the Franchise Bill comes down from the House of Lords it will contain a clause postponing its operation until next year. That, on the face of it, may not appear unreasonable; but I cannot say so until we have the Bill before us, together with the Amendments which have been made in it, and hear the grounds upon which those Amendments are supported. Hon. Members who are in favour of this Bill, and opposed to further adjournment, say that we can deal with the Lords' Amendments to the Franchise Bill when that Bill comes down. That is all very well; but who is to deal with the Lords' Amendments, supposing that we have given up our control over this Bill, and we send back the Franchise Bill with an intimation that we have disagreed with the Lords' Amendments? In that case, it would only be for the House of Lords to insist on their Amendments to secure that the opponents of the Franchise Bill should obtain all they want. If we once pass this Drainage Bill before the Franchise Bill reaches the House of Commons, we can have no security that we should be able to secure local self-government for the town of Belfast in time to give the ratepayers control over the large expenditure of public money which is involved in the present Bill. I maintain that it is only a reasonable proposal to give to the ratepayers of Belfast, and to remove out of the hands of the present Local Authorities, the full control over the execution of the franchise works and the cost which will be incurred in connection with them. Surely it is not intended to treat a question of this kind as a Party question. We are dealing with what is purely a local demand, and what in any English borough is granted as a matter of course. You are going to give a new and extended franchise to the inhabitants of Belfast, and the existing Corporation of that town object to it, and, perhaps, not unnaturally. Therefore, it is desirable that this House should not part with the Drainage Bill altogether, leaving ourselves helpless in reference to the Franchise Bill. It has been pointed out that the argument adduced on the other side in favour of postponing the operation of the Franchise Bill—namely, the difficulty of preparing a new Burgess List, is altogether without foundation. I have shown that you cannot deal with the Lords' Amendments now. In the first place, you might find it necessary to disagree with them. If you do so, the Bill must go back to the House of Lords, and the Lords might insist upon their Amendments, in which case the Bill would be abandoned. I think we ought to have some absolute security that the Amendments postponing the operation of the Franchise Bill are unreasonable and ought not to appear in it. Until we have that security we ought not to part with the present Bill. I believe there are Gentlemen in this House who can answer for the Corporation of Belfast. Then let them get up and give an assurance that they will offer no objection to the Franchise Bill coming into operation at once, so that the next municipal election in November may be taken on the new franchise. If they can do that, we shall be able to get on with our business. If they decline to do so, then we must form our own conclusions, and take our own securities. I have thought it necessary to make these remarks in connection with this matter. As the House is aware, I am not accustomed to take part in the discussion of Private Bills; but in this case the discussion is mixed up with the consideration of an important public question, and I think, in the interests of local self-government in Ireland, we ought not to refuse the reasonable demand which is made by the hon. Member for West Belfast.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.): Some time ago I myself brought in a Bill for the purpose of extending the franchise in order to include a larger number of the ratepayers of Belfast; and I, for one, am entirely opposed to parting with this Bill until we have an absolute certainty that the Franchise Bill will come down from the House of Lords in such a shape as to be entirely satisfactory to the ratepayers of Belfast, who, I believe, are naturally opposed to the expenditure of this large sum of money without having a distinct voice in the matter. For my own part, I cannot see that the delay of a few days can have any serious effect upon the passing of the Bill. At the same time I am indisposed to get rid, out of our own hands, of that leverage which we at present possess, of forcing the Lords to send down to us the Franchise Bill in such a form as will render it acceptable to the people of Belfast. Therefore, I, for one, am ready to support the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) in opposing the Motion for the consideration of the Amendments in the Drainage Bill until we have the Municipal Franchise Bill fully before us.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means has warned us that under the Belfast Franchise Bill, as reconstructed in the House of Lords, no election can take place on the extended franchise during the present year. He has further said that the ground on which that somewhat peculiar reconstruction of the franchise has taken place is that it is found impossible to prepare a new Burgess Roll this year. I was very much surprised to hear that statement, but I am not surprised to find that an attempt has been made to delay the operation of the Bill for another year. Now, as a matter of fact, no step whatever, whether preliminary or otherwise, can be taken towards the formation of a new Burgess Roll until after the expiration of a particular date; and, therefore, the lateness of the time at which the Bill is passed is absolutely immaterial. I have had personal experience in this matter, and I say that the statement that there will exist any difficulty in preparing the Burgess Roll is utterly and completely unfounded. A more unfounded statement I never heard in my life, and I hope the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means, who made it, will tell us upon what authority he made it, and give us at least one reason, however paltry, in support of it. The hon. Gentleman went on to make a still more extraordinary statement. He told us that we have repeatedly postponed the consideration of the Drainage Bill for one object, and one object alone—namely, that the ratepayers of Belfast should have effective control over the expenditure of this £500,000. He then went on to say that effective control would be given to the ratepayers for the expenditure by the new clause which the hon. Member for North Belfast proposes to insert in the Drainage Bill. Now, that is a clause which directs the Corporation of Belfast to take a sort of mock *plébiscite* under the Public Health Act of 1875, and there are two observations which I desire to make upon that clause. The first is, that under the clause the non-resident ratepayers, who do not earn their money in Belfast, will be able to swamp the votes of the resident ratepayers of the borough. Let me point out another objection. What will be the question put to the people when the *plébiscite* is taken? It will be simply a question of "Yes" or "No," and having voted "Yes" or "No" the ratepayers will lose every particle of control over the expenditure of the money. That is very different from the control which the people of Belfast will obtain if they get an extended franchise, and are able to send their own representatives to the Town Council, retaining in their own hands that control over their representatives which the knowledge that further elections will be brought about usually secures. Secondly, the ratepayers of Belfast would, under the extended franchise, have by right a substantial control which would enable them to govern the expenditure of this £500,000 at every stage. The last observation I have to make is this. We are asked now to part with this Bill—we are asked to part with our sole guarantee for the passing of any franchise whatever? We are not in reality dealing with the question whether the people of Belfast are to have an extended franchise now or next year. That is a pure technicality and fiction. The question is whether they are to have a real franchise or none at all; and if this Bill is allowed to pass now, I venture to predict that the Lords will disagree with any Amendments of this House in which we may be compelled to express our disagreement with their Amendments. In that case, the result would inevitably be that the Bill would be thrown out, and the sole opportunity which the people of Belfast have of getting an extended franchise would be defeated. The effect would practically be that the repeated votes we have given in this House, from a sense of justice, towards the people of Belfast will have been absolutely thrown away, and a long series of years may elapse before we may be in a position again to compel the other House to act fairly towards a class of people who deserve consideration and fair treatment quite as much as the other class which the House of Lords have taken under their protection. The course which this House takes on the drainage question means franchise or no franchise in Belfast; and I hope the House will not be led away by any ingenious technicalities. If the question is treated by hon. Members in a spirit of fair play, and not as a Party question, I am sure we shall be successful in doing for the people of Belfast what Her Majesty's Government ought to have done long ago of their own motion.

Mr. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I think the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) and my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) cannot have read the clause which has been placed on the Paper by my hon. Friend the Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart), which gives the entire control over the expenditure which is to be incurred under this Bill to the ratepayers of the borough. It will be necessary to insert an advertisement in all the local newspapers, and notices will have to be posted up on all the churches and chapels convening a meeting of the ratepayers. It will, therefore, be impossible to hold a hole-and-corner meeting; and it will be competent for anyone to demand a poll, when every ratepayer of Belfast will be able to record his vote as to whether this expenditure shall be incurred under the drainage scheme or not. It has already been pointed out that a noble Lord in "another place," who was formerly Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was the cause of the postponement of the Municipal Franchise Bill, and that the postponement was not the consequence of any action taken by the promoters of the main drainage scheme. In my opinion, the citizens of Belfast have been made to suffer in their health in order that hon. Gentlemen opposite may be able to pose as the advocates of an extended franchise. I am as sincere a supporter of an extended franchise as any hon. Gentleman below the Gangway on the opposite side; and, therefore, I hope the House will not accept the suggestion of the right hon. Member for Derby and the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh. I do not believe in the infallible leadership of anyone; and on this occasion I cannot follow the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh. I hope the House will not consent to any further postponement of the question, especially when the Town Council of Belfast have declared their full intention of acting in a *bonâ fide* manner, and of giving the ratepayers every practical control over the expenditure. Indeed, I am prepared to pledge myself, on their behalf, that if the clause which has been placed upon the Paper by the hon. Member for North Belfast is inserted in the Bill, it will be acted upon by the Town Council of Belfast in that spirit of perfect good faith which has always characterized their action.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): The only manner in which the Belfast Town Council can act with fairness upon the question is to give the ratepayers of the borough an opportunity of deciding by their vote. Originally, in the Municipal Franchise Bill, very excellent machinery was provided for the election of the Town Council. But the friends of the Belfast Town Council, in "another place," struck out the whole of that machinery; and now the hon. Member for North Belfast proposes to insert a new clause, which is of an entirely illusory character. I will show the House how that is so. An extended franchise for Belfast will cover something like 30,000 ratepayers. It is proposed to have a *plébiscite* under the 3rd Schedule of the Public Health Act, which provides for the calling of a general aggregate meeting of ratepayers. Now, if the whole of the population of Belfast were to meet in order to decide the question of controlling the expenditure of this £500,000 under the 3rd Schedule of the Public Health Act, there would be 30,000 persons present; and I should like to know how it would be possible to pack them in the Town Hall of Belfast, which is not capable of holding more than 1,000? All that ex-Mayor Harland would have to do would be to bring down 600 men from his own works and pack the meeting, when the question would at once be decided against the interests of the majority of the ratepayers; and, therefore, the proposal of the hon. Member, seeing that the original machinery provided by the Bill has been struck out by his friends in "another place," is totally misleading, and would leave the people of Belfast in an infinitely worse position than that which they occupy at present. Therefore I ask the House not to part with the sole security they now have that the people of Belfast will be allowed a fair control in regard to the question.

MR. DE COBAIN (Belfast, E.): I cannot help feeling that the Chairman of Ways and Means, for whose fairness, fearlessness, and sense of right in the discharge of his duty, I entertain the highest respect, is mistaken upon this particular question. In the first instance, the adoption of the Lords' Amendments in the Franchise Bill will delay the election of a new Town Council in Belfast under an extended franchise, not for 12 months, but for 18 months, seeing that the new election cannot take place until the 25th of November next year. Therefore this important scheme, with the large expenditure of money it involves, would have the start of a year and a quarter of those popular privileges which ought fairly to control the expenditure of the money. I confess that I do not often find a common ground of agreement with the observations which fell from the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt); but certainly I think the remark he made, that this ought not to be considered a Party question, is one which we ought all to agree with. I have been reproached for the attitude I have taken in acting in concert with the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). I wish to say honestly, plainly, and frankly, that because I differ from the hon. Member and others who sit below the Gangway on the other side of the House in regard to questions affecting the well-being of the Empire, nevertheless, so far as they advocate just and wise measures affecting their own country, I am altogether in concert with them. I must say that I consider this argument a most mean and contemptible one. Why, because the hon. Member for West Belfast happens to differ from me upon the question of the unity of the Empire, ought I to oppose him upon some other question which we view from a common standpoint and a common platform, and why should we be debarred from acting together for the promotion of the public good? Such an argument is entirely unworthy of the good sense and intelligence of the House of Commons. As far as I am concerned, I have never allowed my public position to descend into that of a mere partizan. I shall always advocate public questions on public grounds, and I shall, as far as I can, decide the merits of such questions on the abstract principle of justice, altogether apart from the consideration of the persons by whom they are advocated or opposed. It appears to me that if the suggestion thrown out by the right hon. Member for Derby is acted upon, we might bring these long controversies to a final conclusion. The suggestion he made was one that was characterized by equity and fairness—namely, that we should relegate to the ratepaying class of Belfast, to whom we extend, for the first time, the municipal privileges they have hitherto been exceptionally deprived of, the duty of re-electing the Corporation upon an extended basis, and of allowing them to deal with the question of the public expenditure to be incurred under this measure. I think it would be unfair and unjust that a moribund Corporation, elected on the basis of a narrow franchise, should deal with a question which involves the expenditure of money to the extent of £500,000 and an augmentation of taxation to the extent of 20 per cent. I hope, therefore, the House will see that, as an act of fair play and justice to the ratepayers of Belfast, it is desirable to defer the final consideration of the present Bill until the ratepayers are invested with their full municipal rights. I think the hon. Member for West Belfast has fairly stated the case. We are not fighting this Bill. On the contrary, we sympathize with the object which the promoters of it have in view. So far as the hon. Member himself is concerned, I believe that three out of every four of the people of Belfast who will be benefited by the extension of municipal privileges are opposed to him in politics, and also in religion; hence the ground which he has taken is a chivalrous ground, and I cannot understand why the promoters of the Bill, who profess to be in touch with the majority of the people of Belfast, and who hold identical religious and political sentiments, should desire to bar that door, which the hon. Member for West Belfast and myself desire to throw wide open, in order that they may enjoy their full municipal rights and privileges.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I only desire to point out that the silence of hon. Members representing the Town Council of Belfast with regard to the appeal made to them by the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) is a conclusive reason why the Lords' Amendments should not now be considered. It is no unreasonable pledge to give, if the Corporation of Belfast have no *arrière pensée* in the matter, and mean to carry out, *bonâ fide,* what has been suggested.

Sir JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): The hon. Member for West Belfast has threatened the House that if it will not consent to a postponement he will keep hon. Members here all night discussing the Lords' Amendments.

Mr. SEXTON: To secure an adequate discussion of them.

Sir JAMES CORRY: I am as earnest in desiring an extension of the franchise to the ratepayers of Belfast as the hon. Member, and I promoted the Municipal Franchise Bill, and carried it through this House. No doubt, Amendments were introduced into it while it was passing through this House, which I knew would render it unworkable, and the consequence is that there is no possibility whatever of the Burgess Roll being revised in time for the election which will take place on the 25th of November next. In Belfast, on property rated at £8 and under, the rates are paid by the owner, and not by the occupier; and, therefore, the names of the occupiers do not appear in any rate-book now in existence. That is a reason which renders it perfectly impossible to carry the Franchise Extension Bill into operation this year. The rates are struck on the 1st of January in each year; and, therefore, the present rate-books cannot contain the names of the new burgesses. But when the Bill comes down from the House of Lords containing a clause to postpone the election until next year, I would propose, as a compromise, although, seeing the urgency of this measure, the Town Council might not feel disposed to do so themselves, that a clause should be inserted in the Bill to provide that the main drainage scheme shall not come into operation until the new election has taken place next year. If such a clause is proposed, then, on behalf of the Corporation of Belfast, I shall not offer any opposition to it, and in that way I hope the whole question may be settled. It is perfectly impossible for the Burgess Roll to be revised in a satisfactory way, so as to enable the new Town Council to be elected upon it in the present year. But, as I have said, I am quite prepared, on my part, to give every assistance I can to the postponement of the drainage scheme until next year, although I am of opinion that it is urgently necessary to carry it out as speedily as possible. If this suggestion is adopted, I believe the ratepayers will get all the control they can desire in regard to the expenditure of the money.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I wish to give the most absolute contradiction to the assertion that there would be any difficulty created by a provision in the Franchise Bill requiring the preparation of the Burgess List for Belfast to be completed in time for the next municipal election. I claim to speak with some knowledge and authority upon the point, as I have myself been largely concerned in the conduct of municipal matters in Ireland. So far from making the preparation of the Burgess Roll more difficult, the Bill which is now in "another place" would render it more simple, and would afford to the local officials facilities for the preparation of the Roll which have not been enjoyed hitherto. Let me point out to the House what goes on. The ordinary period at which the qualification for the municipal franchise is gained is the year ending on the 31st of August. The Bill which is now in "another place," in consequence of an Amendment introduced into it by my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), provides that the period of qualification, so far as the borough of Belfast is concerned, shall be the year ending on the 20th of July. What is the effect of that? It is impossible for the authorities to commence the preparation of the Burgess List until the period of qualification has closed; consequently, although under the existing law it would be impossible for the Municipal Authorities to commence the preparation of the Burgess Roll before the 31st of August, yet, owing to the Amendment of my hon. Friend, they will be able to commence it after the 20th of July, so that they have five or six weeks more to commence the preparation under the provision of my hon. Friend than under the ordinary law. Perhaps the House will allow me to call attention to another fact. Every difficulty that can exist in regard to the preparation of the Burgess List, under the Bill as it now stands, will equally exist next year, and in every subsequent year. The reason is, that the dates which the authorities are to observe in preparing the list of voters are fixed by Act of Parliament, and those dates will be enforced, and will be the law next year just as they are now. The period for commencing the preparation of the Burgess List will be exactly the same next year as this. If the Amendment of my hon. Friend is allowed to remain as it does, changing the day of qualification from the 31st of August until the 20th of July, it may be possible to commence the preparation of the list after the 20th of this month. The present authorities will not get a day longer if the preparation of the list is postponed until next year, because the day of qualification will still be the 20th of July, and they cannot set about the preparation of the list a single day earlier than they could set about preparing it now. More than that, the period within which the work must be done would be exactly the same. Only the same number of days will be allowed next year as will be allowed in this. So much for the argument founded upon the difficulty of preparing the Burgess Roll, which I assert to be the most impudent of all the pretences which have been set up by the Corporation of Belfast, not as *bonâ fide* grounds of delay, but as a mere pretext for staving off the evil day when the mass of the people of Belfast are to acquire control over their local affairs. There is only one other observation I desire to make, and it is this—that the course of procedure which is provided by the proposed new clause is a course of procedure which hitherto has not existed in Ireland as far as I am aware, but which it is proposed to import into that country from an English Act, the terms of which do not apply to Ireland at all. The Schedule of the Public Health Act of 1875 makes this provision ——

Mr. SPEAKER: I feel obliged to interrupt the hon. Member. I must remind him that it will not be in Order to discuss any particular clause in the Public Health Act. What the House has now to consider are the Lords' Amendments to the Main Drainage Bill.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: I quite appreciate the point you make, Sir, and I shall not further address the House on that subject. The hon. Baronet who has just sat down (Sir James Corry) has told us he would offer no objection to an alteration of the Bill now in "another place" when it comes back to us, so as to allow the municipal franchise to come into operation before the drainage works are commenced next year. My reply to that proposal is, that the offer will not adequately meet the exigencies of the case. It is not a question of what the hon. Baronet likes or dislikes, or what he is willing to do or is not willing to do. The question is—Will he pledge himself to use his influence with his friends in "another place" to induce them to take the same line of action? The offer he has made is one which only binds himself, and his friends in "another place" would have very little difficulty in disregarding it when the result of our action here is brought before them again for review.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I understand that there is a common understanding between both sides of the House that the Franchise Bill should come down to this House from "another place" before the House parts with this Bill. That being the case—and having paid careful attention to the matter I understand that to be the arrangement—I would strongly advise my hon. Friend to postpone the further consideration of this Bill until we get the Franchise Bill from the other House. It will then be possible for us to carry out any understanding that may be arrived at as between the two sides of the House. Such a course would, in my opinion, be fair and reasonable, and it would save the time of the House. I hope my hon. Friends will accept that suggestion.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to make any Motion on the subject?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Yes; I will move that the consideration of the Lords' Amendments be further postponed until Tuesday next.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and add the words "upon Tuesday next."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. EWART (Belfast, N.) rose amid cries of "Agreed!" The hon. Member said: I cannot agree with the statement that an engagement was entered into that the Franchise Bill should come down to this House before the Drainage Bill was passed. ["Oh!"] The engagement was that progress should have been made with the Franchise Bill. However, in deference to the appeal which has been made by the Leader of the House, I will cheerfully acquiesce in his suggestion.

Mr. SEXTON: May I respectfully ask that "Thursday" should be substituted for "Tuesday?" Although the Franchise Bill may be reported, it may not be read a third time to-morrow or Monday; and, therefore, we have no security that it will have come down here by Tuesday.

Mr. JOHNSTON: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will adhere to Tuesday.

MR. W. H. SMITH: There would be no objection to a further postponement if the Franchise Bill does not come down by Tuesday.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words "upon Tuesday next" *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

Ordered, That the Lords' Amendments be taken into Consideration upon *Tuesday* next.

QUESTIONS.

——o——

GENERAL REGISTER OF SASINES, EDINBURGH—EXTRA ATTENDANCE OF CLERKS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Keeper of the General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, has requested the clerks attached to the Edinburgh District of said Register to give, from the 27th June, a daily attendance of two hours beyond the ordinary office hours, for the purpose of overtaking the arrears of work caused by the extra pressure of the Whitsunday term; and, whether these clerks receive remuneration for such extra duties; and, if not, whether he will see that these extra duties will be recompensed according to the usual conditions of the service?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The Department referred to is liable to periodical increases of work, and by the conditions of their service the clerks employed in it may be required to give additional attendance without extra remuneration. It was found that, as compared with the progress made last year, the work was somewhat in arrear; and in order that the holidays might be given at the usual time directions were given for extra attendance till the arrears should be cleared off.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked whether it was intended to amend the scheme of 1881, relative to the Sasine Office, Edinburgh?

MR. JACKSON: The Board of Treasury has not at present any intention of altering the constitution of the Register House Departments, which was fixed by the Treasury Minute of 1881.

TRAMWAYS (IRELAND)—SCHULL AND SKIBBEREEN TRAMWAYS.

MR. D. SULLIVAN (Westmeath, S.) (for Dr. KENNY) (Cork, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Barony of East Division of West Carberry, South Cork, which is now liable to a cess of 9*d.* in the £1, struck at last Cork Assizes as a baronial guarantee for the Schull Tramway, offered through the Skibbereen Board of Guardians representing the ratepayers of the district, and also through the Grand Juror for said barony, the most strenuous opposition to the passing of said tramway scheme when brought before the Grand Jury at the Cork Spring Assizes in 1884, as being perfectly useless to the district, and opposed to the objects aimed at in the Act; whether the majority of the Cork Grand Jury who, on that occasion, passed the scheme, were men who have no rated property within said borough, and who are, therefore, not liable for the payment of any portion of this tax, which under the Act is payable exclusively by the occupying ratepayers and not by the landlords; and, whether, since the Schull Tramway is perfectly useless to the inhabitants of the Barony of the East Division of West Carberry, having, in fact, ceased to run, owing to defects of construction, both of permanent way and rolling stock, as shown by the recent Report of Major General Hutchinson, the Government, considering the original opposition of the district to the scheme, and the already overburdened and impoverished condition of the rated occupiers, will take the case into consideration, with a view to affording some temporary relief, either by a grant of the £3,000 necessary, according to General Hutchinson's Report, to put the line into working order, or in such other way as may be found most expedient?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The rate on the barony of the East Division of West Carberry made at last Cork Assizes for the Schull Tramway appears to be a little over 6*d.* in the £1, according to the list of county rates. It is a fact that the Skibbereen Board of Guardians opposed the project. The hearing of the case before the Grand

Jury in 1884 occupied a considerable time, and the Grand Jury were unanimously agreed that the line should be adopted. It is, no doubt, probable that the majority of the Grand Jury had no rated property in the barony, there being 23 baronies in the County of Cork, each of which must be always represented by a resident in the barony. I understand from the Board of Trade that it is not probable there will be any necessity to go to the barony for any further contributions in the matter of putting the line into working order.

MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONER OF THE GLENTIES DIVISION, CO. DONEGAL.

Mr. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the office of Coroner for the Glenties Division of the County of Donegal has been vacant since 3rd March, 1887; whether he is aware that much expense has been thereby entailed on the candidates for that office by reason of advertisements, meetings, &c.; whether complaints have reached him that the vacancy in the office for so prolonged a period has caused much public inconvenience; whether a vacancy in the office of Coroner for the Barony of Kenmurgh, County of Derry, has been filled, although it occurred long subsequently to the vacancy in Donegal; why has the writ for the election of a new Coroner for the Glenties Division of Donegal not been issued; and, what steps, if any, will be taken to secure an immediate election?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The delay in the issuing of the writ arose in consequence of an application for a re-division of the county into Coroners' districts, to enable additional polling places to be fixed. The first application for this purpose was informal. A further application, put forward in proper form, was granted; and upon the necessary preliminaries under that application being carried out the writ for a new election was issued on July 5. In the Londonderry case alluded to, the earlier issue of the writ was due to the circumstance that no informality arose, and the case was accordingly at once dealt with.

WAR OFFICE—PROMOTION OF PIONEER SERGEANTS.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware of the fact that pioneer sergeants, although they are obliged to go through special scientific training before being appointed to their positions, and in addition to possessing the qualification necessary for the post of orderly room sergeant—namely, a second-class school certificate (Army School), are yet debarred from all further promotion to which orderly room and other sergeants become entitled by length of service; and, whether he will take steps to remedy this grievance, under which this most deserving class of officers now suffer?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The importance and responsibility of the post of orderly-room sergeant are considerably greater than those of pioneer sergeant, and there is no valid reason why the higher rank given to orderly-room sergeants should be extended to pioneer sergeants. I may add that, except in the case of farrier sergeants, every non-commissioned officer must be in possession of a second-class certificate before he can be promoted sergeant.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE WORKS AT LOUGH ERNE AND BELEEK.

Mr. W. REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Government, in view of the importance of the work, will advance the remainder of the money authorized for the Lough Erne works when it is applied for by the Local Drainage Board; and, whether, in view of the large number of men thrown out of employment by the stoppage of the works at Beleek, the Government will use their influence with the Drainage Board to have those works resumed?

The SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I believe that there is no objection to the advance to the Drainage Board of the balance of the loan already authorized to be issued, if the report as to work done justifies the issue. I should say that it is a case rather for the exercise of local influence than of

Governmental pressure, even if the Government had any right to intervene.

MR. W. REDMOND asked the hon. Gentleman, whether the Government would support the Bill which had been introduced to extend the time for the completion of the work?

MR. JACKSON said, he had not seen the particulars of the Bill, and, therefore, could not answer the Question.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS) — THE BATHING LAKE IN VICTORIA PARK.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the water from the new bathing lake in Victoria Park passes into the old bathing lake, and thence into the boating lake, which last thus becomes the receptacle of water twice polluted; and, whether the boating lake gives off an offensive smell?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University), in reply, said, he was informed that, in the ordinary course of things, the water in Victoria Park should flow from the upper bathing lake to the lower bathing lake, and thence to the boating lake; and he could not for a moment agree with the hon. Member that the water could be polluted by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood bathing in it. At the present moment there was, it was believed, some leakage, which prevented the free flow of water between these three lakes; and, although there was another service of water for the boating lake, its condition had not been all that could be desired during the last few days of hot weather. The leakage he had mentioned would be set right with as little delay as possible.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT 1881 — SECTIONS I. AND VIII.—PERMANENT IMPROVEMENTS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the number of cases which have occurred under the following sections of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," with the total acreage to which they relate; Sub-section 6 of section I. enabling landlords to object to sale of tenant right on the ground of the permanent improvements having been made and maintained by such landlord or his predecessor; and, sub-section 4 of section VIII. enabling the Court to disallow applications for judicial rent on the ground of the permanent improvements having been made and maintained by such landlord or his predecessor?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied), said, that applications under Subsection 6 of section 1 of the Land Law Act only came before the Land Commission in cases where the tenant disputed the landlord's contention that the improvement of the holding had been made or substantially maintained by the landlord or his predecessors in title. Five such applications had been heard before the Land Commission, in one of which the landlord's contention had been established, and in the four other cases it had failed. There had also been one such application heard before the Civil Bill Court, in regard to which the Land Commissioners had no information as to the decision come to. The total acreage involved in these cases was 515 acres 3 roods 31 perches. With respect to cases under Sub-section 4 of Section 8, the Land Commissioners were unable to give the exact number; but they stated that there had been probably not more than 20 such cases.

POST OFFICE — THE TELEGRAPHISTS ON THE JUBILEE DAY.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the telegraphists of the Central Telegraph Station were forced to work not only their full duty hours but in many cases from two to four hours overtime on Jubilee Day, whilst the higher officials were allowed a holiday; and, whether they received extra pay or recognition of any kind for their services; and, if not, whether like other bodies of public servants they will receive some compensation?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that on the occasion to which he refers the telegraphists were no more forced than they are on any other day. The public required that their messages should be transmitted, and it was the duty of certain officers to be in attendance to dispose of the messages. When overtime was worked it was, in accordance with the usual practice, paid for. A holiday was given to as many officers as could be spared in all ranks, and not merely to the higher officials. It is not proposed to give any special payment to the officers to whom a holiday could not be allowed, although I should be glad if it were possible to do so.

MR. LAWSON asked, whether the telegraphists would have a holiday in their turn by way of compensation?

MR. RAIKES: I do not think that any special arrangements of that kind can be made.

TRADE AND COMMERCE — BRITISH TRADE IN SPAIN AND THE SPANISH COLONIES.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House what are the arrangements now in force as to the enjoyment by British trade of all such benefits and privileges as are enjoyed in the ports of Spain and the Spanish Colonies by the trade of the United States; and, whether it is proposed to present any Papers upon the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Article 31 of the Franco-Spanish Treaty of February 6, 1882, and Article 22 of the Germano-Spanish Treaty of July 12, 1883, secure to France and Germany most favoured nation treatment in the Spanish Colonies, while the previous Articles of those Treaties secure most favoured nation treatment in Spain. These provisions are extended to us by the Convention with Spain of April 26, 1886. Beyond this we have the repeated assurances of the Spanish Minister of State that we should receive in the Colonies the treatment granted to the United States. There has never been any question of a differentially favourable treatment of the United States in the Peninsula. The Correspondence on the subject is very engthy, and much of it inconclusive. It is not proposed to present it to Parliament.

THE REVIEW OF 2ND OF JULY — THE HONOURABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY AND THE ROYAL NAVAL VOLUNTEERS—PRECEDENCE AT REVIEWS.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Why the Royal Naval Volunteers marched past Her Majesty on Saturday last behind the Honourable Artillery Company; and, if the old and well recognised right of the men of the Royal Navy to occupy the right of the line, when aligned with Her Majesty's Land Forces, does not apply to the case of the Honourable Artillery Company; and, if so, whether he will cause the fact to be notified in the *Gazette?*

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) (who replied) said: By a General Order of 1883 Her Majesty was pleased to grant the Honourable Artillery Company, in consideration of its antiquity, precedence immediately after the Regular Forces; and, therefore, before the Militia and Yeomanry, who themselves take precedence of the Volunteers. While, therefore, the right of men of the Royal Navy to take the right of the line when in alignment with the Land Forces is not contested, nor that of the Royal Naval Volunteers to take precedence over other Volunteer corps, the Honourable Artillery Company must be regarded as on a separate footing, with precedence over Volunteer corps of every description.

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can now explain the exact position of Messrs. Streeter in relation to the Burmah Ruby Mines, as to letting, working, and payment; whether he can state when the first tender or proposal was received from Messrs. Streeter, and by whom; and the name of the person who, in India, Burmah, or elsewhere, conducted any actual negotiations with Messrs. Streeter; whether any public or private tenders, as to the working of the mines, were invited from any, and what, persons, and at what dates; whether other, and what, persons than the representatives of Messrs. Streeter, and desirous of tendering, applied, and to whom, for permission to inspect the Ruby Mines, and were refused; whether an engineer and staff, in the employ of Messrs. Streeter, were, since December last, escorted to Mojok, together with machinery for working the mines; and whether they are still at the mines, and how occupied; whether he has lately received any further information on this subject; and, whether he will lay upon the Table the Papers relating to the seizure and occupation of the Ruby Mines, and all subsequent correspondence?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): (1.) The position of Messrs. Streeter in reference to the Burmah Ruby Mines is at present one of expectancy. They have offered an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees for a licence to work the Ruby Mines under certain conditions in a certain defined area. Their offer is now before the Secretary of State in Council. (2.) Their first application was received by the Government of India in February, 1886. The negotiations were conducted by the Chief Commissioners of Burmah. (3.) No tenders for working the mines were invited by the Local Authorities; but the willingness of the Government of India to receive tenders was well known at the time when Messrs. Streeter's first application was received. (4.) No person other than a Mr. Unger applied for permission to visit the Ruby Mines and was refused by the Local Authorities. His application to visit the mines was made in December, 1886. (5.) No engineer and staff in the employment of Messrs. Streeter, together with machinery for working the mines, has ever been escorted to Mojok. (6.) Despatches have recently been received from India on the subject. (7.) The Secretary of State has directed these Despatches to be laid before the Council in the usual way; and the question of the best mode of disposing of the mines will be in due course considered by the Secretary of State in Council. As soon as any final decision has been arrived at, the Secretary of State will be happy to communicate it to Parliament, and he will willingly present such Papers on the subject as can with advantage to the Public Service be laid upon the Table of the House.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Will the hon. Gentleman say in what manner, on or prior to February, 1886, the willingness of the Government to accept tenders from any person was made well known?

SIR JOHN GORST: Well, I am afraid I cannot say how it was known. I can state as a fact, from information we have received, that it was well known. I may mention, among other things, that it was the subject of correspondence in *The Times*.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Does the hon. Gentleman remember that he told me, in answer to a Question last year, that the whole of the correspondence was absolutely incorrect?

SIR JOHN GORST: I do not think I ever made such a sweeping assertion as that. If I did, it was a figure of rhetoric. I do not know whether the hon. Member cares to put a Notice of another Question on the Paper. If he does, I shall be happy to give him a further answer from the information we possess.

MR. BRADLAUGH: When shall we have the Papers on the subject, in order to prevent the putting of needless Questions and the receiving of varying answers?

SIR JOHN GORST: The matter is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council. It is obvious that, in accordance with Parliamentary usage, Papers cannot be laid on the Table until that consideration has been effected and a decision arrived at. I cannot say how long it will last; but we will proceed with all reasonable expedition.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Have Papers relating to February, 1886, only just come into the hands of the Secretary of State for India?

[No reply.]

THE CIVIL SERVICE—NOTICE OF EXAMINATIONS.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that notice of the examinations for men clerkships in the Civil Service, to be held on the 9th August, was only published in the Irish newspapers of 3rd July; whether the notice required that forms from intending candidates should be filled and lodged with the Secretary Inland Revenue by the 5th July; whether he is aware that it was impossible that candidates from Ireland could procure and lodge their papers in such a short time; whether, under the circumstances, he will give directions that applications from Ireland may be received though not lodged for a few days after the 5th instant; and, whether he will give instructions that longer notice of intended examinations be given in future?

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL (A Lord of the Treasury) (Wigton) (who replied) said, the hon. Member must have been misinformed in the matter, as the advertisement referred to appeared in the Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, and Galway papers before the 24th of June.

WAR OFFICE — THE REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT — EXPOSURE TO THE HEAT.

Mr. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he is aware that at the inspection at Aldershot by the Duke of Cambridge the week before last, the troops were kept seven hours on the ground under a broiling sun and without water bottles?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): On the 23rd of June the troops were paraded at 10.15 a.m., and the review was over about 2.30 p.m. Water bottles were worn on the occasion in question, and water carts were with the brigades.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—INQUIRY INTO THE MOCHDRE RIOT—THE COMMISSIONER.

Mr. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can now state the name of the Commissioner to be appointed to inquire into the Anti-Tithe Disturbances at Mochdre, and the terms of Reference?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): An experienced police magistrate, Mr. Bridge, is the Commissioner who will inquire upon the spot into the origin, extent, and character of the disturbances which have occurred at Mochdre and other places in North Wales in connection with the levying of tithes, and into the conflicts which accompanied those disturbances, and who will report to me his opinion thereon.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): When will the inquiry take place?

Mr. MATTHEWS: Very promptly, Sir. I am still making arrangements, and will make a further statement to the House.

Mr. Cox

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): Will the Commissioner examine into the circumstances of the case now being inquired into by the magistrates?

Mr. MATTHEWS: I should like if the hon. Member will give Notice of the Question.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the fact that the promised inquiry into the Mochdre tithe disturbance has been enlarged in its scope so as to include the origin of tithe riots in Wales, the Government will appoint an additional Lay Commissioner to take evidence in various disturbed districts?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I have, as the House already knows, obtained the consent of an experienced police magistrate, Mr. Bridge, to hold this inquiry. I think one experienced and well-qualified Commissioner is a sufficient and satisfactory tribunal; but I hope to obtain the services of a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the Welsh language to act as Secretary to the Commissioner. Upon him will largely devolve the task of collecting and marshalling the evidence.

WAR OFFICE—DEATHS FROM SUNSTROKE AT THE CURRAGH CAMP.

Colonel GUNTER (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash) asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is true, as reported in the papers, that two men of the 11th Hussars died from sunstroke, received whilst on vedette duty at the Curragh Camp on Friday last; and, if there was any absolute necessity for their being thus exposed to the sun; and, if not, if he will give directions that men shall not be unnecessarily sent on duty during this very hot weather?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Only one case of sunstroke is reported to have taken place at the Curragh. A man of the 11th Hussars received a sunstroke on Friday last while on vedette duty at the rifle range, and died the next day. District orders on the subject of hot weather have been issued, with a view of preventing the recurrence of such a fatality.

THE CAPE COLONY—THE COLONIAL REGISTRATION BILL.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the provisions of the Registration Bill published in *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, on Tuesday, 15th March; and, if he will inquire whether the adoption of a measure which seems calculated to disfranchise large numbers of Her Majesty's coloured subjects, who have hitherto enjoyed electoral rights, would constitute a violation of the conditions on which responsible Government was granted to the Colony?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I have referred to the Bill mentioned in the hon. Member's Question, and especially to the 17th clause. There is nothing in the proposed legislation inconsistent with, or contrary to, the conditions under which the present Constitution of the Colony was established. I am informed that no native who, by reason of the Constitution Ordinance, has a claim to be registered will be deprived of that right under the new Bill; but the name of any man—white or black—now on the Register, the owner of which has not the qualification laid down in the Constitution Ordinance, will be removed from the Register. The result of the section has been, I believe, practically approved by the Aborigines Protection Society, who recently, when discussing an Electoral Bill relating to the Transkei territories, observed that—

> "No one proposes that the Natives who are still under the tribal system should be entitled to vote."

MADAGASCAR—THE SLAVE TRADE ON THE WEST COAST.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has reason to believe that effectual means have been taken to suppress the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Madagascar; and, whether Her Majesty's Consul at Tamatave has adequate means to punish British subjects in Madagascar who may engage in slave trading?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have reason to believe that the means taken have been effectual in suppressing the trade. Her Majesty's Consul has powers under Order in Council, which would, it is believed, suffice for punishing British subjects engaged in the trade.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE — ALLEGED BLACKMAILING AT THE WEST END.

MR. W. L. BRIGHT (Stoke-upon-Trent) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the authorities have any record of blackmailing on the part of the police of the Metropolis; and, whether on certain occasions it has been found necessary to remove police constables in considerable quantities from the West End to the East End of London, where the opportunities for the practice are less frequent?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Chief Commissioner of Police that the only cases he has been able at present to find recorded against police constables, with reference to unfortunate women, are some half-a-dozen cases since 1882. I will show the hon. Member the details of those cases if he wishes it. During the last three years 6,240 unfortunates have been charged in the B, C, and E Divisions. In the investigation of so many cases, it seems probable that if any system of blackmailing had existed it would have been disclosed, although the existence of isolated cases is quite possible. About 19 years ago charges of black-mailing were brought against the police; but since that time the Chief Commissioner cannot ascertain that it has ever been found necessary to remove police constables in considerable quantities from the West End to the East End of London on this account, or that any charge of this nature has been proved except in isolated cases.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): Is any notice to be taken of the statement made in the House by an hon. Member as regards 30 such cases?

MR. MATTHEWS: There is a Question on that subject.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—CHARGES MADE BY THE HONOURABLE MEMBER FOR BARROW.

MR. W. L. BRIGHT (Stoke-upon-Trent) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps the Government intend to take in reference to the grave charge made in this House against the Metropolitan Police Force by the hon. Member for Barrow (Mr. Caine)?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The hon. Member for Barrow will, I hope, furnish the Government with sufficient information to enable us to decide in what way the charge made in his speech can best be investigated. I may add that I have received from the Chief Commissioner, in the name of the Police Force, a request that a full investigation should be made; and, on receiving the information I have referred to, I will at once take the necessary steps for making it.

CYPRUS—REPORT ON THE LOCUST CAMPAIGN, 1885 AND 1886.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the Reports on the Locust Campaign in Cyprus in 1885 and 1886; whether "the actual cost of locust destruction" in the year ending 30th June, 1885, was £3,387, and in the year ending 30th June, 1886, £3,341; whether, as a result of this expenditure and of previous expenditure, the engineer reports—

> "I have satisfied myself that great destruction has been wrought among the locust swarms, and they have been so kept down that there is no reason to apprehend an increase next year;"

whether the Government is satisfied with the result so far obtained—namely, "that there is no reason to apprehend an increase next year;" and, whether it is the intention of the Government to increase the staff by supplying each Commissioner with two assistants?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): My attention has been called to these Reports. I believe the actual cost of locust destruction in the year ending June 30, 1885, was £3,387, and in the year ending June 30, 1886, £3,341. The result of the locust campaigns of recent years is regarded as highly satisfactory. The insects have ceased to do any appreciable injury to the crops. The question of the assistance to be granted to each District Commissioner for locust work is considered in the spring of each year according to the estimate of the work to be done. I can give no further information at this time of the year.

THE PARIS EXHIBITION, 1889.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, why the promised Correspondence concerning the French Exhibition has not been printed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): In the preparation of any Papers for presentation many references are necessary, and some delay is unavoidable. I do not think that in this case there has been any avoidable delay. I hope that the Papers will be in the hands of Members by the end of this week.

ADMIRALTY—SHIPBUILDING—SHEATHED CRUIZERS.

ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true, as stated in the newspapers, that—

> "The Admiralty have decided to build two very fine sheathed cruizers at a cost of nearly £500,000, for the building of which three leading shipbuilding firms are in correspondence with the Admiralty;"

and, if so, why these vessels should not be built on some of the many vacant building slips in Her Majesty's Dockyards?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): In the Official Memorandum and Estimates laid before Parliament for 1887-8 the Admiralty propose to lay down five new cruizers, costing about £140,000 each, three of which were to be built in the Dockyards, and two by contract; and there has been no departure from that programme. It is advisable, when a number of ships of a new type are to be built, to put some out to contract, as the contract and dockyard prices check one another.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS.

MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a letter, dated 30th June, in *The Daily Telegraph* of 6th July, addressed by Mrs. Bowman to the Police Authorities, in reference to the case of Miss Cass, of Police Constable Endacott, and of Mr. Newton, the police magistrate, as well as the official reply, dated 2nd July, from the Office of the Chief Commissioners, acknowledging Mrs. Bowman's letter; and, whether he will ascertain how it happened that the Chief Commissioner informed him, on the afternoon of the 5th July, that—

> "The document had not reached him, and he is not aware of any complaint having been made?"

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he is aware that an official letter marked "C. 2457," and signed "W. F. M. Staples," was forwarded on 2nd July to Madam Bowman, stating that a complaint respecting the arrest of Miss Cass had been received, and that it would be laid before the Commissioner of Police?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): Mrs. Bowman's letter arrived at the Chief Office on July 2, and was acknowledged by a clerk. It was then sent by the clerk direct to Mr. Howard, the Chief Constable of the District, for inquiry, in accordance with the usual practice in such cases introduced after the Report of the Committee of 1886, which decided that the work was too much centralized in Scotland Yard. Mr. Howard did not return to his office on the evening of Saturday, July 2, after the arrival of this letter, and did not see it till Monday, the 4th. On that day he was much engaged on special duty at the Imperial Institute till the afternoon, when he sent the letter to the D Division for inquiry. On the afternoon of July 5 it was sent back to Chief Constable Howard, with other letters in the division bag. From the Chief Constable it was sent to the Chief Commissioner, and did not reach him till after he had seen me. At the time he saw me the Chief Commissioner was ignorant of the purport of Mrs. Bowman's letter. On consideration of that letter, the Chief Commissioner suspended Police Constable Endacott from duty. The House will remember that the strain of the whole of the Police Force was excessive during the days in question; and that the whole time of the Chief Commissioner and his chief officers was taken up by important and abnormal duties.

Mr. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden): I should like to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can give the House any information as to the probable date when the result of the inquiry by the Lord Chancellor will be made public? Is it not a fact that the salary of the police magistrate is not paid out of the Consolidated Fund; and, therefore, the House has no opportunity of expressing its opinion when the Estimates come to be discussed?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I must ask the hon. Gentleman to give Notice of the Question. I shall have to communicate with the Lord Chancellor before I can reply to it.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS — POLICE CONSTABLE ENDACOTT.

Mr. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Police Constable Endacott has been, or will be, suspended from street duty pending the promised inquiry into his conduct in the case of Miss Cass?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): On July 6 he was suspended, pending the inquiry—after the Commissioner had received Mrs. Bowman's letter.

Mr. H. J. WILSON: Yesterday?

Mr. MATTHEWS: Yes.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to give Notice that in Committee of Supply, or on some other suitable occasion, I will call attention to the whole question of the conduct and administration of the Metropolitan Police.

BURIALS ACT, 1880—THE VICAR OF NORHAM-ON-TWEED.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that at the close of last month the Rev. Canon Waite, D.D., Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed, while assenting to the burial in a family vault in the churchyard of the parish of Mr. Andrew Mitchell, of Berwick-on-Tweed, a non-parishioner, declined to allow the Rev. W. A. Walters, a Nonconformist minister, to perform the Burial Service authorized by "The Burials Act, 1880," at the burial, on the ground that that Act does not extend to the burial of non-parishioners; and, whether there is any provision in that Act making it applicable to the case of non-parishioners where the incumbent assents to their burial in the parish churchyard; and, if not, whether any steps could be taken to remove a prevailing misconception on the part of the clergy generally?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am not aware of the facts connected with the burial of Mr. Andrew Mitchell. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman wishes, I will inquire into them. As to the question of law, the Burials Act of 1880 gives no right to non-parishioners to be buried in the parish churchyard. If the incumbent assents to the burial of a non-parishioner it appears to me to be left undecided by the Act whether he could lawfully annex any condition to his assent, such as that suggested by the Question.

WAR OFFICE—COMPETITION FOR THE MEDICAL STAFF.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any Regulation or Order exists whereby gentlemen wishing to compete for commissions in the Medical Staff are debarred, by reason of their inability, to make a declaration that "their parents are of unmixed European blood;" whether any similar Regulation exists with regard to officers in other branches of Her Majesty's Services; whether a gentleman was recently prevented from competing for a commission in the Army and Medical Staff on account of his having an admixture of Indian blood in the third generation; and, whether this gentleman was the son of a General Officer by an English mother?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): A declaration is required from candidates for the Army Medical Staff that their parents are of unmixed European blood. The reason is that it is held by the Medical Authorities that the constitutions of men of mixed British and Indian race would break down under service in Northern climates. There is, however, of course, a limit of distance beyond which the infusion of Asiatic blood could not be held to be prejudicial to military efficiency; and I scarcely think that in the case quoted by my hon. Friend any objection would be taken. I believe that the same Rule applies in the Naval Medical Service. The gentleman referred to applied for a Schedule of Qualifications; but it does not appear that he ever sent it in filled up.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—BEAM-TRAWLING IN ABERDEEN BAY.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is prepared to lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the Report of the Scotch Fishery Board, with details as to the nature and extent of experiments said to have been made by that Board, and which has led the Scotch Secretary to revoke the bye-law prohibiting beam-trawling in the Aberdeen Bay; and, whether he is aware that line fishermen are universally of opinion that great good resulted from the period of prohibition now revoked?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The Annual Report of the Board, which will be presented immediately, will give information and statistics connected with the trawling experiments, including those in Aberdeen Bay. I must remind the hon. Member that the bye-law in question was passed solely for purposes of experiment; and that it is matter for after consideration what shall be done as the result of the information derived from this experiment. And, of course, the views of practical fishermen as to the effect of the experiments will have weight in the question what permanent bye-laws are to be issued.

WALES — THE TITHE AGITATION — THE RIOT AT LLANGWM.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the persons charged with assault and riot during the collection of tithe at Llangwm have been summoned to appear at the Petty Sessional Division at Ruthin, 15 miles away from the Petty Sessional Division within which the alleged offences are supposed to have been committed; and, whether he is aware that this entails great expense upon the defendants and their witnesses, many of whom are labourers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; it is a fact these persons have been summoned to appear at Ruthin, the reason being, as I understand, that this is the only place where there is sufficient Court accommodation; and, moreover, it was not deemed advisable that the case should be heard in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of the riots. The expenses incurred by defendants and witnesses can, by Statute, be allowed by the Court.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DENBIGHSHIRE QUARTER SESSIONS—RIOTS AT LLANGWM.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen the following statement of the Chairman of the Denbighshire Quarter Sessions, in charging the Grand Jury, on Friday, 1st July, 1887:—

> "He was glad that a large number of persons engaged in the disgraceful riots at Llangwm were to be brought to justice. As an inquiry was to be held at Mochdre, he would not refer to that;"

and, whether he will call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No, Sir; I have not seen the statement in question; but I do not consider that the words alleged to have been used are of such importance as to make it necessary for me to call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the matter.

SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

MR. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can explain why the Secretary for Scotland Bill has not been introduced into the House of Lords, in accordance with the expectations held out by the Lord Advocate; and, whether the Government still expect to introduce the Bill on an early day?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. Member is aware that I am not responsible for the management of Business in the other House of Parliament. I have no doubt his Question will attract attention, and that in due time the measure will be brought into the other House.

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (1882)—MOTIONS FOR ADJOURNMENT AT QUESTION TIME.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the fact that a Motion for the Adjournment moved for the purpose of calling attention to a matter of urgent public importance, involves if successful the loss of a Parliamentary day, he will withdraw the proposed Second Rule of Procedure, and propose another whereby such inconvenience may for the future be avoided?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I think the suggestion of the hon. and learned Gentleman is worthy of consideration, and I will undertake to give it the attention it requires.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether he can give the House some further information with regard to the Egyptian Convention and the movements of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's instructions not to remain at Constantinople beyond the present week are unaltered, and the situation is exactly as I stated it on Tuesday.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION BILL.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When this Bill would be introduced, and also when the Education Estimates would be brought forward?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was afraid they could not hope to introduce the Technical Education Bill until the Irish Land Law Bill had been read a second time. When he was enabled to form some estimate as to when that measure would receive a second reading, he would endeavour to name a day for bringing in the Technical Education Bill. With regard to the Education Estimates, he was still less able to state the date at which they would be taken. The House had made very small progress at present with the Estimates; and he believed that it would be desirable to take all the Classes in their order on the Paper, as far as possible.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked, If the Government had now decided whether the Technical Education Bill was to apply to Scotland; or, if not, whether they would introduce another Bill specially relating to Scotland?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have every hope that the Bill will apply to Scotland; but, undoubtedly, the claims of Scotland will be fully recognized.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE SUMMER ASSIZES—CHARGES OF THE JUDGES.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a Question of which I have given him private Notice—If his attention has been called to the address delivered by Mr. Justice Murphy to the Grand Jury of the County of Longford, as reported in *The Freeman's Journal* of the 6th instant, in which he said—

> "I am happy to say the number of bills to go before is so very few"—

only two; whether he has noticed that on the same date Mr. Baron Dowse, in opening the Commission at Carlow, said, in his address to the Grand Jury—

> "He was glad to be able to inform them, and he believed it was a very usual announcement, that their labours at the present Assizes would not be very much. There were only two bills to go before them. The County Inspector stated in his Report that the condition of the county was, on the whole, satisfactory, and that there was nothing to complain of in the condition of the county as far as crime was concerned;"

further, whether his attention had been directed to the address of the late Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Justice Holmes, to the Grand Jury of Drogheda the same date, in which he is reported to have spoken as follows:—

> "His Lordship, in addressing the Grand Jury, said—Gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the County of the Town of Drogheda—It is, indeed, a matter of great satisfaction to me, on this the first occasion that I have been called on to preside in a Court of Assizes, to find the calendar a blank, and to be able to congratulate you heartily upon the freedom from crime which exists in the County of the Town of Drogheda. If it is a source of satisfaction to me, I can well understand that it must be also a source of satisfaction to you, who must be deeply interested in the peace and prosperity of this community. You must, of course, expect that in a busy place like this there should be minor offences; but on looking over the reports presented to me, I find that even minor offences are very few, and as far as serious crime is concerned, or even indictable offences, you appear to have enjoyed a perfect freedom from such cases since the last Assizes. I received a pair of white gloves from the Sheriff as a fitting emblem presented to the Judge when there is no criminal business to be disposed of. As soon as the presentments are disposed of I will be happy to discharge you;"

and whether, in view of such high judicial testimony as to the freedom of the country from crime, it is still the intention of the Government to proceed with the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill now before the House?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have not seen the reports referred to; but I have no reason to doubt their correctness. With regard to the Question which the hon. Member appended to the extract, while I regard as very satisfactory the circumstance that many parts of Ireland are free from crime, I do not think that is sufficient reason for not pressing on a Bill intended to deal with those parts of Ireland which are not free from crime.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL.

In reply to Sir JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had already informed the House that he was awiting the results of the conferences which were being held with gentlemen who were interested in this measure, in the hope that those conferences would dispose of a very large number of Amendments. He hoped he should be able to name a day for the resumption of the Committee stage after the second reading of the Irish Land Law Bill.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 305.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

THIRD READING. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) said: Mr. Speaker, in moving the rejection of this Bill, I will endeavour to confine myself directly to matters directly bearing upon the question at issue, and thereby to confine my remarks within moderate compass, avoiding altogether all allusions to imputations and accusations, on which a good deal, perhaps, might be said, if it were convenient to the House that it should be done, in respect to the course of former proceedings on the Bill. Now, Sir, I must endeavour to consider the Bill with regard to what it is and also in its relation to Irish policy. As respects its relation to Irish policy, I am of opinion—and perhaps that opinion is shared even by many who sit on the opposite side of the House—at all events it is my own conviction—that the Bill now before us is the alternative to a policy of what is termed Home Rule or self-government for Ireland in Irish affairs, and likewise, that being so, it is a great mistake to treat this Bill, which is called a Crimes Bill, and more popularly called a Coercion Bill, as if it were a Coercion Bill of the ordinary character. In my own opinion, Sir, it marks a new era—and a disastrous era—in the history of coercion, and perhaps I may be permitted to refer to a declaration which I was empowered to make on the part of the Government which was in Office in April, 1886, in two very short passages, where I ventured to point out that the coercion in use up to that time had not attained its end, and that what we had probably to contemplate was, that if we continued upon the lines of coercion it must be coercion of a new description, and I said:—

> "If it is to attain its end, it must be differently maintained, and maintained with a different spirit, courage, and consistency compared with the coercion with which we have been heretofore familiar . . . . If coercion is to be the basis for legislation, we must no longer be seeking, as we are always laudably seeking, to whittle it down almost to nothing at the very first moment we begin; but we must, like men, adopt it, hold by it, sternly enforce it, till its end has been completely attained—with what results, peace, goodwill, and freedom I do not now stop to inquire. Our ineffectual and spurious coercion is morally worn out."—(3 *Hansard,* [304] 1041-2.)

And, Sir, it does appear to me, that the distinction is a broad one between the two kinds of coercion to which I referred. The old coercion was aimed at crime. The new coercion—I will not deny that it includes crime in its aim—but it passes beyond the aim at crime, and it aims at association. Association is the only weapon whereby the many and the poor can redress the inequality of their struggle with wealth, influence, power, and administrative authority. This is a broad and a most important distinction to which I will call the attention of the House further on in terms calculated, so far as I can find them, to make it clear to the House and to the country; but my first contention is this—that this Bill has been introduced and has been brought to its present stage, and will, no doubt, be carried on through what still remains of its progress—has been brought in without any case whatever to justify the introduction of it, even had it been a Coercion Bill of the ancient fashion, directed simply against crime. Now, I wish to found myself on that allegation, not upon the use of vague and general terms, but upon statements which the House can check, and which it is in the power of opponents to confute if they be untrue. For my first statement, which I have had occasion to make at various times during the events of the present year, is one that cannot altogether, I think, be deemed unworthy of attention. It is this—that we who are inflicting special and restrictive criminal legislation upon Ireland belong to a country which has more crime than Ireland has. I have made that assertion repeatedly, and an hon. and learned Member of this House, who has treated me with a most perfect courtesy, addressed a letter to *The Times*, in which he said that as this assertion had been repeatedly made, he thought it was material that its inaccuracy should be exposed, and that hon. Member proceeded to expose the inaccuracy by comparing crime upon a basis, which, in the first place, as he has since admitted, included serious or gross errors; and, in the second place—when no other refuge was left—by comparing the crime on a basis of the aggregate number of offences committed in the country, including all those which it has never been usual to include in the records of permanent and serious crime—namely, those which are not indictable offences. I confine myself, as has been invariably done, to indictable offences, and I do not look to those acts which are differently classified in different countries, and which generally belong to the department of what is called abroad "correctional police" rather than to the category of crime. Speaking of crime proper, I find in round numbers that the case stands about thus — that in England the convictions—of which I am now speaking alone—would represent something under one in 2,500, in Scotland something under one in 2,000, and in Ireland a trifle over one in 3,000. That is as relates to convictions. It may be said that the law in Ireland is not so effective as in England. Therefore, I next look to committals, and the statement relating to committals as undergone the ordeal of public discussion, because an hon. Member of this House replied to the hon. Member who had questioned my estimate of crime, and the truth and accuracy of his statement has been admitted. With respect to committals, the case as I understand it, stands thus—in Ireland there were 2,155 persons committed, against 14,062 in England and Wales. That proportion would represent the number of 54 for England and Wales upon a given population, against 44 for Ireland; or in round numbers, still more simple, the proportion of about 11 to nine in favour of Ireland. Well, then, Sir, it may be said that in Ireland crime is winked at, and many persons who commit crime are never discovered nor committed to prison on account of it. Then, Sir, I would take the amount of indictable offences committed in the respective countries. There I find they stand thus. In Ireland 6,961 indictable offences, representing, I believe, about 139 for a population of 10,000. In England and Wales 43,692 indictable offences, representing 169 in a population of 10,000. We thus make good the proposition, which is to say the least singular—namely, that the three countries which are more largely afflicted with crime are invading, and permanently invading, another country where crime is less rife than it is with us. But then it will be said, and said with some truth, that crime in Ireland, crime of a certain kind, has a peculiar character such as it does not present in England; that it stands in relation to popular feeling and social order in a manner in which it does not stand on this side of the Channel. Sir, that is true. But this is also true; that it has always been held necessary that in order to justify a Coercion Bill there should be in Ireland a state of exceptional crime and outrage. I am now quoting the phrase which was used, and well used, not very long ago—I think at the last Election—by the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Lord John Manners). He said there must be exceptional crime and outrage to justify coercion, and that, unless the crime and outrage be exceptional, you will hear nothing of a Coercion Bill. Well, Sir, in this House an attempt was made to interpret these words as signifying that there was a difference in the character of Irish crime as compared with the character of crime elsewhere. But that is not the basis on which Coercion Bills have been introduced in this House. They have always required, and Ministers have been required, to show a state of crime exceptional for Ireland—exceptional as compared with the state of crime and outrage at other periods in Ireland itself. I am quite certain that position cannot successfully be assailed. There is no exceptional state of crime and outrage whatever in Ireland at this time which, according to any of our Parliamentary traditions and the well understood doctrine and practice of the House of Commons, can constitute a warrant for the introduction of a Coercion Bill, even in the old sense of a Coercion Bill —namely, a Bill directed against crime. Now, Sir, what is the state of crime at the present time? In the year 1885 there were 916 agrarian outrages specially reported by the Constabulary. In 1886 there were 1,025. I have to regret that on a former occasion I stated that the number of outrages was the same, and I was taken to task by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for

Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) for having so stated it. I do not think I owe any apology to the right hon. Gentleman on this ground. He began by neglecting his duty altogether. He failed to lay before the House what it has been the established custom of this House for the Irish Minister to do—namely, to produce an authentic and official statement of the condition of Ireland with respect to the number of crimes and outrages when the plea is made for the introduction of a Coercion Bill. Having done that, we were left, as he kindly told us, to hunt up for ourselves and make up our own statistical accounts. A friend very kindly performed that office for me, and gave me a return which represented two years, which were as nearly identical as possible. Having some suspicion of my statistics, I signified that I should be obliged to the right hon. Gentleman if he would correct me if I were wrong. But he deliberately refrained from correcting me, and had the good taste and ingenuousness in his reply to charge me with having laid these inaccurate figures before the House. I take these figures as they are, and I say they constitute no case whatever for the introduction of a Coercion Bill, even in the old sense of coercion. An increase of 10 or 11 per cent in the year 1886 as compared with the year 1885 is not an augmentation which has ever been alleged as constituting an exceptional state of circumstances, still less can it be alleged when we recollect that the year 1886 was a year of exceptional pressure and distress, and that exceptional pressure and distress, other circumstances being equal, was morally certain to produce an increase of crime; and, for my own part, I think we have every reason to feel well satisfied that the increase of agrarian crime in 1886 compared with 1885 was so small an increase in the circumstances of distress and pressure that prevailed in the country. Well, Sir, but no attempt has been made to reply to the statement of my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), who called the attention of the House to this very significant circumstance; in the last five months of 1885 the Party now in power were in power. In those five months they did not deem the state of Ireland to be such as to make it their duty to introduce a Coercion Bill. In the first five months, and in much the greater part of those five months—namely, until the time of the Election—they were in every way disparaging coercion, and taking much credit to themselves, which I had every disposition to give them, for endeavouring to govern Ireland without the use of this odious instrument. In the first five months of 1887 they find a necessity for introducing a Coercion Bill—a Coercion Bill of such a character as has never been known to this House. Was there, then, a great increase or any increase at all of crime in the first five months of 1887 as compared with the last five months of 1885? On the contrary, there was a decline in the latter period as compared with the former in 1885, when they did not find a Coercion Bill necessary. In the five months of 1885 there were 474 offences. In 1887, when they did find a Coercion Bill necessary, the offences were 387.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Which months of the year? We brought in the Coercion Bill before those five months had expired.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: The first five months of 1887 and the last five months of 1885. I believe the comparison of months is a fair comparison, because I am not aware of anything that periodically bears on the increase of crime except the length or shortness of the day. Therefore, Sir, instead of an increase of crime, we have a decrease of crime in the periods which alone we can compare in a manner to throw light upon the views and policy of the Government with respect to crime and coercion, and this comparison exhibits the astounding change that has taken place in their views. With respect to the two years, that small increase in 1886, as compared with 1885, was an increase which might reasonably have been expected from the increase of distress, and is altogether insignificant with respect to the proposal to make it the basis of a Coercion Bill. Then, Sir, the Government have one other refuge, and that is to fall back upon the year 1870, and show that in the year 1870 the number of reported agrarian crimes in the preceding year was smaller than the number reported in 1886. That is quite true. In 1886, as I have said, the number reported was 1,025, and in 1869 the number reported was only 767. What, then, were the circumstances in which the Coercion Bill against crime was introduced in 1870? Sir, they were these — that agrarian crime a short time before—and I must say that I am rather surprised that no Member of the Government should have turned these figures to account, or thought to exhibit the real state of facts by showing the rate of increase of crime at that time—has been almost extinct, but had begun to grow with fearful rapidity, and that growth was observable, not only from year to year, but from quarter to quarter, in such a manner as might well and reasonably alarm the friends of social order. There is a question raised as to the different modes in which the Constabulary have reported crime at one period and at another period. I do not think it has any bearing upon the argument I am now making, because the crimes, I believe, are taken according to the responsible statements made to Parliament, which exhibit with accuracy the grounds upon which Parliament adopts a certain course of legislation. The point in 1870, as I have said, was not simply the height to which agrarian crime had reached, but the rate at which it was increasing; and what was that rate? I have shown that this year there is, as compared with the time when the same set of politicians were in Office and did not think coercion necessary, a large decrease. What was the case in 1870? In 1866 the number of reported agrarian offences was 87. That was increased rapidly in 1867-8-9. In 1869 the number was 767, or nearly ninefold what it had been in 1866; and even in 1869 itself the movement was most remarkable, because, while in the first quarter of 1869, from January to March, there were 101 reported agrarian offences, in the last quarter, from October to December, which may fairly be compared with the same quarter, there were 540 such offences. Thus the increase of agrarian crime was more than fivefold within the course of a single year. What plea or shadow of justification do these facts afford for the introduction of the present Bill, which is introduced upon a stationary condition of crime at a time when there is less increase of crime than there was at the period when the Government thought there was not sufficient ground for proposing coercion? What were the facts of the case in 1870? The House of Commons almost unanimously passed that Act. There were many Members from Ireland at that time representing popular constituencies. Yet many of them supported the Bill, while not above 12 of them voted against it. It was an accepted Bill; but this Bill, for which such urgency has been pleaded and all the liberties of the House of Commons suppressed, is opposed by a large minority of this House, and, as far as I can judge, a minority not likely to decrease. I say that it is plain by the most unequivocal and conclusive evidence, that if we have any sort of regard to the traditions of liberty or of Parliamentary usage, there is not to be alleged in support of the present measure, even if we consider it as a Coercion Bill of the old stamp—there is not to be alleged any of the justification which has always by previous Parliaments, and even by previous Governments, been considered essential to warrant the invasion of the liberties of the people, and to warrant a slight—if not an insult—to Ireland. Had this Bill been simply a Crimes Bill, I venture to give a confident opinion that the 40 odd nights which have been spent upon it would have been reduced by three-fourths. But it is not a Crimes Bill to which this persistent opposition has been offered. It is a Bill of the new fashion, of the new coercion, which has now received, for the first time, the support of a majority of the House of Commons. I must confess I resent the statements sometimes made, impugning our conduct as opponents of the Bill, that we have done the same thing ourselves. We have not done the same thing ourselves. I do not raise the question whether what we have done is right or wrong. Fifteen months ago I publicly confessed in the House the failure of what we did, and I urged Parliament to take a better and a wiser course. If there be those who have been parties to former Bills, and who think those Bills to be of the same character as the present Bill, they are perfectly justified in saying so; but we are entitled to lodge an earnest and warm protest against that assertion, because the Bill we have now before us is of a character entirely different. But, now, to some extent the admission is made that the Bill is of a different character. The answer made by the Government is this—"True, we have put forward some rather staggering proposals, but then look at our safeguards." Now, what are these safeguards? One of the most extraordinary and unprecedented proposals ever made to Parliament in this country—such a proposal as I believe no Tory Government ever ventured to make in the days before the passing of the Reform Act—is that which makes the Viceroy of Ireland—that is to say, the right hon. Gentleman opposite. the Chief Secretary of Ireland—if he is a Cabinet Minister and the Viceroy is not, which makes the Chief Secretary the master of the whole law, and of the right of association in Ireland. It is alleged that there is an admirable safeguard, and the safeguard is that there may be an appeal to this House. Well, the House must be summoned if it was not sitting. That argument may have some effect with those who are greatly satisfied with the manner in which the majority of the House has estimated the value of Irish liberties. This appeal appears to us to be of a very moderate value indeed; but whatever it is, it is nothing but a partial remedy applicable to the proposal in its altogether novel form, and constituting, it appears to me, an outrage on the principle of public freedom. I am surprised at the boldness of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, though I am bound to admit that his boldness has modified very considerably. I was surprised when he claimed, as a very important safeguard, the fact that some of the provisions which Parliament adopted in 1881, and put in motion directly and by its own authority over Ireland, are now made dependent upon the right hon. Gentleman making them necessary. That is a difference which the right hon. Gentleman may think important, but which, in my opinion, was hardly worth being even mentioned in debate. It is admitted, then, that this Bill contains the gravest novelties. How stands the case? I have the words of the right hon. Gentleman the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) as I took them down at the time; and I at once made them the subject of notice to my right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South Hackney (Sir Charles Russell). I said to them—We have now got an admission which, at any rate, is of the greatest value. The words were these—

> "There is no offence punishable under this Act except such as is already a felony or misdemeanour—"

that is what I should have called a Crimes Act—

> "or as is constituted an offence under the 2nd Clause of this Bill dealing with intimidation."

I am not absolutely certain as to the word "second;" but it is immaterial, as the second clause did deal with intimidation. We therefore have it upon the declaration of the Government—at last the clear and unequivocal declaration of the Government—that offences are constituted under the clause of this Bill dealing with intimidation which were not criminal offences before. Therefore, our original allegation against the Bill was justified. What was the defence set up by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary? It was a defence with regard to which I hardly could have supposed for a moment that it would impose upon any portion of the House, and it was a defence entirely destructive of the position of his right hon. and learned Colleague, the late Attorney General for Ireland, because it amounted to a denial of what that right hon. and learned Gentleman had said. The right hon. and learned late Attorney General had told us that there were acts which were constituted offences under the clause of this Bill dealing with intimidation. He used those words. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head, but I have witnesses to sustain me in my allegation, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General, though the matter has been debated in Parliament, has had the good sense and good faith not to deny it. New offences are constituted. We have it out of the mouth of the Government itself, and it is too late to make denial. What was the expedient to which the right hon. Gentleman resorted? He said that certain words in the beginning of the clause enacted that the conspiracy must be a conspiracy of a nature now punishable by law, and he actually relied upon those words to overturn his own Attorney General. Does not the right hon. Gentleman suppose that we are aware that there are two things in question, one the nature and manner of the agreement which is the conspiracy, and the other the nature of the acts to which the agreement refers. The nature of the agreement, I grant you, must be the same as under the present law, and that is the effect of the words quoted by the right hon. Gentleman; but the Acts with respect to which the agreement is to be made are changed by this Bill. And what are they? They are acts of exclusive dealing, which are thus defined—

> "To compel or induce any person or persons either not to fulfil his or their equal obligations, or not to let, hire, use, or occupy any land, or not to deal with, work for, or hire any person or persons in the ordinary course of trade, business, or occupation, or to interfere with the administration of the law."

Now, these words are a comprehensive description of what is known as "exclusive dealing." Exclusive dealing, I am sorry to say, is very largely practised in this country, and exclusive dealing is also cruelly practised in Ireland towards any Protestant who is disposed to show himself a Home Ruler. A short time ago I gave an instance of an Irish clergyman who was reduced to beggary for the offence of being a Home Ruler, and after I mentioned that case I immediately received in my correspondence offers from Ireland to make me acquainted with the particulars of many other cases. But whatever this exclusive dealing may be, there are two things to be said of it—it is far more pardonable on the part of the poor and the weak than on the part of the great, the rich, and the powerful; and, secondly, it has never been a crime by our law. It is a social evil; it is a mischief which ought to be brought to a close by the passing of sound laws, and by the progress of manners and civilization; but it ought not to be constituted a crime. At any rate, if it is to be constituted a crime, it ought to be so constituted impartially and universally. But you would not dare to lift a finger in defence of such provisions for England and Scotland. However rampant exclusive dealing might become amongst us, you know very well that you would have to look on in silence and in apparent indifference. I have a word to say as to the favourite doctrine of those who are opposed to our policy of giving autonomy to Ireland. Their favourite doctrine is this—that Ireland ought not to have any Legislative Assembly of its own; but ought to enjoy equal rights with the rest of the Kingdom under a United Parliament. I wish to apply this test of equal rights under a united Parliament to the matter that is now before us. I say that in England, Scotland, and Wales any man is free to induce as much as he likes, and to combine with others in inducing other persons—

> "Not to fulfil his or their legal obligations, or not to let, hire, use, or occupy any land, or not to deal with, work for, or hire any person or persons in the ordinary course of trade, business, or occupation."

These are rights of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, which you are going to deny to Irishmen, and having denied them, you are going to say that Ireland ought not to have a separate Legislative Assembly of her own because she is blessed with the privilege of enjoying equal rights with those enjoyed by the other parts of the United Kingdom. Now, this touches a point which it is important should be made clear. An Amendment was moved with the object of extending the immunities granted to trades unions in England to tenants in Ireland. It was proposed to grant the Irish tenant in respect of his holding the same description of immunity as is now enjoyed by a member of a trade union if he does not fulfil his obligations to his employer in the course of any dispute connected with his trade. I am at present making no complaint of the rejection of that Amendment, because I admit that there are certain differences between the cases of the tenant in Ireland and the workman in England. But my hon. and learned Friend the late Attorney General moved an Amendment providing that no person or persons doing any of the things mentioned in the clause should be chargeable with conspiracy in respect of any such act unless such act would, if done by one person alone, be punishable as a crime. This is the right enjoyed by every member of a trade union in England and Scotland in regard to labour contracts, and I say that this same right ought to be extended to the tenants of Ireland. But this right, which was deliberately and I believe at last unanimously given to England and Scotland, is now denied to Ireland. I now desire to refer to Clauses 6 and 7, which, with Clause 2, make up the parts of a great plan—I am inclined to call it a great conspiracy—against the right of association in Ireland. The right of association to induce exclusive dealing is struck at by Clause 2, and the right of association for almost any public purpose—so large and elastic are the words of Clauses 6 and 7—is placed in the hand of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. If I were an Irishman and I joined a political association it would be for the right hon. Gentleman to say whether I became a criminal by that Act. I am not to be permitted to bring him into Court, to challenge him to a contest in which he would have all the advantage of public administrative authority; I am not to be permitted to obtain even publicity for the motives of his proceedings which may remain hidden away in his own breast; it is for him, dispensing with Judge, jury, counsel, and witnesses, to say whether I am a criminal or not. Am I then not justified, after what I have said, in stating that there are two kinds of coercion—the old and the new—and that the new coercion is in the term of art, no doubt, a vast improvement, for it is more crafty, it is more insidious, it is more searching and far reaching? It goes beyond all the wits that were ever possessed by the framers of the old Coercion Bills; and it strikes at the very root of public right in that one grand subject of association, which is the heart and pith of public right for a country like Ireland, and to withdraw which is fatal to its public liberty. My contentions, then, are these—There are no facts at all to justify, in the slightest degree, one even of the old-fashioned Coercion Bills, which is no more to be compared with the present Coercion Bill than a watch of the time of Queen Elizabeth is to be compared with the best watch manufactured by Mr. Dent to-day or yesterday, or than a coach of the time of Queen Elizabeth is to be compared with the best coach manufactured at the present day. There are no facts to justify one of the old-fashioned Coercion Bills; and if that process is to be performed by the Government which has been spontaneously performed by every previous Government at the earlier stages of the discussions on those painful matters, it has got to be performed by them now under challenge and, for the first time, on the third reading. If there are no facts to justify the old Coercion Bills much less are there facts to justify the new, which creates new crime, for I would rather have a hundred new crimes than have even one new crime carried over to the secret and irresponsible cognizance of the Minister sitting in secret, subject to all the political influences which must naturally act upon him and convert him into a substitute for the judicial tribunals of the country and the rights enjoyed by us all before those tribunals. I beg to remind the House of what I have said—so far at least as I am able to judge, this Coercion Bill is the alternative to a large measure of autonomy for Ireland. We are not going to have a Coercion Bill in Ireland because Ireland is disturbed, but because we have refused to give Ireland the management of strictly and properly Irish affairs. I understand that basis of fact. You have refused it, the majority of the constituencies—that is to say, of the English constituences—outnumbering the rest and constituting the lawful and Constitutional majority in Parliament; but do not disguise the consequences. We predicted at the time when the Irish Government Bill of last year was introduced, according to the best of our forethought, that there was no alternative but coercion, and no alternative but a new and sterner form of coercion. Many of those who conscientiously objected to our course indignantly denied the justice of that prediction, and declared in this House while announcing their objections to that measure that they retained all their old and all their rooted aversion to Coercion Bills for limiting Irish liberty and crimes. What has become of all those protestations? With the single exception of Sir George Trevelyan and one or two other hon. Members I am sorry to say that the predictions have been fulfilled not only in the degree but very far beyond the degree in which I could have supposed it possible that they would have received fulfilment, and the country will have to be made to understand that the real and the true and the only option before it is between a just and liberal autonomy for Ireland, wisely regulated in details but founded on the great principles that you have applied throughout your Empire, and a system of coercion on the other side more grievous than any that has yet been put forward—more grievous, Sir, not only by the creation of new crimes, not only by substituting Executive discretion or indiscretion for the regular and public action of the tribunals in respect of the most sacred rights, but likewise by that which of all others is most odious among the provisions of this Bill, the stamp of permanency which you have chosen to institute, thereby adopting the principle of what on all former occasions has been recognized as a painful and a temporary necessity, of which Parliament would not allow the existence except for the shortest period, and with a regular provision for resuming its consideration. But now the rule—the established state of things for Ireland—is to be this permanent Bill, as an exemplification of the equal laws and equal rights enjoyed by Ireland under the blessed Bill now before us. Why, Sir, are we to make this grievous mischoice? Is the state of the country such as you now have it, such as you are asserting it by the overwhelming force of a Government majority, so precious and so valuable in your eyes? What I conceive to be the principle of old Constitutional struggles is that the resisting Party—what would then be called the obstructing Party—were usually fighting for something that, at any rate, even if the time had come for it to pass away, was more or less great and noble in itself. Sometimes it was the Protestant religion, sometimes it was the establishment of Church and State. On the first Reform Bill, wise men, many very wise men, said—"Beware how you interfere with the representative system, which has maintained more uniformity than you find in any other country in the civilized world." Perhaps America had not at that moment fully accomplished their view. Even in the miserable controversy, as we may now call it, on the Corn Laws, multitudes of advocates of the Corn Laws when that controversy began conscientiously believed, however erroneously, that they were maintaining a system by means of which the scale of subsistence and of remuneration for the British labourer was maintained at a higher rate, and that he would lose these advantages. There was always, at any rate, some decent—sometimes even some honourable or some glorious—illusion for which those opponents were contending. What are you contending for? Is there one who will rise from that Bench who will say that the state of the case between England and Ireland for 700 years of British mastery is anything but, upon the whole, a discredit, misery, and shame? [*Cheers and cries of* "No!"] That is a curiosity which I should like to store up in a museum. Are there any in the House who consider that the great and noble political genius of England, which has spread her fame throughout the world, which has earned for her honour and praise even from enemies, which has made her a rallying point for those who are struggling for their freedom—that this great and noble genius, which everywhere but in Ireland has achieved such glorious works, may likewise point to Ireland and say—"In a case where the strong had to deal with the weak, where Ireland was at no time strong enough to assert herself against me, where I had my own way so far as Imperial power could give it, how well can I look at the result?" In the whole Empire, spread throughout the world, there is but a portion—I will not enter now into a controverted question with respect to the great mass of our Oriental fellow-subjects, though for my own part I should be ready to make the assertion for them—but there is not a piece of the Queen's Dominions, not so much as a square yard, which she holds by force, but she holds Ireland by force. After 700 years of mastery you have not yet learnt that mastery carries with it responsibility. If I am to descend from higher motives, I own there are two considerations of a very practical character which come home to my mind, and they appear to me perfectly undeniable; first of all, that the present system of Irish government is the cause of enormous charge to this country. I have had something to do with the finances of this country, and I do not hesitate to say that millions a-year are to be saved by substituting a sound for an unsound system in the government of Ireland—that is, by granting to Ireland a free, though a guarded, liberty of managing her own concerns. The expenditure of vast sums of money might be saved which is now used for the purpose of earning and aggravating discontent, which grows year by year with the increase of civilization and with the general decrease of crime. I do not understand why it is so precious in your eyes. I do not suppose that anyone will deny that Ireland and Irish affairs are the great cause of the melancholy, lamentable, and disgraceful paralysis of Parliament. There I imagine we are all unanimous, but you cling to that miserable mischief as if it were a treasure and a delight. I cannot understand it. You know that the literature of the world is against you. [*Cries of* "No!" *and cheers.*] Will the hon. Gentleman, whom I have not the honour of seeing, have the kindness to mention to me a single author in European literature who has reviewed the relations between England and Ireland, and the history of those relations, and who says that their condition is honourable to England? I do not understand him to answer the challenge. But, perhaps, what he means is not that the literature of the world—which is the expression of its permanent judgment in these matters—is not against us, but that the literature of the world is quite wrong. Gentleman opposite have the faculty of wrapping themselves up in a self-content of that nature. To me I confess it is one of the most grievous and painful considerations that I know. I do not speak of newspapers, because I presume that upon all subjects there will be great varieties in the mere momentary opinion of the day. I have not intentionally exaggerated; I have sought to inform myself, and so far as I am able to judge, whereas there were men who would have defended the conduct of Austria in Italy, and whereas there were even men who would have defended the conduct of Russia in Poland, you will hardly find—I have never known yet that you would find in a single case—a writer worthy of bearing that name who has—as I have said—reviewed the case between England and Ireland, and who is ready to give you the benefit of his support. There is a broad and marked distinction between this case and the other great Constitutional struggles in which the Party opposite has in numberless times past gallantly engaged and has uniformly been defeated—there is this one very broad and marked distinction, that in this case I do not understand what it is they profess to be fighting for. I see that they profess to be fighting for one thing at least—namely, the union of the Empire—in which we are most desirous to join, and in which we think it as ridiculous to charge disunion upon us as they think it riduculous to charge disunion upon them. In these things we ought to be united. In this present controversy they appear to me to be fighting for something which means nothing but hatred between the two countries, which means nothing but to produce waste of public treasure, which means nothing but stopping the transaction of your own vital and necessary business; and, finally, which means nothing but incurring the judgment and condemnation of the civilized world. Sir, these things cannot last. In the faith that they will not last, and in the faith that every single manful protest will tend to bring them nearer the day of their doom, I move the rejection of this Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. W. E. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) who has just sat down concluded his speech by asking a question. He asked us what was the cause for which we, on this side of the House, were fighting, and he drew a parallel between the Unionist Party of to-day and the Conservative Party of previous times, to the disadvantage of the Unionist Party of to-day. I will tell right hon. Gentleman what I conceive ourselves to be fighting for. We may be under an illusion; but it is, at all events, an ungenerous illusion. We believe that in passing this Bill we are doing that which is necessary, whether Home Rule be granted or be not granted, for preserving the rights of minorities in Ireland—of preserving those elementary principles of law without which Ireland, be it associated with this country or be it divorced from this country, never can be a prosperous country. And we believe more than that; we believe that by passing this Bill, which is a necessary preliminary to all other measures for the amelioration of the condition of Ireland, we are taking an essential and a necessary step towards preserving a united Empire, for which the right hon. Gentleman professes to have so great a regard. Now, I am afraid I am put up at rather an inconvenient time; but it is necessary for me, in following the right hon. Gentleman, to proceed step by step through the speech to which we have just listened. The right hon. Gentleman began by telling us, to my great surprise, that the policy we are pursuing is an alternative policy—a policy alternative to Home Rule; and, therefore, he himself, by anticipation, answered the question which he put at the end as to what it was we were fighting for. If it be true that this policy is an alternative policy, there is no further recommendation required to commend it to the favourable attention of the House. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to bring in, as if it was relevant to the issue before the House, the general crime in England as compared with the amount in Ireland. I am not going to follow him through his figures on that point; but it appears to me the whole quotation is perfectly illusory and totally irrelevant. When some hon. Gentleman gets up from the other side of the House and tells us that in agricultural England intimidation exists in the sense in which it exists in Ireland; when he tells us that in agricultural England crime cannot be punished because witnesses are intimidated; when crime cannot be punished because juries refuse to do their duty—when he can get up and point to such lists of agrarian crime as those which have been laid on the Table of the House in the last two years, then it will be time for the right hon. Gentleman to get up and ask us why in common consistency we do not pass a Coercion Bill for England; but until that time come, how foolish it is to ask us to abandon a remedy which we think suited to the evils of Ireland, or to apply it to England, for which we think it is not suited by reason of any evils existing in this country.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I said that you dared not apply it to England.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Then the right hon. Gentleman attacked me for the method in which I have dealt with statistics, and he told me I have not followed a practice universal with all my Predecessors, and did not bring forward special statistics in order to justify a Coercion Bill. I must remind the right hon. Gentleman of what I have before had to tell the House. The existing system of statistics in Ireland was adopted in 1881, and in 1882 it was considered adequate by the right hon. Gentleman to the facts so furnished, and I conceive myself not departing from the line of my duty if I follow the precedent which he set with regard to special statistics. But the right hon. Gentleman went on to accuse me of personal discourtesy to himself, because I had not corrected him across the floor of the House with regard to some statistics which he erroneously gave the House.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Not a single figure. You did not correct me when I begged you to do so.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I entirely forget the incident to which the right hon. Gentleman refers; but I may remind him of the facts connected with that error, which was that the figures were not correct, and if I did not correct them across the floor of the House they were corrected by a Cabinet Minister; and yet, after that correction, the right hon. Gentleman again came down to the House and again repeated the incorrect figures. The error in the amount of crime was about 106 agrarian offences. Now, 106 serious crimes may not seem much to the right hon. Gentleman.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Not agrarian.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. They were agrarian. But 106 is very much in excess of the total.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: 109.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, 109 is very much in excess of the total amount of agrarian crime existing in Ireland before the right hon. Gentleman began that series of Irish reforms of which he is so proud. While I am on statistics, I must refer for a moment to the use which the right hon. Gentleman has made of statistics, which I think has created very serious misconception in the country. The House may recollect that the right hon. Gentleman came down here and gave us some figures with regard to evictions in Ireland during the present Reign—allegations founded on the authority of a gentleman whom he described as an eminent statistician.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I gave his name.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman is quite right; he gave the authority, and the authority was a certain Mr. Mulhall. I was astounded at those figures; they were such as I think nobody the least acquainted with Irish statistics would have known to be correct. I have examined this point, and will the House believe me when I say that in those figures Mr. Mulhall's method of proceeding had been his. He has taken the Government Return, which gave him in two columns the number of families and the number of persons evicted. He has deliberately selected the column containing the number of persons; he has treated that column as if it consisted of families, and he has chosen to assume that the Irish family consists of seven persons, and he has multiplied the number of evictions by seven in consequence. And those are the figures which, on the authority of the right hon. Gentleman, are now quoted in newspaper after newspaper; they receive a currency which they never would otherwise obtain, and they are used in every quarter of England to excite prejudice against the landlord class and to throw additional weight of disgrace upon English rule in Ireland. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to attack the statistical defects of our Bill. The right hon. Gentleman must be perfectly aware that while I have always maintained that we have a justification for our Bill founded on statistics alone, we have never relied upon these chiefly or principally. We have always relied in large measure upon that condition of social disorganization and tyranny to which the right hon. Gentleman himself, so far as I can recollect, made not a single allusion in the course of his speech. But, Sir, what is the case upon the figures? On a previous occasion I pointed out that if we had no justification on the figures for our Bill the case of the right hon. Gentleman in 1870 must have been bad indeed. The actual figures of grave crime were, in 1869, 370.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Is that Mr. Fortescue's statement?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe it was. I may say (in reference to Mr. W. E. Gladstone's frequent interruptions) that I refrained very carefully from interfering with the right hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech. I believe that the figures, according to Mr. Fortescue's statement, are exactly these—In 1869 (excluding threatening letters), 370, while in 1886 they amounted to 767. So, if our case is bad, how bad must the case of the right hon. Gentleman have been when he passed the Coercion Bill in 1870? But the right hon. Gentleman says that we do not found our arguments on the positive statistics, but on the increase in the relative amount of crime. He would say that we should be justified in introducing a Bill in 1870 because crime was increasing, but that we were not justified now, because, although there has been an increase, it has not been very great. I traverse altogether the argument of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman appears to be in the frame of mind that all the Irish criminals have got to do is not to increase the amount of crime, and that if they do not increase it the amount must be considered normal, and ought not to be considered by English statesmen. We do not take that view. We take the view—and I think it is justified by common sense—that if agrarian crime exists to this extent, combined—as it is combined—with intimidation and disorganization, it requires the instant attention and care of the Legislature, whether crime be increasing or not. Observe to what absurdity the opposite contention lands you; 1870 was a year in which the great reforms of the right hon. Gentleman had not had time to operate. The Irish Church Bill was passed the year before, and the Irish Land Bill was passed the same year; but they could not have produced their full ameliorative effects. The Land Bill of 1881 was in the dim and distant future; and, therefore, the contention of the right hon. Gentleman amounts to this, that in 1870 an amount of crime—not much more than half what it is now—was not to be tolerated, but that now, when this House has been occupied in passing measure after measure for the amelioration of Ireland, we are quietly to acquiesce in a state of things incomparably worse than the right hon. Gentleman supposed that he was justified in legislating for in 1870. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to make an observation which he has made in public before, and which deserves the serious attention of the House. He told us that there would have been no obstruction to this Bill if we had consented to modify it in the direction which suited himself.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I did not say that.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the right hon. Gentleman said—"If we had consented to omit certain provisions, to which he took strong exception."

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: No, no!

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: You did not say that?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I said, if the Government had brought in a Crimes Bill, and not a Bill against associations, in my opinion they would not have spent more that a fourth part of the time they have now spent.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the statement of the right hon. Gentleman differs from what I said. If we reduced the Bill to the condition of a Crimes Bill by omitting certain provisions to which he objects, and if we omitted those provisions, he promises us that we should have got the Bill through the House much earlier. If a threat of Obstruction is to be used in that manner, a more deadly blow is struck at the independence and usefulness of this House than has ever been aimed at it before. The right hon. Gentleman went on to quote a statement which he says he heard from the late Attorney General for Ireland—Mr. Justice Holmes. I do not think he gave the date, but that is not material. The statement which he has put in the mouth of Mr. Justice Holmes is that under Section 2 of the Act new crimes are created. I feel certain that Mr. Justice Holmes never made any assertion of the kind, and the reason I say so is that I was in constant consultation and communication with that Gentleman throughout every stage of this Bill. He has over and over again assured me in private of what the present Irish Attorney General (Mr. Gibson) will assure the House—that under Section 2 of the Bill no new crime is created. It is true that in a certain technical sense, which I explained before to the House, Clause 6 does create a new offence. It creates a new offence exactly in the same manner as the proclamation of the Riot Act creates a new offence, and in no other. I do not speak from my own legal knowledge, but I am advised by those in whom I have confidence that under Clause 2 no new offence is created. The right hon. Gentleman appears to draw a very wide distinction between this Bill and the previous Bills which he has had a hand in passing; and he made a very powerful and eloquent reference to the fact that the whole execution under Clause 6 would rest in the Executive of Ireland, embodied in my person, and that he had a very moderate amount of confidence in the way it is to be exercised. I am not going to defend beforehand the manner in which the powers of this Bill are to be exercised; but I deny that in giving the Executive powers of that kind any new departure is made in exceptional criminal legislation for Ireland. I think the right hon. Gentleman, before making this statement, ought to have revived his recollection as to the contents of previous Coercion Acts. Under the Act of 1870, it actually is in the power of any magistrate, on suspicion, to commit a man for six months' hard labour because, being out in suspicious circumstances, he does not choose to give an account of himself. Does any provision in this Bill approach the severity of an enactment of this kind? But that is not all. The right hon. Gentleman, when he talks of special criminal legislation for Ireland, has only taken account of the Act of 1882. Has he forgotten the Act of 1881? That Act was a simple and short Statute, which put in the hands of the then Irish Executive the power to imprison whom they liked for what they liked on suspicion, and for such time as they chose.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: The purpose was strictly defined.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Without cause shown, it rested on Mr. Forster to imprison whom he liked under the Act of 1881—a power not only in excess of that given to us by this Bill, but so far in excess that there is no common ground of comparison between the two. The right hon. Gentleman, both in and out of the House, has told the people of the country that we are departing absolutely from all Liberal traditions in the matter. He says the things we propose to do under this Bill have never been done by a Tory Government. No, Sir, but they have been done by a Liberal Government, the head of which was the right hon. Gentleman himself.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): And you supported him.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, it is perfectly true that in those days the minority of the House were in the habit of supporting the Government of the day in the maintenance of law and order. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to draw a comparison between trades unions and the combinations of tenants in Ireland. I cannot conceive a greater insult to the trades unions of this country than to compare them with the organizations of which he spoke. Those organizations are half political in their object—that is a small matter; but the political object at which they aim is the dismemberment of the Empire. One of the political means by which they seek to attain that end is the avowed destruction of a particular class in the community, and they are supported by money obtained from persons living in America, of whom the best thing that can be said is that they are hostile and bitter enemies of this country. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that Boycotting is allowed to the trades unions in this country.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I never mentioned Boycotting.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is perfectly true that the right hon. Gentleman described it as "exclusive dealing," but he will, perhaps, allow me to use the more familiar expression of "Boycotting." He says, in effect, that Boycotting, or exclusive dealing, was not forbidden by law to trades unions. I am informed, however, that conspiracy to Boycott is an offence at common law by the law of this country as well as by the law of Ireland. It is, therefore, actually illegal at this moment. But notice this great difference between the case of the trades unions and the case of the Irish tenants. Trades unions are forbidden by law to do certain things in the way of coercing fellow workmen—to picket and annoy. In Ireland Boycotting corresponds to picketing and annoying; and if we carry out the Act of 1875 in Ireland with regard to tenants, there was not the slightest doubt that the Legislature would think it necessary to prohibit Boycotting in their case as picketing and annoyance were forbidden in the case of trades unions. I think that the right hon. Gentleman has forgotten some of his own statements. On May 24, 1882, the right hon. Gentleman used these words—

> "What is meant by 'Boycotting?' In the first place, it is combined intimidation. In the second place, it is combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by fear of ruin and starvation."

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Hear, hear. It was done to me, Sir, and so I know all about it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "In the third place, that being what 'Boycotting" is in itself, we must look to this—that the creed of 'Boycotting,' like every other creed, requires a sanction; and the sanction of 'Boycotting,' that which stands in the rear of 'Boycotting,' and by which alone 'Boycotting' can in the long run be made thoroughly effective—is the murder which is not to be denounced."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 1551.)

There is a further passage of great interest. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "I may have said, and I say now, that I have a perfect right to deal with one man rather than another, and even to tell people that I am doing so; but that has nothing to do with combined intimidation exercised for the purpose of inflicting ruin and driving men to do what they do not want to do, and preventing them from doing what they have a right to do. That is illegal, and that is the illegality recommended by the hon. Gentleman; and it is plain that those who recommend and sanction such illegality are responsible for other illegalities, even though they do not directly sanction them."—(*Ibid* 1552.)

I hope the right hon. Gentleman will take the moral of the last sentence. But what do we think of the right hon. Gentleman's attitude in this case? The right hon. Gentleman has thought it right entirely to alter his policy on the Irish Question. Of that I make no complaint; let him do that if he pleases, and let him also drag the whole of his Party with him in that remarkably sharp curve which he has described. That is a matter to be settled between him and his followers. But what I complain of is that when he thinks fit to change his opinion the whole system of morality under which we live is to be changed also, and that what was wrong, immoral, and illegal in 1882 is to become legal, moral, and right, and to be sedulously and religiously preserved by the United Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland. I may remind the right hon. Gentleman, while on the subject of statistics, that while in the two months of the beginning of this quarter, with regard to which the statistics have been laid on the Table, a decided improvement is visible in Ireland, due, I believe, entirely to the bringing in of this Coercion Act. Unfortunately in the month that has just ended, and for which the statistics are not on the Table, there has been a relapse, due almost entirely to the inflammatory speeches of Mr. Davitt. The actual figures, broadly speaking, are these—During the 18 months which immediately succeeded the dropping of the Crimes Act of 1885 the average per month was 52 serious crimes. The monthly average during the June quarter was 48, showing a very small improvement. But during this June, I am sorry to say, serious crimes have risen to 62, or 10 in excess of the monthly average between 1885 and 1887. And while in last June the number of serious crimes was 62, in the June which preceded the Act of 1870 the number of serious crimes was six. The right hon. Gentleman tells us we are interfering with the liberties of the Irish people by passing unequal laws which we dare not extend to England. Well, an appeal to liberty has been from time immemorial the stock peroration among baffled statesmen. But before we take in vain the most honoured name in the whole political vocabulary it would be well to ask what is the kind of freedom that we are supposed to interfere with. Is it the freedom whose progress is marked by general security, by the increase of public credit, by the decrease of pauperism, by the decrease of poverty, by the decrease of crime, by the increase of mutual goodwill, by the exercise of each man's right to do that which it is his lawful right to do, and by the unrestricted reign of law? Is that the liberty which the right hon. Gentleman recommends, or is it that mis-called liberty which is dogged by crime, which controls lawful action; is it the freedom of the Moonlighter to pursue his midnight assassinations, and which is marked by the impotence of the law and the omnipotence of terrorism? That is the freedom which the right hon. Gentleman asks us to bow down to, and to pay worship to. But we cultivate that other freedom whose fruits are prosperity, individual liberty, and social harmony; and it is as a contribution to that cause that we ask the House now to read this Bill a third time.

Mr. C. R. SPENCER (Northampton, Mid) said, he must protest as strongly as he could against a Bill which he considered, notwithstanding the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to be absolutely unnecessary and unjust. The right hon. Gentleman attributed the decrease of agrarian crime in Ireland to the introduction of this Coercion Bill; but he (Mr. C. R. Spencer) believed the quiet state of the country was due to the fact that the Irish people felt that the majority of the English people were in unison with them, and that they had the support of the popular constituencies of this country. In 1881 there was a very large amount of crime in Ireland, as the right hon. Gentleman himself admitted; and when the Liberal Party had to pass a Crimes Act at that period it was with sorrow and not with jubilation, and also because they felt that it safeguarded liberty as much as possible under the circumstances, while at the same time it was only of temporary duration. No doubt Bills of great stringency had often been introduced for the government of Ireland; but he believed this was the first which was unlimited in duration, and he had heard no good reason assigned why it should be made perpetual. He did not believe that the people of this country would approve an exceptional Act of that character being applied to Ireland for ever. He had seen something of the working of a Coercion Act in Ireland, and, although he believed that it had been justly and fairly carried out, he did not feel that such legislation had done good in the long run for Ireland. He felt that something must be done for Ireland in the way that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had sketched out.

Mr. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, he wished to call attention to the fact that when the Clôture Resolution was under discussion he supported an Amendment upon that Resolution, which had for its object to exclude from its operation any alteration or amendment of the Criminal Law. He remembered on that occasion that the arguments which were used by those who took that view were that the security and safety of the country, as depending upon its Criminal Law, was a thing which should not be lightly or rashly interfered with, and yet the first and the only application of the closure system in that House had been to carry through a measure of a very drastic character, effecting a considerable alteration in the Criminal Law of Ireland. The present Bill was a Bill which largely dealt with the condition of jury trial. Now, he ventured to say that the Bill which they were now passing was one which in America and many other Legislatures it would be impossible for the Legislature to pass, or, if it were to pass, it would not have the effect of law. In the 6th amended Article of the American Constitution, it was said that in all criminal prosecutions the accused should enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime should be committed. They were about to deprive Ireland by this Bill in perpetuity of certain rights by means of the operation of a Closure Rule which went on the basis of other Legislatures, but which, when operating upon the Criminal Law, without the safeguards such as he had indicated in the American Constitution, was an exceedingly dangerous thing. There were three characteristics of the Bill which were wholly objectionable. In the first place, it struck at association, and in the case of Irish tenants made action punishable which would not be punishable in the case of English trades unions. The words were—"To induce any person not to work for any person in the ordinary course of trade." This which was thus rendered criminal in the Irish tenant was exactly what was permitted to the English trades unionist. It was remarkable that when the trades unions outrages took place in this country, precisely the same language was used with respect to trades unions, which then were not legalized, as was used now of the Irish Nationalist Party and of the National League. The next evil of the Bill was that it made the Criminal Law in any portion of Ireland dependent upon the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant. In this there was great danger, for the Government would have the power to suppress as criminal any any political association which might be opposed to them. The Bill would make free political life in Ireland impossible. The progress of civilization had largely consisted in the substitution of definite law for discretion; yet here, at the absolute discretion of the Lord Lieutenant, that was to say, of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Balfour) an action might be criminal or not, and the method of procedure by which the accused was tried might be this one day and that the other. The third great evil of the Bill was that the changes which it effected in the law were not to be temporary, but permanent. This Bill proposed to hand over not the women of Regent Street, but the whole people of Ireland to police evidence and police magistrates. With regard to riotous meetings, he believed it would be dangerous to entrust the Resident Magistrates with the powers conferred on them by this Bill. Their definition of "riotous" was not to be trusted. In Dungannon a gentleman had been prevented from addressing a meeting from his own doorsteps, and what was a perfectly peaceable meeting was proclaimed. Sometime afterwards he went to a meeting at Omagh, and found the walls placarded by the Loyalists, calling on their supporters to assemble in their thousands to oppose the rebels and assassins. It was deemed unadvisable to prevent an English gentleman from addressing a meeting there, and so a meeting, attended by 12,000 people, was held without any disturbance whatever, though 400 police and about 200 soldiers were stationed in the town. It would have been proclaimed, he believed, if no English Member of Parliament had been present, for its circumstances did not differ from that proclaimed a few days previously at Dungannon. This Bill attempted to grapple with Boycotting. It was quite impossible for any law to do so successfully. In Ulster there was a considerable amount of Boycotting of Home Rulers, and no attempt would be made by the Government to put this down under the power conferred by the Bill. A friend of his had told him that he had in his linen factory four overseers who were Orangemen. In the course of his business it was necessary to take apprentices to those overseers, and he took one of the most promising boys in the factory, and brought him to one of these overseers. The overseer took the boy; but a few days afterwards told the employer that he would not keep the boy, because he "would not teach any of these Papists a trade." The employer insisted on his keeping the boy, and the result was that all four overseers went away from Belfast and left their employer in the lurch. Did not that sort of Boycotting deserve proclamation and punishment as much as any other? Did it not as much as any other deprive its victim of the opportunity of earning a living? He did not believe either could be prevented by law. They would probably be told that by this debate on the third reading they were obstructing the reforms which the Government wished to introduce; but if the Government would show them their reforms, they would help to carry them through the House, as they had done in the case of the Coal Mines Regulation Bill. The fact was all that the Government really wanted to carry was this Coercion Bill. On that side of the House they opposed the Bill because they wanted to get at the Business of England; they did not believe that the eternal question of Ireland would be got rid of merely by passing this Bill. They had opposed this Bill in the hope, which had now proved vain, that they would induce the Government to abandon a policy which had failed for nearly a century, and might induce it to bring in remedial measures for Ireland, which, even though they might not solve the Irish question, might, at least, secure a breathing time for English reforms. They based their claims for justice, with regard to English legislation, on the representative system of England, and they could not ignore the representative system of Ireland, and hoped that their own would not also be ignored. The Government had, by their policy, driven the people of this country into greater solidarity with the people of Ireland, because the former perceived that they could not get justice for themselves so long as they refused justice to the Irish people. The Government might succeed by this Bill in stifling Ireland's voice of complaint, although he doubted it; but they would not succeed in silencing the organized utterances of England's sympathy with Ireland, which now surged and rose like the voice of many waters.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London) said that having taken no part in the long debates on this Bill, he begged to congratulate the Chief Secretary for Ireland upon the perseverance and ability with which he had conducted this measure through the House, and the more especially was he pleased with the result, as he understood hon. Members opposite to imply on former occasions that no legislation should take place while the present Government were in Office. ["No, no!"] He maintained that this was not a Coercion, but a Peace Preservation, Bill, and on that ground he had given the Government a loyal support in their endeavour to pass it. In 1881 he and the Party to which he belonged had supported the measure introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, because he had always held that when a Government, on its responsibility, came down to the House and said that they wanted power to maintain law and order, it was the duty of every Member to support them under such circumstances. The way in which the present Government had been treated by the Opposition contrasted very unfavourably with the treatment accorded to the Government of six years ago. Times had changed, and hon. Gentlemen now opposed the principles they advocated in 1881; but the Party he belonged to was a loyal Party, who would give their assistance to the Government of the day in support of law and order, no matter how much they might differ with them in other respects. He thanked the Government that they had under the greatest difficulties persevered in carrying this Bill to its third reading.

Mr. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) said, that the hon. Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Robert Fowler) had told them that the Party opposite was a loyal Party. Well, there were two points of loyalty—loyalty to the Crown, and loyalty to the Constitution. He began to think that those who sat on the Irish Benches were as loyal to the Crown as hon. Gentlemen opposite, because they were loyal to the British Constitution which the Tories by the methods they had pursued in that House and by that Bill had abrogated. There was a feeling on those Benches that hon. Members opposite hated them, and there was much in their conduct to give rise to that feeling; but he could not help thinking there were many hon. Gentlemen among the Conservatives in England, and also on the Benches opposite, who did not believe the falsehoods which had been circulated concerning the Irish Members, and who believed in their secret hearts that the Irish Members in opposing that Bill had been acting throughout from a sincere desire to do what they believed to be the best for their constituents and the country. He believed that as the result of this Bill serious crime would be increased, and that the power, influence, and *prestige* of what Lord Hartington had called the Revolutionary Party in Ireland would be augmented, and he would tell them why. The Irish tenants had been taught by the Parliamentary Party to look for protection from unjust evictions to combination; but by that Bill the Government were seeking to do away with combination. As sure as they prevented the tenants from being able to combine so surely would crime and the old state of things before the National League was started and the present Party arose be revived and intensified. The Government had laid the meshes of their Bill so carefully that some Members of the Irish Nationalist Party would be entangled and would be sent to prison. Did they suppose that was the way to make the Bill succeed? The only result would be that a halo of glory would be thrown around those men, and their influence would be increased. It was a high moral duty for the Members of his Party to make this Bill a failure. They intended to carry on this agitation for their rights as a nation, no matter how much they might curtail their liberties. When they appealed to the people of this country they would remind them of all that Ireland had suffered, and the response which the Government would receive to their Coercion Bill would be very disappointing indeed. The Tories not very long ago had stated that coercion was unnecessary, and yet they were passing the most drastic Coercion Bill ever introduced into the House. It remained for the Irish Members to drive the Government one step further and make them acknowledge that they could not govern Ireland by coercion, and that the only method to govern that country was by conciliation and good will. Another reason they should oppose the Coercion Bill was because it abrogated the rights and privileges of the British Constitution, which they were anxious to retain.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid said, that astonishment had sometimes been expressed that he, as a Roman Catholic, should be found amongst the opponents of Home Rule; but Cardinal Cullen was just as much opposed as he was to Home Rule, as was evident from a passage from the writings of the Cardinal, in which he said that the movement for Home Rule sprang from the same spirit of revolution which the Holy See had condemned when it manifested itself in Italy, and in which moreover he went on to predict that if ever the liberty and the interests of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland were attacked, it would be by an Irish Parliament. He (Mr. De Lisle) had reason to believe that many Irish Bishops and priests held the same view as Cardinal Cullen, and he had also reason to believe that his (Mr. De Lisle's) opinion was shared by the great majority of educated Roman Catholics. That House was now going to pass a Coercion Bill as it was called. Well, in a certain sense it was a Coercion Bill, for so long as the Irish endeavoured to realize a separate Irish Nationality, he should always stand up for coercion so far as to prevent Irishmen from violating the laws of the United Kingdom. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) said that he was fighting for the unity of the Empire, and asked what they on that side of the House were fighting for? He (Mr. De Lisle) would never disguise his sentiments. What were they fighting for? He was not prepared to say that they were fighting merely for the unity of the interests of the Empire. The federation scheme might embody a very good principle; but at present they were fighting for the unity of the United Kingdom. They believed it was essential for the welfare of England that only one Parliament and one Executive should exist in these Islands. So long as a separate Parliament was the aim of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and the Party who followed him, the right hon. Gentleman would receive his most earnest opposition. The hon. Member then referred to a manifesto put forward by an Irish Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, declaring it to be the first and most sacred duty of an Irishman to rebel against the English Government. As a reward for these sentiments he had been promoted to the responsible position of president of Thurles seminary by Archbishop Croke. Thurles was, next to Chaynooth, the largest ecclesiastical college in Ireland. The Plan of Campaign had also been spoken of by an Irish Roman Catholic ecclesiastic as almost emanating from Divine inspiration; and probably when hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway obtained an Irish Parliament, its walls would be decorated by a picture representing the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) receiving the Divine *afflatus*. He himself was one of those who held that before any remedial measures could be effectually applied to Ireland they must restore law and order and social morality in that country. Addressing the Grand Jury, Mr. Justice O'Brien only the other day had given a very graphic description of the condition of the County of Clare He said—

> "All accounts concur in representing that no kind of improvement whatsoever has taken place. All these reports lead me, I regret to say, to the inevitable conclusion that this County of Clare possesses the bad distinction of being the worst part of all Ireland in respect of social disturbance and disorder."

If that was so, County Clare would probably also have the distinction of being the first county to be proclaimed under that Bill. The learned Judge went on to say the Reports—

> "Lead me to the further conclusion that the County of Clare is worse at present than it has been at any time before. The record of the actual crime is not the worst evil you have to deal with. You know there is another and a greater evil that stares you in the face every day, and that is the evil of intimidation, open or unexpressed, that permeates the whole of this community."

The object of that Bill was to get rid of that constant and cruel petty tyranny which made life in many parts of Ireland absolutely unbearable. The authors of the miseries which the Irish people were now undergoing were those who for political purposes were making war upon the landlords. The object of those persons was to ruin the Irish landlords, and with the Irish landlords they would ruin all classes in the country. Such persons were the greatest enemies of their own fellow-countrymen. He thought that he had said enough as an Englishman and a Catholic to establish the position he had taken up. In the most earnest hope that peace and prosperity would be restored to our unhappy Sister Country, he intended to give his most cordial support to Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): Mr. Speaker, I have not the slightest notion of endeavouring to criticize the performance of the hon. Member who has just enlivened the proceedings of the House. I can assure the hon. Gentleman, for my own part, that I do not hate him, as he seems to suppose; but on no account whatever can I so love him as to treat him as a very serious or formidable opponent. However we may regard him, we may very well give to what he has called the superior race the credit of having produced the hon. Gentleman and of having produced the arguments to which he has treated the House. Sir, I rise because I do not like to allow this Bill to pass without saying some few words in protest. I may say from the point of view of those in Ireland on whom I dare say the weight of this Bill is intended to fall—and before I say anything on the subject I will first of all say that I believe there is nothing in the whole career of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) which will have made a deeper impress upon the Irish heart than his brave and steadfast defence to the last hour to-night against this disgraceful Bill. It was impossible, Sir, to listen to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman without feeling upon which side in this quarrel—in this controvesy —is the magnanimity and the greatness, which, I confess, if I were an Englishman, I should like to see characterizing the statesmen of a powerful Empire like this. The right hon. Gentleman has been assailed almost as scurrilously as the Representatives of the Irish people—assailed because he would not hold his arms, and because he did not attempt to tie our arms also while the liberties of the Irish people were being outraged in this House in every way they liked, and as infamously as they liked, by a majority of not 100 men of this House, who were elected, I say, not to rush a Coercion Bill through the House, but to prove that coercion was unnecessary. Yes; I say these men undertook to prove to England that Ireland could be governed by this Parliament upon equal and upon sisterly terms with England. The right hon. Gentleman has been attacked for his resistance to this

Bill; but I tell you that if the object of this Bill is not merely one to trample down our unfortunate people—if the object of this legislation, as those who promote it pretend it is, to bring peace and goodwill between these two countries, the action of the right hon. Gentleman, his brave resistance to this Bill, will do more, and has done more, to tranquillize Ireland—to drive enmity to England from Irish hearts—has done more in that way than this Coercion Bill could do if every clause of it could be administered with a rod of iron for the next 100 years in Ireland. Sir, if this Bill is received in Ireland without any outbreaks of passion or despair, you will have to thank the stringency of its provisions—not the stringency of your clôture—you will have to thank the thorough-going and determined resistance the Liberal Party gave the Bill through every stage of its course through the House; and I will tell you why, because it has brought home to the minds of the Irish people that there is now a great Party—a great English Party in this House that will not stand by and see our unfortunate people trampled down and crushed down under the heel of every landlord whipper-snapper. [*Ironical cheers.*] I hear hon. Members opposite jeer—they seem to imagine that the clôture is an invention solely for the benefit of the Tory Party; but, Sir, I would tell them that the friends we have got in this House now are the Party that has been in power in this Empire for the greater part of the century, and it is not altogether impossible that they may be in power again. The Spalding election, at all events, shows this much, that Englishmen have now begun to insist upon examining this question and inquiring into this question themselves; and they are beginning, the moment they have begun to examine it seriously, to revolt against the lying stuff — the poisonous stuff—that has been poured into their ears. The Irish people recognize that a spirit of friendliness towards Ireland is arising in English minds, and they reciprocate it honestly; and whatever troubles there may be before us in Ireland—and there are a good many in the way of petty tyranny and suffering and oppression—but whatever there may be before us in Ireland we are glad to find that Englishmen are willing to risk something, to sacrifice something, in order that the two peoples may shake hands in friendship, and our answer is —so are we ready to meet them halfway, and more than half-way; and, whatever may be the *régime* of the right hon. Gentleman the Dictator for Ireland within the next few months, no amount of provocation, no amount of defamation from *The Times* newspaper, will drive us from that position. I do not know whether I should be in Order in referring very briefly, as I should like to do, to my own experiences within the last month or two among the men—[*Interruptions*]—If hon. Gentlemen opposite heard me out they would perhaps economize their jeers. I should like to say something of my experiences among the men of the great and powerful nation whom the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) is so fond of speaking of as foreign conspirators. I hope I may be in Order in doing it, because I believe it has a most vital, powerful, and direct bearing upon this Bill; and I tell you, if you only knew the men, the millions of men, who are branded as foreign conspirators, and whom Englishmen are taught to regard as murderers and assassins, that opinion of them would soon vanish. I admit they are foreign, technically; who made them foreigners? If they have been conspirators for Ireland, it is legislation like this that has made them conspirators, and it is legislation of this sort that would keep them so, and that would rankle the sense of bitterness that runs in these men's hearts. I tell you this—and I think we may fairly claim that we have not disguised our thoughts from friends or foes, whether they were pleasant or unpleasant to hear—I tell you here to-night, with solemn sense of the responsibility, that if you want to make friends of that great Irish-American nation—[*laughter*]—and in spite of the jeers of hon. Members opposite, I will say that truer or nobler or sincerer friends never poured out their lives and substance in any good cause—I tell you, if you want to conciliate these men — to make them friends and not to insult them and revile them—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian has placed it in the power of England to do it. How long that may be true while this brutal Coercion Bill is in force I do not undertake to answer—I am not sure I can answer even for myself; but with my life I answer that it is true to-day; and I only wish that hon. Gentlemen opposite, if they are not utterly blinded by Party interest—I will not say baser considerations—would only go out there and see these men for themselves, and not trust to the foul and miserable and infamous libels that are circulated here in England for the purpose of poisoning and aggravating the soreness between the two Countries. That is the point you have reached to-day in the relations between the two Countries; and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian may esteem it one of the proudest—aye, the proudest achievement of his life, for it is a point which no English conqueror ever reached before in Ireland with all your armies and all your Coercion Acts—you have conquered, you have won the good opinion and the goodwill of many a million of Irishmen who three years ago could scarcely bear to hear the name of England without a curse, and I say it would be a miserable day's work and an unhappy day's work for the two Countries if by the operation of this wretched Bill you sacrifice and destroy all the work that the right hon. Gentleman has done. If you do that, and you may easily do that—if you do that for what? Let me ask you for what? To enable something like a couple of dozen of landlord desperadoes in Ireland—men like Lord Clanricarde and Colonel O'Callaghan; professional firebrands like Hamilton, who is carrying out evictions at Coolgreany to-day—all to enable these men to boast that they can enforce their rights against our poor people—their legal rights which your own legal tribunals have branded as dishonest, and which your own Tory Prime Minister the other night in the House of Lords disclaimed and reprobated and felt ashamed of. Well, Sir, I do not, of course, pretend to say to what extent this Coercion Act is going to be successful in Ireland; I can hardly help thinking that the taunts that are sometimes addressed to us on the subject, when men boast of the powers of coercion in Ireland, that they are not very brave, that they are a little premature. I confess that if I were an Englishman I should be a little ashamed of some of the taunts that are levelled at us, who are fighting against and struggling against frightful odds. You have destroyed 3,000,000 of our population within this generation. You have weakened us down to less than 5,000,000 to-day. Our own people, the very flower of them, are still flying from the unfortunate country at the rate of 2,000 a week. You have 40,000 bayonets at the throats of the unfortunate people who remain. [*Cries of* "No!"] Yes; and our only satisfaction is that you pay for them too. You have disarmed us of every weapon—you are disarming us now of our organization—you are disarming us of the poor weapons of our tongues and our pens. You have gagged the Representatives of our own people in this Parliament, and even with all that apparently your minds are not very much at ease. Some of your foremost statesmen are not above bragging with all these savage Coercion Acts and loyal armies and spies that you will succeed in trampling us down. [An hon. MEMBER: Speak up!] I will—you will hear me, I promise you. I am commenting upon the gallantry of some of your Party in bragging as of a great achievement that would redound to the honour of England—that you will be able by all these Bills to show our unfortunate people that they are to be plundered by rack-renters like Lord Clanricarde and Colonel O'Callaghan of rackrents which I will say not a man of you could stand up honestly and defend. That may be all very gallant. I do not say it may come to pass; possibly it may. I do not think it will. I do not intend entering here to-night—it is not necessary for me to enter—into the reason why I believe that decimated though we are, and poor though we are, and crushed though we will be under this Bill, that the Irish people will be a match for this Coercion Bill. That, at all events, is my belief. I do not believe you are going to crush us. I cannot pretend to have the smallest apprehension that you are even going to crush the Plan of Campaign, nor to talk of crushing the spirit and organization and power of the Irish race throughout the world. You cannot do it. You are not going to coerce us into crime, and I confess—I do not know—I suppose it would be out of Order, perhaps, for me to speak my full mind about the subject, but I confess I hardly think that it would not be a fit title for this Bill—of course I do not impute that it was so intended by the men who framed it, but I say it is the inherent and innate tendency of this Bill—that it is a Bill to coerce us into crime, which does not exist—a Bill to bolster-up the forlorn and disgraceful libels and forgeries of *The Times*—a Bill to play the game of these virtuous politicians who have nothing but words of insult upon their lips for us now—who two years ago or less were not above bargaining for our votes—aye, and in one memorable instance aspiring to be our National apostle. You are dealing with a spirit which is beyond the powers of such men as these, and perhaps a little beyond their comprehension. You are not dealing merely with a handful of us here, nor with a few thousand poor tenants in Ireland, but you are dealing with a spirit—well, somehow I cannot, without something like a chill, speak in this place, before this audience, of what is sacred to us, but this much I will say, that you are dealing with a spirit which has its life in the history of ages long gone by, and which will live as long as there is blood in the heart of one Irishman. You are dealing with a spirit which the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian has already half conciliated—which it will conciliate altogether if you let it, but which I tell you you will never suppress. There is only one thing I feel almost as well assured of, and that is that the sooner this Act is put in force, and the more savagely administered by Sergeant Peter O'Brien, of Dublin, the sooner honest men and generous men in England will rise up and drive that Government from their wicked and dishonouring work in Ireland, and will back the man who repudiated this Bill, and I say it here tonight, who has closed, and closed for ever, the heart-rending and shameful story of this Government, and hatred and wrong between the two countries.

Colonel SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said, that last year he ventured in the House to state that he had 85 reasons for objecting to Home Rule in Ireland, and that those 85 reasons sat below the Gangway opposite. He would ask any right-minded man who had listened to the speech which had just been delivered by the hon. Member for North East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) whether the Irish Loyalists had not some ground for objecting to place themselves under a Government in Ireland of which the hon. Member for North-East Cork would be a prominent Member. The hon. Member for North-East Cork occupied a distinguished position in the Separatist Party. He was now one of the principal lieutenants of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). His words, therefore, must have considerable weight from the fact that he occupied that position. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and his Friends had the habit of telling them that if they only passed a Home Rule Bill and placed the Government of Ireland under the authority of the hon. Member for North-East Cork and similar persons Ireland would become a loyal, a peaceful, and a happy country, devoted to the British Crown. These observations were made in the House of Commons and to the English constituencies. It was the English edition of Home Rule, but he (Colonel Saunderson) did not believe that the common sense and the patriotism of either the House of Commons or the English constituencies would be carried away with such a muddy flood of saponaceous lather. It was his duty as an Irish Loyalist to draw the attention of the House of Commons and of the country not to speeches made within those walls, nor to those made within the borders of the English constituencies, but to the harangues made in their native country by the patriots sitting below the Gangway opposite, and he was happy to know that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had furnished him with a specimen of the love which he bore to the Party which he hoped would soon have supreme authority in England. The hon. Gentleman had just come back from America, and in his speech he asked whether he would be in Order if he gave some of his experiences in that country. He listened with great attention to the hon. Member, but he heard nothing whatever of those experiences. The only thing which the hon. Member told the House was that on the other side of the Atlantic there was a powerful race which once lived in Ireland but were now living in America; and then he went on to say that we had hunted the 3,000,000 Irishmen from their native country to become exiles in a foreign land. When an Englishman left his country he was called an emigrant, but when an Irishman left his country he was called an exile. He had never heard that in the German House of Representatives the Germans attacked their Government because an enormous number of emigrants left Germany every year to seek increased prosperity in America and other lands. Would the hon. Member wish to bring back these 3,000,000 of more or less prosperous Irishmen out of the United States and place them in the wilds of Connemara, Galway, and Cork? Would he get up and say deliberately, loving his countrymen as no doubt the hon. Member did, that he would have them leave their thriving occupations in the United States and come back again to the mud cabins of Connemara? The hon. Member went on to say that he and his Friends were ready to meet the Loyalists half-way. He would like to say what that half-way house was. Coming back from America the hon. Member landed in Cork and the first thing he did was to make a speech which he (Colonel Saunderson) would proceed to quote from. The paper from which he would quote was *United Ireland*, whose authority the hon. Member would not dispute. The hon. Member said—

> "The last night I slept in America one of the last messages I had was a message to Charles Stewart Parnell with a cheque for £5,000 of English money. This is the work of our friends in America; this is their pledge. I have given them a pledge in return on your part, and it is this, and I do not fear to repeat it here to-day, that come what will, whatever little wretched terrors of coercion like Mr. Balfour—whatever bogies or terrors of coercion he may shake in our faces, I pledged for you in America and you will redeem the pledge—I promise here to-day that this cause will go on and that all this great Army of Irish freemen will march unconquered and unconquerable until we have trampled down the Loyalists in the last ditch."

There they were. Parenthetically he might remark, and the House would understand, that Irish landlords, at any rate, objected to that. He (Colonel Saunderson) would have the House mark what followed—

> "And until we have hauled down the flag of Orange ascendancy and of English rule for evermore from the highest pinnacle in this land."

Mr. W. O'BRIEN: The words that I used were English misrule.

Colonel SAUNDERSON said, that as the hon. Member was the editor and proprietor of the journal from which he quoted, the hon. Gentleman ought to have exercised more accurate supervision in the management of his paper.

Mr. W. O'BRIEN: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will allow me to say that owing to my absence I have not been of late able to interpose in any way in the management of *United Ireland.*

Colonel SAUNDERSON said, that he would accept at once the correction of the hon. Member. Still, at any rate, the hon. Member hoped in the immediate future to trample all Loyalists "in the last ditch" and to haul down the flag of England and Ireland. That was the love which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian by his policy had aroused in the breasts of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. He would turn for a moment to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. When he heard that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to move the rejection of the Bill he did not try to imagine what he would say, for no mortal man could imagine that; but he imagined what he would not say, and he was absolutely correct in the supposition he arrived at. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman would make an eloquent speech—he always did that—and he knew that he would allude to the various difficulties of government in Ireland. But he knew also that the right hon. Gentleman would not say one single word about the National League, or about the terrorism and coercion which it exercised in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his oration, gave no indication why it was, and when it was, that he changed his opinion of hon. Members below the Gangway who were now his Friends, and of the organization which, in the immediate past, he had blasted with all the force of his eloquent denunciation trumpeted throughout the country. Neither in that House nor in the country, as far as he was able to learn, had the right hon. Gentleman ever indicated why, or when, it was that this wonderful change took place which he imagined must have taken place before the right hon. Gentleman consented to place hon. Members below the Gangway in supreme authority in Ireland—with a Parliament in Dublin—and to believe that the creation of the National League Party would tend to the happiness and prosperity of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman was a master of the art of political shunting, and he turned the attention of the House and the country from the main issue, which he objected to and did not like to confront, to a side issue which he found more to his taste and which could be more easily dealt with. Thus the right hon. Gentleman spent a large portion of his speech to-night, not in dealing with the main issue, but in dealing with crime and statistics of crime, which, he said, alone could justify a Coercion Act. He (Colonel Saunderson) had never heard right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench say that it was the amount of crime in Ireland that justified the introduction of this Bill. Nobody who knew Irishmen believed for a moment that they were naturally a criminal people. He believed that they were naturally averse to crime; but it was when they were maddened into excitement that crimes were committed which would sully the annals of any land. That was not the issue to be decided. It was rather this—What authority was to rule in Ireland? Hon. Members below the Gangway opposite hoped to get rid of the landlords, and by getting rid of them getting rid also of that dual ownership which was supposed to be a curse to Ireland. There was something worse than the dual ownership of land; the dual ownership of Ireland was at stake; it was owned by the National League and by the Queen; and what Parliament had to deal with was an organization which had usurped the authority of the law of the land, established its Courts all over the country, summoned before its Courts those who did not obey its edicts, and asserted its superiority to the Law Courts of the land. Her Majesty's Government had felt that unless they adopted the policy of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, which was surrender to the National League, it was absolutely imperative on the House of Commons to reinforce the law of the land and to make it supreme in Ireland. So long as the Irish remained a law-abiding people, so long the Bill would remain a dead letter. He had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, hoping to hear some instance of how the Bill would interfere with any law-abiding man; but the right hon. Gentleman never touched upon that point, but contented himself with saying that the Government was passing a Bill for Ireland which they would not dare to propose for England or Scotland. That assertion he (Colonel Saunderson) denied; for if the same organization existed in England that existed in Ireland, if the English tenantry had their cattle killed and houghed in the field, if their houses were burned and their lives were not safe, Parliament would quickly pass a Bill to deal with such a state of things. That was all the Government proposed to do in Ireland. The Bill would not interfere with any real liberty except the liberty of the criminal to commit crime, except the liberty of the political agitator to preach treason, which would be put down by the strong hand in England, in Ireland, or in Scotland. The object of the Bill was to enable tenants to enjoy the gifts Parliament had already conferred on them, to enable them to buy and sell without let or hindrance. The Bill would not be used for trampling down the liberties of Irishmen, or interfering with them in the ordinary business of life; but it was a Bill to deal with an organization which had proved to be the curse of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian never mentioned the National League; but he spoke euphemistically of combination. He did not mention Boycotting; but he spoke of exclusive dealing. Yet, when he was Prime Minister, he had said that the path of the former League had been tracked with blood, murder, and outrage; he treated it as a criminal organization, and he put it down. The right hon. Gentleman never mentioned the present organization, founded for treasonable and felonious purposes, maintained by money sent by the avowed enemies of England in America; but he proposed to place Ireland under its authority. Lord Spencer once said at Newcastle that remedial measures for Ireland had been passed that were so strong that it strained the loyalty of many English Members to carry them; and yet the effective operation of these remedial measures was prevented by those who wanted to get the government of the country into their own hands. The present Government intended that these measures should be allowed to take effect; they intended to prevent any organizations setting its foot upon Her Majesty's subjects and depriving them of their just right to enjoy the remedial measures passed by Parliament. It was the object of hon. Members opposite to prevent attention being concentrated on the issue whether Parliament or the National League was to be supreme; they wanted to divert the gaze of the public to the Irish landlords, whom they knew to be a rather unpopular class. They had chosen two test cases—Glenbeigh and Bodyke. At Glenbeigh an arrangement was progressing between the landlord and the tenants when a League meeting was held, and the parish priest was so disgusted by what followed that he called the people slaves. It turned out that an English lawyer into whose hands the property had fallen had made a most generous offer—namely, to accept one half-year's rent for six years' arrears due. At Bodyke the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) informed them the people did not adopt the Plan of Campaign.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, the statements of the hon. and gallant Mem- were very inaccurate. What he had said was that he did not interfere until he was sent for to Bodyke, five months ago, and the tenants adopted the Plan of Campaign on his advice.

Colonel SAUNDERSON said, that made his argument the stronger. He wished to show that the Bodyke estate was chosen to test the Plan of Campaign. It was not his business to defend Colonel O'Callaghan. He believed Colonel O'Callaghan went as far as the law would permit in asserting his rights. But there were redeeming qualities in him which had not been mentioned. When he came into his property there were £6,000 of arrears due which he wiped off. Then there were the Bodyke evictions. Now, he hated evictions, and tried to avoid them. But these evictions were on the judicial rents, and he was astounded to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) hold up to execration the whole class of Irish landlords because one of them chose to hold by the bargain which the right hon. Gentleman himself had made. Then the right hon. Gentleman said that Colonel O'Callaghan was a type of Irish landlords. He (Colonel Saunderson) might just as well say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby was a favourable specimen of English statesmen. He hoped for a favourable result from the passing of this Bill, because it would relieve the tenantry of Ireland from the grinding tyranny of the National League. He had before alluded in that House to the men Troy who gave evidence on the Cowper Commission, but who were afraid to give their names; but so soon as this Bill had been introduced they at once consented to their names being mentioned in that House. He had recently had a letter from one of these men, in which he said they wrote a letter appealing for justice, or, if not, for mercy, to an hon. Member of that House who was Secretary of the Land League in Dublin, and got no answer.

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin, Harbour): There is not a word of truth in the statement that these men ever wrote a letter to me.

Colonel SAUNDERSON: How does the hon. Member know?

Mr. T. C. HARRINGTON: If the hon. and gallant Member does not believe my word, I can tell him that the people of Ireland will believe my word before they will believe that of the hon. and gallant Gentleman.

Colonel SAUNDERSON said, he would, of course, take the hon. Member's word that he did not receive such a letter; but the letter might, nevertheless, have been written. The men said they wrote it, and he believed them. At any rate, they got no justice from the National League—who would listen to no appeal—by which they had been fined and ruined. It was with cases of that sort that this Bill would deal. The tenants were ground down and tyrannized over by the League much more than by landlords, and the Bill would relieve them from that tyranny. Now, he wanted to ask a most serious question. How was it that the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian came to change his mind? How was it that as his alternative scheme for the government of Ireland he proposed to place in supreme authority men whom he had previously branded in his speech at Edinburgh as unworthy of confidence? The right hon. Gentleman in that speech had urged the danger of a state of things in which it would be in the power of the

Nationalist Party to say to the Liberal Party—"Do this, or do that." It would not be safe, he said, to enter into consideration of the principles of a measure at every step of which the Irish Party might threaten to turn them out to-morrow. Yet, when he got into power, the right hon. Gentleman was himself the first to fall a victim to this temptation. The right hon. Gentleman, in a recent letter addressed to the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), said that his position was exactly the same as it was on the 8th of April, 1886. The right hon. Gentleman was geographically in error. His mind might be in the same position, but his seat was now on the other side of the Table. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his coadjutors were able, as the Representatives of the Irish people, to demand in the name of the Irish people a measure which it would be very difficult to show that he had ever condemned. Why, the right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten all his speeches for six years when he was thus whitewashing the men whom he had subjected to such terrible denunciations a few years ago. If hon. Gentlemen opposite, in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, were unworthy of confidence, were marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire a few years ago, when there were only 40 of them working—now there were 86 of them—did he forget absolutely those terrible denunciations? All he could say was that the right hon. Gentleman's ideas of morality—especially political morality—were absolutely diverted, and were not such as he could accept. Had the Nationalist Party changed in their methods and their objects? To show that they had not he would quote the hon. Member for North-East Cork and another celebrated Leader of the Party, Mr. Davitt. At Bodyke Mr. Davitt showed that he had not changed one iota since the right hon. Gentleman uttered those words. Mr. Davit said—

> "I trust every young man here to-day will have registered in his heart a vow which I made 30 years ago, to bear in my heart towards England and English government all the concentrated hatred of my Irish nature."

If that Party was unchanged, he (Colonel Saunderson) confessed he could not reconcile the course pursued by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian with loyalty to the Crown, with loyalty to the Empire, and with loyalty to the Union. He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman had persuaded himself, from his point of view, that he was taking a conscientious and patriotic course, and he admitted that many of the right hon. Gentleman's followers probably held the same opinion; but he believed that they were led away by the glamour of a great name and great eloquence. He believed that when, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman went to another and more peaceful scene—[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Order!"]—he was not speaking of Heaven; he was speaking of the House of Lords, then he believed the cause which the right hon. Gentleman now maintained in the House of Commons would die a natural death. Far be it from him to wish any evil to the right hon. Gentleman. It was true that they were political opponents, but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman might long be spared to sit on the Opposition Bench. He looked upon the right hon. Gentleman as the sheet anchor of the Unionist Party. The right hon. Gentleman might persuade himself that he was taking a patriotic course in pursuing a policy which he (Colonel Saunderson) regarded as being destructive of the best interests of the country; but it was his duty to tell the right hon. Gentleman that in his view, and in the view of those who sympathized with him, the right hon. Gentleman was pursuing a course which indicated that he was willing to betray and to sell his country.

SIR EDWARD REED (Cardiff): I desire to say a few words before this Bill is read a third time. It is not a very happy sign of the times that the speech which we have just listened to is so entirely satisfactory to the bulk of the Party opposite that they do not require to hear any more upon the subject. In my opinion, the speech to which we have just listened is of a kind and description which is fast passing out of date and losing its power, and some better reason for the pressing of a Coercion Bill through Parliament will have to be found than any which the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Saunderson) has adduced. It is rather an extraordinary circumstance in itself that the very reasons which are adduced by the Government for the pressing forward of this Bill are precisely the reasons why I am most strenuously opposed to it. Now, we are told that this Bill has been brought into the House and pressed forward in the interests of Imperial unity—of the unity and power of the Empire. I am one of those who think that the power and unity of this Empire rest upon the power and greatness of this Parliament. I am of opinion—and it is now passing beyond the region of opinion, and becoming with me a matter of fact—that the measures which have been necessary in order to carry this Bill through this Parliament have been such as to strike a permanent blow at the authority and influence of this House. And if I were asked to find out one among all the disintegrating influences which are operating on this Empire at the present time; if I were required to point to that which, in my judgment, is doing the most harm to the Imperial power of this country, I should point to the debasement of this Parliament which this Bill has made necessary in order to secure its passage. I connot help asking myself sometimes, how far ahead have the Government looked in connection with this matter? I myself am one who would not, as a lover of Imperial power and unity, yield one iota to any right hon. Gentleman or hon. Gentleman on the opposite side of the House. I am one of those who listen to speeches like the one we have just listened to, and who witness the hilarity which has been exhibited by the Tory Party over that speech, with regret and alarm and with shame, for I regard such speeches as marks of the deterioration of this House. Now, let me ask the Tory Party opposite whether they have considered what will be the consequence in future days of the adoption of the closure, and of the other measures which we have had put into force in the pressing forward of this Bill? When a democratic majority comes into this House, and, as possibly may be the case, seeks to carry a measure inimical to the rights of property of the country, what precedent will they require for forcing their measure through Parliament but this precedent which the Government have set them in pressing forward this Bill? The power they will use is the power this Government has placed in their hands. Before the late Government fell, and when the question of Home Rule for Ireland was before the country, I was asked, why are you going to vote for that Bill? and the answer I gave was—"I am going to vote for the Bill in the interests of Parliament and the country, and of all the Empire." I gave that reply for this reason—that it was a palpable necessity that you should either give a system of government to Ireland which would satisfy the Irish Representatives in all that was reasonable and proper, whether they remained in this House or went out of it, or resort to measures which can only be carried by an invasion of Parliamentary freedom, and of all that has made the Parliament of England memorable, venerable, and worthy. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) whether, when he leaves Office, when his Government is overthrown, he will leave this Parliament in the same condition as he found it in when he entered Office? This Parliament has been, in my judgment, degraded and weakened to a most frightful extent by the practices resorted to. I am quite aware that there existed in this Parliament possibilities of obstruction, and methods and habits which were exceedingly injurious to the credit and power of Parliament. Do not imagine I for one moment conceal that fact from myself; I am perfectly aware of it. I am perfectly aware that the state of things which existed during recent Parliaments could not have been maintained; it must have been got rid of in one way or another; and the question was, whether the change was to be brought about constitutionally, and to the satisfaction of the people of the country, or to be brought about unconstitutionally, and to the injury and hurt of Parliament and the Empire? I should like to know what the great Colonial Parliaments are beginning to think of this Parliament? [*Ministerial ironical cheers.*] Yes; but let me point out to hon. Gentlemen opposite who treat that remark derisively that they are, by their present tactics, creating issues which they have not yet had to face. For example, it may well happen in the pursuance of your present methods that you may be silencing the voice of the Representatives of the great towns in this country in matters of this description. I confess I have not sought many opportunities; but I have had, before now, no opportunity, although representing, I believe, more people than any other borough Representative in this House—I have had no opportunity of saying a word on this Bill. If you adopt methods by which the Representatives of the great boroughs and counties of this country are silenced in this House, what will be the consequences? They will appeal to their constituents, and they will do more, they will decline to be silenced. I maintain that it is not within the Constitutional right of the majority of this House to silence the minority whenever they please; and if they attempt to do so it will lead to rebellion such as we have never had in this country, because it is the function of Parliament to meet together to discuss, with whatever fulness the Representatives of the people desire, all questions which come before them. Now, I should like to revert to one or two points which have been incidentally mentioned in the speech to which we have just listened. I must confess that, of all the extraordinary doctrines to which I have listened in the debate on this Bill, the most extraordinary is that this Bill will hurt nobody but those who break the law. But this consideration neglects some of the fundamental facts of human nature and life. Suppose it to be true, as I believe it to be, and as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) pointed out to-night, that the liberties of the Irish people are to depend upon the will of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant—suppose you put me in that position, and tell me that all the time I do not break the law I am safe, but that I hold my freedom and liberty at the will of the right hon. Gentleman, I shall not care whether I am a law-breaker or not. I should regard such a state of things as an infringement on my natural right to freedom; and, whatever you say about law and order, I should fight against any man's individual will as my law. Therefore, I maintain that, in pressing such measures as this forward in the interest of what you call law and order, you are really assailing the very foundations of law and order, because you are removing not only the inducement the people have to obey the law and preserve order, but you are raising their spirit against the law. The reason I have not much fear about this Bill being worked very mischievously, or lasting very long, as some people imagine it will, is that I am perfectly sure this Bill and its advocates will be swept away from power in the country because of this Bill and legislation of this kind. It has been boldly asserted to-night by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Saunderson) that if the people of England felt similar dissatisfaction, and resorted to the same means as some people of Ireland show and resort to, such a Bill as this would be passed for England. Why, everybody knows that the English people would never submit for a day or an hour to any Bill of this description under any conditions whatever; and the Irish people would never, and never ought, unless compelled by force. What obligation are Irishmen under to live under the condition that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant shall be the master of their liberty and freedom? What obligation has any Irishman to live peaceably under a state of things in which it rests with a Lord Lieutenant to create a law for him, control him, and to judge and deal with him as he pleases? The only justification, in my judgment, for such a Bill as this would be found in the fact that the Irish people were base enough to submit to it quietly. If I could believe that any free people in this age, with a free Press, with a Parliamentary right, could submit to the situation in which this Bill will place the people of Ireland, then I should believe they would have demonstrated their inferiority; and if they do not agitate against such a measure as this during every hour of its existence, in my opinion they will be unworthy of their ancestors, and unworthy of the present generation. I have not the slightest fear of this Bill prevailing, because I am certain its character has only to be brought clearly to the notice of the constituencies of this country and the constituencies will sweep it away. I am sure the people of England, when they come to understand this question, will never allow such an Act to continue in operation. I do not wish to exaggerate a single case, and I do not think I do so, when I say that we see, from recent events in Lincolnshire, that the people, when they become informed of the nature of the case, will not permit the continuance of this Bill. My own opinion is that this Government will meet its fate because of this Bill, and I believe it will meet its fate before long. I do not think the Head of the Government, or the majority on that side of the House, have proved themselves lately very good judges of public feeling and sympathy. There have been signal instances in which they have proved themselves incapable of discerning even what the manifest sense of the House was; and I believe that in connection with this measure they are blind to the feelings which it will arouse in the country when the country comes to understand it. I believe that no one will stand a shadow of a chance on a Liberal platform who does not, in any future election, denounce this Bill as an infringement of the rights of the people of a great portion of the United Kingdom. That is my own firm conviction. [*A laugh.*] Yes; I have not trespassed many times upon the attention of the House in reference to this Bill, and I do not hesitate to say exactly what I think about it. Another remark that fell from the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Saunderson), or, rather, slipped from him, was very significant and true. He said that this Bill is to be used to put down political agitation. It is true that he added the words "to promote treason." We know what that means—to promote what he calls treason. Now, this is the age—this is the House—in which it is boldly declared that a measure is being passed to put down political agitation; and the Government think they are going to stand for long, and stand strongly, on such a basis as that? I think it is one of the most futile suggestions possible. I have great sympathy with the Government. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes, I have; because I know the Government have to deal with remarkable evils, and very great evils; and in what I am saying I am merely, as I think the House will admit, pointing out what will be the consequences of this measure. I believe the Government have made an entire mistake in proposing such legislation, and I think, from the indications I have observed, they are now arousing themselves to the fact that the country is beginning to ask, why has all this time been wasted upon a measure of this description? They say it is on account of obstruction. Well, I should like to ask the Government whether any man upon that Bench ever doubted not only that resistance would take place, but that it would be the duty of the Irish Members to resist to the utmost possible extent a measure of this kind. Why, to suppose that they did not know that such a measure as this would take many months to pass is to accuse them of an amount of political incapacity which, I believe, it would be libellous to impute to them. The whole pretence that this Bill has been a long time in passing on account of obstruction is hollow and unreasonable. The marvel to me is that it has not been very much longer in getting through its stages, considering the presence in the House of 85 Irishmen, all of whom would have been traitors and renegades to their country, and to their constituents, if they had not done everything in their power to oppose this measure. Therefore, the Government are, and they must remain, in the view of the country responsible for the whole time which this Bill has taken up, and they ought to be very thankful they have got it through without any greater expenditure of time upon it, although, I believe, they ought to very much lament the means they have resorted to. I declare it appears to me that no evil could have befallen this Empire comparable to the evil which has befallen Parliament. Nothing the Irish people could have done could have worked the Empire more damage, more harm, than have the tactics resorted to in the passing of this Bill. There is one other remark I wish to make, and if I am not very consecutive in my observations, I hope it will be attributed to the fact that I am noticing a speech which was remarkable for its want of consecutiveness. The hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Saunderson) thought it was sufficient to say—he said it with great unction and force, an unction and force which seemed entirely disproportionate to the strength of his argument—that the evictions to which he was referring have taken place under judicial rents. That is the sort of argument adduced. I do not want to be unfair to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews), and to refer to an unpleasant incident of recent date; but what does seem to me is, that the Government fail to look beneath the superficial aspects of questions, or to see the reality. The other night the whole House felt perfectly well that the Home Secretary was speaking the absolute truth, and laying down a correct legal doctrine, though the speech he made failed to satisfy the House. What the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Matthews) failed to do was to peer through the outside technicalities of the question, and get at the root of it. This is what they fail to do who say that these evictions are based on judicial rents. What does that matter when you are turning people out-of-doors, out of the homes they may themselves have built? I do not think meanly enough, not only of Irish people, but of anyone in this United Kingdom, to believe that they would be turned out willingly or with acquiescence from property which is, in many instances, more their own than it is that of the person who is turning them out. I believe that the Government will have to get rid of these technicalities and their officialism, and deal a little more practically with this question. I say this because I have had opportunities of coming into contact with the masses of the people. The position I have always taken up with the approval of the people is that the Bill itself is wrong; that it puts the nation in a wrong, painful, and dangerous position; that it invites disorder, because of the fact that it has been carried by measures injurious to this Parliament, and likely to work immense mischief to the very people who have adopted the means resorted to. I believe that the Government are hollowing the foundation upon which they stand; and they will find out, and that very speedily too, that when the people of England awake to the actual situation they will decline to keep right hon. Gentlemen opposite in power as tyrants over any part of the United Kingdom. They will say, make such arrangements as you can for the protection of interests; but you shall respect the feelings of the people, because it is only by this means that you can keep Parliament and the country great and respected among nations.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): Mr. Speaker, I should not have intervened in the debate upon the third reading of this Bill had it not been for the very extraordinary statements made to-night by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). I think it only right that as I am, to a certain extent, responsible for what has been said to be the legal aspect of the question, I should, without further delay, comment as authoritatively as I can upon some of the statements of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was in a somewhat peculiar position a few nights ago, when we were discussing the question of the perpetuity of the Bill—when we were discussing an Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) as to whether the Bill should be made perpetual. We pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian that that question depended to a great extent, if not entirely, upon the question of the evils against which the Bill is directed; and I ventured myself to point out to him that it was necessary he should make good his words, at some time or other, that this Bill was directed against political associations and not against crime. We have heard to-night the attempt of the right hon. Gentleman to make good his position. I ask those who listened to his speech, and who followed his references to the clauses of the Bill, singular and vague as they were, whether the right hon. Gentleman made good in any sense at all the observation he has often made that this Bill is directed against something other than crime? The right hon. Gentleman referred to a very extraordinary statement, or to a supposed utterance of Mr. Justice Holmes, when he was Attorney General for Ireland and occupied a seat in this House. Now, I had the honour of being associated with Mr. Justice Holmes for the last three months in endeavouring to put before the House the legal aspect of the clauses of this Bill. I have been in consultation with him repeatedly outside the House, and of course been associated with him upon this Bench night after night; I have heard his statements in the House, and do not believe that any such statements as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian attributes to him can be found in any of the speeches of my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Justice Holmes). [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Perhaps hon. Gentlemen who cry "Oh, oh!" will kindly give me the date upon which the statement was made—indeed, some hon. Members have said they will endeavour to supply us with the particulars; but hitherto they have wholly failed. It must be borne in mind that hon. Gentlemen themselves have admitted that upon some evening shortly afterwards Mr. Holmes denied the use of the words attributed to him; and it is, to say the least, unfortunate that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian should have been made at a time when Mr. Justice Holmes is no longer in the House, and, therefore, is unable to reply. Now, I will give my view of the Bill. I am responsible for my utterances, and they can be checked by hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite. I say there is no new crime created by this Bill—I say there is no new offence created by this Bill; but I say, and I have never denied it for a single moment, that the mode of punishment, the mode of detecting crime, is new—that is to say, new provisions are inserted in this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said to-night there are three classes of offences which are touched by this Bill—felonies, misdemeanours, and then he used the words triumphantly as being the words which he alleges were used by Mr. Justice Holmes, "offences constituted by this Bill." It certainly was a very inapt observation for any lawyer to have used. We know perfectly well there are sections in which the words "offences punishable under this Act" are used, and in which distinction has been drawn between felonies, misdemeanours, and offences punishable under the Act. But if my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Holmes) used the expression attributed to him, I am quite certain it was with reference to some such question as that now under discussion—namely, the way in which particular clauses should be applied. He never used them for the purpose of indicating that new offences were created. But I do not want to shield myself, under the responsibility of my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Holmes). I will submit to any hon. Member opposite who will answer me fairly, from a lawyer's point of view, whether the provisions of the Bill are not exactly in accordance with what I say? Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian referred to Clause 2. He admitted that the section of the clause which he considered Mr. Holmes was referring to was Section 2, or Clause 2 of the Bill now before the House. Now, Sir, what are the sub-sections of that clause to which the right hon. Gentleman referred? They are two, and I do crave the attention of the House, because I wish these matters to be argued out fairly and squarely. The 1st sub-section relates to criminal conspiracies now punishable by law, and I do not believe there is a lawyer in the House who values his reputation who will get up and say that the whole of the 1st sub-section is not governed by the words "criminal conspiracy now punishable by law." How did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian deal with it? Instead of taking the whole sentence and seeing what were the governing words, he read out the words—

> "To induce any person or persons either not to fulfil his or their legal obligations, or not to let, hire, or use, or occupy any land, or not to deal with, work for, or hire any person or persons in the ordinary course of trade, business, or occupation."

And then he went on to use the argument, which I do not think anybody will consider valid—namely, that in England anybody may induce a person to any extent he likes, that in Scotland anybody may induce any person as much as he likes, but that the same right is denied an Irishman. [Mr. BRYCE: Hear, hear!] The hon. and learned Member says "Hear, hear!" Will he get up and say that the whole of this sub-section is not governed by the words "criminal conspiracy now punishable by law?" No one has a right to take up the section, and for the purpose of argument break it up into two parts, and allege that the offence is to induce a person not to fulfil his obligations. The offence is a criminal conspiracy to induce a person not to fulfil his legal obligations. I am perfectly acquainted with the law of England, and I have ascertained what is the law of Scotland on this subject; and I assert it is wholly untrue to allege, as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) did to-night, if he means to refer to Clause 2, that in England it is not a criminal offence to conspire to compel persons not to fulfil their legal obligations. [An hon. MEMBER: He did not say so.] I agree he did not say so, because he left out the governing words of the clause, "criminal conspiracy now punishable by law." I leave it to the judgment of the House whether that is fair argument. The answer to the observations of the right hon. Gentleman is this—that if persons in England or Scotland at the present time enter into a conspiracy which is contemplated by this sub-section they commit an offence against the Criminal Law. When it was suggested that someone might think of a new kind of crime, what did the Government do? They inserted the words "now punishable by law," for the purpose of showing that new crimes were not contemplated, but that that which constituted a criminal conspiracy should still do so. I pass to the next sub-section, and here, again, the right hon. Gentleman certainly did, to my mind, fall into a most extraordinary mistake. He indicated to the House that intimidation of the character contemplated by Sub-section 2 was a new offence, and he suggested that that was the new offence which was contemplated, or which was referred to, by Mr. Justice Holmes. The right hon. Gentleman supported his argument by some analogies drawn from the Trades Unions Statutes, and suggested that what we are endeavouring to do is to place on the tenants of Ireland greater obligations than we are willing to put on the people of England. I think the right hon. Gentleman confused, for a moment, the Conspiracy Sub-section with the Intimidation Sub-section. If he was dealing with the Conspiracy Sub-section, I might again point out that the whole clause is governed by the words "criminal conspiracy now punishable by law;" but if he was dealing with the Intimidation Sub-section, it occurs to my mind he cannot very recently have read Section 7 of what is commonly called the Trades Unions Act, or the Act of 1875, with reference to the Law of Conspiracy. Sub-section 2 says—"Any person who shall wrongfully, and without legal authority, use violence, or intimidation," &c. Now, Section 7 of the Act of 1875 lays it down that anyone who, with the view of compelling any other person to abstain from doing what he has a legal right to do, or *vice versâ*, uses violence or intimidation towards him, or his wife, or his children, shall be liable to punishment under summary jurisdiction or by indictment. That was the section referred to by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) when he spoke to-night of "picketing and molesting" in connection with trades unions. The words of the two sections are, practically speaking, identical from the point of view in which I am now considering the question—namely, the using of violence or intimidation to or towards any person or persons. If you bear in mind that in this Bill we are simply dealing with the object of the intimidation, with the object of the violence which we desire to put an end to, I say that this section and the 7th section of the Act of 1875 are practically identical. If the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian says that a new offence is created by Sub-section 2, I respectfully and emphatically deny it; and I say, except in that the offence of intimidation well known to the law, the offence of using violence well known to the law, is properly described in relation to the evil intended to be met, there is no creation of new crime. My right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Holmes) can no longer reply in this House; but I assert that no such statement attributed to him was ever made by him. Now, I wish to make a few observations on one or two other points raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, because I am unwilling to allow any doubt or any uncertainty as to what is our view in regard to this matter. In support of his general allegation that this Bill is a Bill not against crime, but against political associations, the right hon. Gentleman said that if it had been a Bill against crime three-fourths of the time taken up in the discussion of the Bill would have been saved. [Mr. BRYCE: Hear, hear!] The hon. and learned Gentleman cheers that statement; but has he looked through the Amendments we have been discussing for the last few months? Has he got in his mind what the character of those Amendments was? And, what is more important, does he remember the clauses of the Bill upon which the discussion took place? The Amendments which were discussed for weeks and weeks were directed to those parts of the Bill which solely had to do with the punishment of crime, directed to those parts of the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman has to-night said were perfectly legitimate. But what he says is that the Bill goes beyond the punishment of crime, and in some mysterious way steps into the region of what is called political organization. Whether the right hon. Gentleman is right or wrong, I assert—and I was present almost constantly during the debates upon the Amendments—that the Amendments were not directed to the part of the Bill which is supposed to have to do with political associations, but were directed to the parts which have to do with crime. Then the right hon. Gentleman made a most extraordinary statement, which I cannot allow for one moment to pass without notice. He said that the Bill was such that it put into the power of the Lord Lieutenant, or the Chief Secretary, to say that he, the right hon. Gentleman, if an Irishman, was to become a criminal beyond recall. The imagination of the right hon. Gentleman is most extraordinary. I agree with my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Saunderson) that the right hon. Gentleman seems to reason himself into thinking that these extraordinary views are the result of calm and impartial consideration; but to say that the Lord Lieutenant, or the Chief Secretary, sitting in a secret chamber, can make the right hon. Gentleman a criminal beyond recall is, I submit to this House and to the country, language of the grossest exaggeration. What are the powers of the Chief Secretary? Is it true that this Bill enables either the Chief Secretary or the Lord Lieutenant to make a man a criminal beyond recall at his own will and without the slightest responsibility or publicity with regard to the act? Why, Sir, what is the state of the facts? The Chief Secretary, who is a Member of this House, must be prepared to justify his action, because, if he acts under Section 6, the Proclamation must be laid on the Table of the House within a very few days. He must show that he has been satisfied that there has been an association formed for the commission of crimes, for carrying on operations for or by the commission of crimes, or for encouraging or aiding persons to commit crimes, or for promoting or inciting to acts of violence or intimidation, or for interfering with the administration of the law or disturbing the maintenance of law and order. Every one of these things are offences now. Every one of these things, if done now with criminal intent, are offences. If the Lord Lieutenant issues a Proclamation, the Chief Secretary has to justify the action of the Lord Lieutenant in this House. Does anyone suppose that the Chief Secretary, or any Government, would be so ridiculously absurd in their conduct, so ridiculously misguided, as to issue a Proclamation unless they were prepared to justify it by facts? [*Laughter.*] All I can say is that if hon. Members below the Gangway think that a Government which would so behave would be able to stand long they have not very much studied the history of this country. May I remind the House what the argument of the right hon. Gentleman was? The argument of the right hon. Gentleman was that the Lord Lieutenant was being substituted for the judicial tribunals of the country. Now, Sir, remembering that the action of the Lord Lieutenant has to be justified in this House, it does occur to me that it is not very many weeks ago that the right hon. Gentleman was declaiming against the Judges and juries of the land, and telling the House of Commons they were not fit persons to be entrusted to enter into inquiries under Section 6. To say that the Lord Lieutenant is substituted for the judicial tribunals of the land is, again, to use language of exaggeration. The Lord Lieutenant does not punish crime. The Lord Lieutenant, who is responsible to the Executive Government, and who acts under the advice of the Chief Secretary and the Cabinet, thinks it right, having information before him, to put into force the provisions of the Bill. The Chief Secretary must be prepared to justify the action of the Lord Lieutenant; but the punishment of offences rests with the tribunals, either constituted by the general law of the land, or by this Bill. Nobody will tell me that the Lord Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary has power to sit in judgment on the individual whom he has caused to be arrested. Every lawyer knows perfectly well that anybody offending against this Bill after a Proclamation is liable to be tried in the ordinary way. To suggest that the Lord Lieutenant is substituted for the ordinary judicial tribunals is exactly the same thing as to say that the magistrate who reads the Riot Act is substituted for the tribunals that try the rioters afterwards. I have endeavoured to make the matter clear. I have endeavoured to make the House understand that it is against crime this Bill is directed; and I again challenge those who may speak in this debate after me, as I have more than once challenged the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), to point out that the Bill is directed otherwise than against crime. Now, Sir, let me say but one word more with regard to one or two matters to which the right hon. Gentleman referred. He told us that the state of facts does not justify the introduction or the passing of this Bill, and yet, at the same time, he admitted statistics showing that in 1886 crime was in advance of that which, in his opinion, justified the Coercion Bill of 1870. Sir, is Ireland more populous in 1887 than it was in the year 1869? Is Ireland supposed to have benefited in any measure at all by the legislation of the right hon. Gentleman? If things are, on the admitted figures of the right hon. Gentleman, worse and far worse in 1886 than they were in 1869, I am justified in appealing to the language of the right hon. Gentleman whose name has been already mentioned—Mr. Fortescue—who said in 1869 that the condition of things was intolerable, and that no step ought to be spared by the Government which would put an end to it. Furthermore, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) told us that notwithstanding all which had been done, I think he said during the last 700 years, certainly for the last 100 years, notwithstanding his own legislation, this country held Ireland by force, and I believe that statement was cheered by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. We have heard of slanders on the Irish people. We are said to have slandered the Irish people in order to introduce this Bill. I do not think there could be a much greater slander upon a people than to speak of them as a nation that is only held by force. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to say there are not hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of loyal subjects of Her Majesty the Queen in Ireland? It is known perfectly well that there are; and I say that the people who have to be restrained by force are not really subjects of the Queen, but are those who, as I have said more than once in the course of these discussions, would go a very considerable distance towards declaring themselves the open and avowed enemies of Her Majesty the Queen. I suppose it will not be denied that there are persons against whose acts any Executive Government would be justified in taking most stringent measures to defeat any design which may take the form of rebellion. In regard to the supposed perpetuity of this Bill, I have pointed out that the Chief Secretary has stated that though the power of putting the provisions of the Bill in force has no limit of time, the operation of the Bill is most distinctly limited by the action of the Executive having regard to the condition of the country. If previous Crime Acts have failed, it has been, to a very great extent, because they were only passed for a short period. If the Act of 1882 had been in force at the present time, we should have had probably very little need now for acting under its provisions; it would be the means whereby of itself, so to speak, law and order would be maintained. The reason why the former Acts failed was not because of anything inherent in the Acts themselves, but because when they came to an end they had been allowed to expire without due consideration of what would be the effect of allowing them to elapse, and without considering that the necessity for them would again spring up. If I am right in saying that this Bill is directed against crime, the whole objection to the Bill, on the ground of its perpetual duration, is to a great extent removed. I have, in a matter of fact way, placed before the House what is our view of the case, and no one can say afterwards that the opposition to the Bill rests upon any supposed admissions or assertions made by my right hon. and learned Friend the late Attorney General for Ireland. Now Mr. Justice Holmes, in the course of discussion, made, in effect, the same statements as I have. Those statements I have made on my own responsibility, knowing that I shall have to submit those statements to the judgment of those who are well able to pronounce judgment upon them. We have brought in this Bill for the purpose of carrying out what we believe to be the duty of the Government. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) has prophesied the most evil things respecting us. He has told us that we are going to meet our fate. We shall, of course, meet our fate; but the hon. Gentleman has not gone so far as to tell us what our fate is to be, although, I suppose, he means that we have ruined the Government by introducing this Bill. All I can say is that, having done what we believe to be our duty in introducing our Bill, we are ready to meet our fate in the sense indicated; but, whatever that fate may be, I do not think that any hon. Member will believe that it has been brought about by introducing this Bill. We have determined earnestly to grapple with crime. [An hon. MEMBER: And something more.] If the hon. Member can show where the more is, it is not even now too late to amend the Bill. I repeat that it is not too late to alter the clauses of the Bill if it is directed against political associations; but we have pointed out over and over again, and wearied the House by so doing, that the Bill is intended to be put in operation against crime. I say again that we have determined to do our best to put down crime; we have determined to put down terrorism in Ireland; and with those intentions Her Majesty's Government, if they are called upon to meet the terrible fate pictured by the hon. Member for Cardiff, will do so with resignation and without a single regret. I say it will not in any way cause them the slightest feeling of hesitation or fear because they have been told by the hon. Gentleman of the sudden fate impending over them. We do not suggest or believe that the Bill will cure all the evils existing in Ireland; but we do believe that, without the salutary effect of such provisions as these, the introduction and successful operation of remedial measures is impossible, and it is in that belief, and because we are determined to grapple with crime and to put down terrorism, that we have introduced this Bill, and intend to press it to the third reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Bryce.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Sir Richard Webster

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman.*)

[BILL 307.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Sir, although this Bill appears, at first sight, of but small importance, it is one, having regard to the district with which it deals, of the greatest importance. In the first place, it is of the deepest consequence, because it deals with a problem which has been admitted by students of Irish affairs to be one of a most perplexing character. Again, it is an important measure, because it is entirely revolutionary and unprecedented in its proposals; and I venture to say, although I do not intend, for reasons which I shall lay before the House, to offer any opposition to the second reading of the Bill, that the Government are entering on a course the evils of which it would be impossible to exaggerate. The Bill proposes to take over responsibility from the elected Guardians of the Poor in Ireland and cast it upon the shoulders of the Executive Government —the responsibility for the greatest and most terrible mass of festering poverty that ever existed in Ireland. I think it is only fair that we should warn the Executive in Ireland of that; and in the future, if this Bill passes, or, at any rate, until we get Home Rule for Ireland, which will not be long, they will have entire responsibility for the relief of the poor in this immense district, the population of which is stated at 156,000 persons. I wish to refer briefly to the details of the measure before I sit down; but at the outset I shall draw attention to some of the facts which are set forth in a Memorandum which has been circulated, together with the Bill; and with regard to this Memorandum I must say that, although it seems to me irregular, I do not complain, seeing that a fair opportunity has been given of discussing the measure. But I do say that it was a great bit of sharp practice to get a long start of Members interested in the district by means of a statement in detail deeply affecting the matter of argument, seeing that for several days we should have no opportunity of replying. I am bound to say that the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) has acted fairly in giving us a reasonable opportunity for considering this Bill. Here you have a district including five Unions in the counties of Galway and Clare, with a population of 156,000 persons, and which district includes in its area I think all, or nearly all, of what are known as the poorest districts in Ireland. We have had the admission that from 1879 to 1885 there has been expended an enormous sum of money in free grants and loans which have not been repaid, and in charitable donations within the district. The total amount of this is £317,000, all of which came from outside the district—largely from the public funds voted by this House, and, as I have said, charitable funds, which amounted to no less than £85,000. We have had the admission of the Chief Secretary that this money was expended in order to keep the population alive, and there has been no allegation of abuse or misapplication of the money, except with regard to one portion of it. But, notwithstanding all this, from the very places where the poverty is the deepest large sums for rent have been sent over to this country. I think we are entitled to ask on what grounds of public expediency the Chief Secretary for Ireland seeks to defend this fact which cannot be got over—that in this comparatively small population, and with this enormous expenditure from public and charitable funds for the sole purpose of enabling people to keep body and soul together, these rents have been levied in the district by horse, foot, and artillery. But that is not the whole of my charge. What are the facts with regard to that district? I can say, from my own knowledge of the district, that the land there is the property of landlords who never set foot in the district, but live in this country. During the time of the distribution of the money voted to maintain their tenants the landlords deserted their duties, and never attended on the Boards of Guardians, of which they were members *ex officio*, and we have it stated in the Blue Book that during the worst periods the Boards had had very small assistance from *ex officio* members, whose presence might have been expected. The man who owns the largest part of the district is Lord Dillon, who never set foot there during the time when there were large sums spent in keeping his wretched tenantry from starvation, but who occupied himself in issuing processes and civil bills against them. The very money that was intended for the relief of the people was used for issuing processes for payment of rent. I say that the Executive of Ireland, not having, it would seem, sufficient on hand, are now taking over the whole responsibility of this poverty-stricken population, who are sinking day by day into further misery; and you are taking all that upon your shoulders, knowing that you have to deal with a body of men who are proved by the Report in that Blue Book to be dead to every duty which a landlord ought to acknowledge. Allow me to ask you, Sir, this—there is one provision in this Bill which seems to me, in view of the facts in the Blue Book, little short of a mockery, and I would ask you whether, in your opinion, it is not a mockery? It is said that these Commissions to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant are to take over all the duties of Boards of Guardians, and to take over none of their debts, which are to be left behind—to take over all their duties and all their means of paying their debts, but none of their debts. There is a provision from which the creditors of the Unions will, I should think, take slight comfort—namely, a provision to the effect that everything over and above the rate to be levied, which may be necessary for the support of the poor, will be handed back to the old Boards of Guardians for the purpose of paying their debts. Well, what is that likely to amount to? Well, I confess I would not offer a halfpenny in the pound for the whole of that amount. I believe that in many of these electoral divisions, that, so far from having any surplus when the wants of the poor have been supplied, you will meet with a deficit. You do not know as I do the miserable condition of these people—you do not know what position you are putting the Executive in. I have the keenest desire to avoid parading the miseries of our people before this House; but when you and the Executive are about to place yourselves in the position of the Poor Law Guardians in Ireland, I warn you that it will be impossible for us in the future to avoid criticizing your conduct, and placing before Parliament and the country the miserable condition of the people—for which condition you will then be responsible. So great is the normal poverty of the people that the facts we shall be able to bring before this House, which will be beyond question, and which the Executive will be bound to admit, will make even you Conservatives consent to a scale of relief under this Bill, such as will compel the production of a Budget for these distressed Unions in which you will not have a surplus, but the very reverse of a surplus. The consequences of that will be that, instead of saving money by this proposed scheme, you will plunge the Executive of Ireland into new difficulties. We have evidence here of the gross maladministration of the £20,000 of the Irish Church money, which was sanctioned by Parliament last year for use in outdoor relief. I do not stand here to defend the action of these Guardians at all. On the contrary, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) will remember in connection with that matter that, though it was an unpopular *rôle* to play before my own constituency, I stood up here, and warned him against giving large grants to the Poor Law Guardians without check and control. So strong was the view I took on that matter that I urged on the right hon. Gentleman that the Executive Government in Ireland, in which I then had the most absolute confidence, Lord Aberdeen being then Lord Lieutenant, should have the administration of this money, and that where they thought fit they should administer it by Inspectors, and not by Poor Law Guardians, or that where they did administer it through the Poor Law Guardians it should be under the immediate control of Inspectors. What has occurred since has fully borne out the correctness of my view. The principle I had in view was that public money granted to the Poor Law Guardians was a dangerous gift, and that where you made a free gift to an electoral body like the Poor Law Guardians, the Executive Government should insist upon the most rigorous control over the administration of the money. I regret that there was not that rigorous control over the spending of the money granted by Parliament last year, because occurrences have taken place which are most painful to everyone interested in the honour of those localities. I would invite the attention of those who wish to understand this matter to the Blue Book. What are the facts? Why, we have it related here that the Guardians offered to the people in Swinford, and some of the surrounding districts, occupation on the relief works at 1*s.* a-day, and here are the statements of the people who were examined—that so great was the rush to the relief works to earn this 1*s.* a-day, that almost the entire population was put on them. Is it not an awful state of things to see such an offer as this drawing the whole population of the place—and it must be borne in mind that it was not for the whole of the week, but only for three or four days in the week that this money was given. That is the actual state of things—that an offer was made of 1*s.* a-day, and four-fifths of the population rushed and struggled to get it. That is a terrible fact, and one that the Government should take into consideration before they proceed with this proposal. There are two other facts which are disclosed in the Blue Book to which I must direct attention. Some time ago I directed attention to the fact which is too much lost sight of, but which is in reality most appalling; and it is that in Ireland, while the population of the whole country has decreased since 1841 from about 8,000,000 to under 5,000,000, the population of the poorest districts, of the bogs and hill-sides, and the congested districts of the West, show a largely increased population. I recollect on one occasion being struck by these facts on a rough observation of these Western districts in the course of my own experience of them. I went into particulars, and took up the matter barony by barony, and electoral division by electoral division, and in Connaught I found that in direct ratio the baronies which showed good soil and productive capabilities were thinly populated, while those districts where the land was barren and of little value were thickly populated, and in those districts the population is multiplying and increasing to this day. Now, is that not a terrible state of things? Has the right hon, Gentleman opposite really considered what is before him? I believe that the fact, once mastered and admitted, is a frightful condemnation of the system which has prevailed in Ireland during the last 40 years, or, I may say, the last 100 years. I believe that that problem, terrible as it is, would take even those most interested in the welfare of Ireland not one, or two, or three years, but 10 or 12 years of patient and long-suffering endeavour to remedy. The right hon. Gentleman opposite may ask me what remedy I propose. Well, Sir, the answer I make is this. I, least of all the Irish Representatives, have never said anything to minimize or make little of that problem. I have been brought face to face with it from childhood, and I know the gravity of it; and if to-morrow we Irish Members had to take upon ourselves the responsibility of dealing with it, we should do so with the full knowledge of the difficulties of the case, but we should be perfectly prepared to accept the responsibility, and we should find a remedy with great patience. But I tell you frankly that I believe it is impossible for anybody who does not enjoy the love and confidence of the Irish people to touch that problem without making matters ten times worse than they are at present. The first step you have got to take, before you commence to deal with a congested district, is to open the hearts of the people to you. Until you do that —while you come to the people as an enemy—every time you approach them you will be farther away than ever from the successful dealing with a problem which, I admit, will task the patience and experience and skill of even an Irish Government. The Chief Secretary knows very well the figures with regard to the increases and decreases which are occurring in connection with our population. But the facts are so extraordinary with reference to some of the poorest districts that I will just mention one or two of them. Here is an example of the horrible state of things which exists in some of the most wretched districts—an example of the increase of population where the valuation is frightfully low. In Lettermore, in the Oughterard Union, the population in 1841 was 1,395, and in 1881 it was 1,643; and what, do you think, is the valuation per head? Why, only 5*s*. 3*d*. In Kilcommin the population in 1841 was 340, and in 1881 was 335, while the valuation was 9*s*. 9*d*.; and in another village in the Swinford district the population in 1841 was 2,136, while it is now 2,635, or an increase of 500, and the valuation is 5*s*. 7*d*. I know the last place of which I have spoken very well. It is on Lord Dillon's estate. Lord Dillon owns the entire electoral division. Every inch of his estate has increased in population. Why is that? Why, for the very reason that the land is valueless, absolutely valueless. The land is barren and rocky — indeed, it was a forest in the days of the grandfathers of the people who occupy it now. It has been reclaimed by the children—the sons and daughters of the tenantry who are gone, reared up in mud cabins, with no kind of decency —I do not mean with no idea of decency, for these poor people have a sense of decency—but with little possible application of what are called the decencies of civilized life, or little chance of carrying them out. The people herd together in these cabins. The men marry and begin life with no more capital than seven or eight acres of bog or mountain side. They will go and cultivate land which anyone here would call absolutely worthless. They will drag some sort of produce from that, and at once have the rent raised. That is the way the Dillon estate has increased. That has not been the system adopted where the land is valuable. Where the land was valuable without the people, there the people have had to go; but where the land has been valueless without the people, there the people have been preserved, and for generations have been reared up for the purpose of cultivating these barren tracts. The people have been willing to go into these districts of bog and mountain, and live as no Christian ought to be called upon to live; and instead of paying 1*s*. an acre—and no Englishman would be content to pay even that for this land—they have to pay £1 1*s*. an acre. That, however, is the system you will have to contend with in these Unions. You will have to contend with a frightful mass of poverty. You will have to contend with the burden of a population which could not live for a single year without charitable assistance from this country and remittances from America. You are going to enable the landlords to obtain their rents, while the British Exchequer is to feed the people. I warn the Executive that we will take every opportunity of pointing out to the people of England what they are doing; and if we find that in any case they refuse to relieve the people that are starving, we shall lose no opportunity of attacking the Executive for such refusal, more especially if, while the people are wanting food, large bodies of police are moved into the districts to remove them for inability to pay their rents, and it will remain for the Executive Government of this country to say, if they pass this Bill, and go down and propose a grant in aid for these Unions next year, that they are going to feed Lord Dillon's tenants, in order that they may be able to pay his rents. I mean Lord Dillon or any other landlord. I do not draw attention to Lord Dillon because he is by any means the worst of these landlords. Some of these landlords receive three times the amount of rent that Lord Dillon does. But I warn the Government that they will be placed in that odious position if they pass this Bill—that they will be feeding in the five Unions under consideration 156,000 persons, amongst whom, in little more than six years, a sum exceeding £317,000 has been spent in order that the landlords may have some means of squeezing money out of their tenants. I will only devote a few minutes to criticism of the provisions of the Bill. This measure proposes to do what no Bill ever proposed to do before—namely, to set up two Commissioners, who will inevitably, in a short space of time, entirely supersede the Boards of Guardians; and they are to have the power of appointing the officers that used to be under the Boards of Guardians. They will have power to appoint the dispensary doctors and all officers that were under the Boards of Guardians, which seems to me to be a monstrous thing to propose to do. It is proposed that they should take over all the debts due to the Boards of Guardians, but none of the debts owing by the Boards of Guardians. I await with some surprise to hear what defence the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary can make for this proposal, for it seems to me the most extraordinary proposal ever made by a Government. All the claims that the Board of Guardians have against the ratepayers are to be taken over, and the Commissioners are to have the fullest powers to recover such claims. I put it to the Chief Secretary—has he considered whether or not he is prepared to defend this principle? I do not speak here in the interests of the creditors or the Boards of Guardians, because I think the banks in Ireland which have allowed the Boards of Guardians to overdraw their accounts, as I am told they have done in Swinford, have only themselves to blame. These banks are now to be told that the outstanding estates of the Boards of Guardians are to be seized on by a Body against whom they are to have no claim whatever, and that the old Body, on whose credit they have made their advances, is to be extinguished. They are to be told to remain dumb under these circumstances; and I must say that that proposal seems to me most extraordinary. What comfort do they get for that? At the end of the 7th section they will find the following provision:—

> "Nothing contained in this section shall prejudice any remedy against the Board of Guardians for enforcing payment of money due to him which a creditor of the Board of Guardians would have had if this Act had not been passed."

Surely the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has put in this provision as a joke. Having carefully provided that every source from which the Board of Guardians could possibly get a shilling is to be impounded by the new Commissioners, the right hon. Gentleman provides that no creditor shall be prejudiced from enforcing payment from the Board of Guardians in the manner which would have been open to him if the Act had not been passed. When advances are made, they are made on the faith of the Guardians. What does the Bill propose? It proposes to cut off all remedy for the creditors, and impound all the rates and transfer them to the new Body, which is to go scot-free. I do not stand here on behalf of the creditors, but I do consider it would be monstrous if banks, for instance, were to lose the money they have advanced. So much for that part of the Bill. The Bill goes on to provide—

> "If any union named in the Schedule to this Act is dissolved, or the limits thereof are altered, so that such union becomes wholly or partially amalgamated with some other union, the Treasury may, on the recommendation of the Local Government Board, make, out of

moneys to be provided by Parliament, a free grant of such amount as the Treasury may determine to the Board of Guardians or to the Commissioners of the dissolved or altered union, to be applied by them in discharge or reduction of the debts affecting the union, or such parts of the union as are amalgamated with some other union."

This, also, seems to me to be a rather unjust Proviso—it seems to discriminate unfairly between the unions which are steeped in poverty. And now, Sir, I wish to say a word on the question of outstanding rates, because what do we find in these Unions? We find that the outstanding rates bear a very large proportion to the rates that are collected, particularly in the Swinford Union. A most remarkable fact comes out with regard to the outstanding rates. I have pointed out that *ex officio* Guardians neglect their duties, because they give no assistance in distributing relief or in checking extravagance. Take the case of the Swinford Union. In that Union there is a system of gross swindling practised on occupiers under £4; 73 per cent of all the rates are paid, or are payable, by the rated occupiers. What do we find as to the condition of the outstanding rates? Why, that 49 per cent of the uncollected rates are credited to the rated occupiers, while the lessors, who have only to pay 26 per cent, have 5 per cent of their rates unpaid. We really find that the poor unfortunate tenants of this district have paid their rates nearly four times as well as the landlords. The same condition of things prevails in all the other distressed Unions —in Belmullet, in Clifton, in Oughterard, and in Westport. Under these circumstances, the question I want to put to the Chief Secretary is—If this Bill is passed, will he give a pledge to the House that he will honestly administer the Bill and make the landlords pay their rates, and also that he will break up the company system, and direct the Committees, or introduce a short measure for the purpose of directing them, to levy half the rates upon the landlords where the holdings are under £4. I do not oppose the second reading; but the least I and my Colleagues are entitled to ask is that the landlords should be made to pay their honest share of the poor rates.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Perhaps it would be convenient I should follow the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) at once. With very much of what he has said I agree and sympathize. He has a full sense of the extreme gravity of the situation of the parts of Ireland dealt with by the Bill, and he has expressed, in terms I think not too strong, the enormous task laid before this House, or any House which has to deal with this question. I deeply regret the hon. Gentleman could not refrain, even on this question, from any dragging in of subjects of Party controversy. It seems to me unnecessary that he should take this opportunity of making a speech of a Party character against the landlords, for, after all, the hon. Gentleman must know perfectly well that the question before us is not in any sense a question of rent. He would be the first to acknowledge that if rent were abolished over the whole of these Unions, the gravity of the problem we have to deal with would not be less than it is now.

MR. DILLON: Much less; we should have £100,000 a-year less to pay.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I beg the hon. Gentleman's pardon. The question we have to meet is one of population. He gave figures which I must confess are worse than mine. In the Belmullet Union the valuation of the land per head of the population is 13*s.* 2*d.*, in the Clifton Union 14*s.* 6*d.*, in the Oughterard Union 14*s.* 6*d.*, and in the Swinford Union 16*s.* 2*d.* Everyone who has studied the Land Question in congested districts must know that where the valuation of the land per head of the population is over 10*s.*, the situation is appalling. The real difficulty of the situation is the congestion of the population. Lord Dillon's property is a case in point. The hon. Gentleman dwelt in glowing and eloquent terms upon the misery of the tenants. I am not aware he has exaggerated the misery; but how has that misery come about? Because Lord Dillon or his predecessors did not use their influence in the discouragement, but rather in the encouragement, of the settlement of population. I agree with the hon. Gentleman that the weight of responsibility resting upon them is heavy; but it is impossible to acquit the population itself. I do not wish to discuss the question from a Party point of view at all. I wish for the moment to forget Party differences. I say that the difficulty arises from the increase of population; and the landlord who permits this increase is certainly to blame. But if there were no landlords, if the one reason why this population has gone on increasing is because landlords did not exercise a proper influence, will you remove the evil if you remove the landlords? It appears to me that you will remove one check which hitherto has existed in congested districts, one piece of machinery by which some check has been put upon the appalling pressure of the population upon the means of subsistence. Then, Sir, the hon. Gentleman said—Is it not a monstrous thing to exact rents from these people who are so poor already? I mean to pass no judgment of any sort or kind upon the particular landlords concerned; but it is perfectly obvious to the House that, be the land worth what you like, if the population living on that land increases beyond a certain point the people will be reduced to almost abject poverty. Yet the landlord ought not to be deprived of the real value of the land.

MR. DILLON: It has no value at all.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman can hardly take that view, because what is the only conclusion to be drawn from it? If it be true that the land is wholly worthless, the whole population ought at once to be deported. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I am not proposing it; I am merely arguing that that is the necessary and logical conclusion from the observations of the hon. Gentleman. Then, Sir, the hon. Gentleman went on to describe the enormous responsibility which would be thrown on the Executive by the Bill before the House. I grant that the weight of the responsibility will be great; but I ask the hon. Gentleman what is the alternative he proposes? At one part of his speech I thought he was coming to the point; I thought he was going to make some suggestion which would enable me to dispense with the Bill and substitute a better proposal. He said that when Ireland gets Home Rule an Irish Parliament will, by some means at present undefined, be able to solve the problem, the extreme difficulty of which he with his great knowledge of the subject fully admits. But in the meanwhile Home Rule is not granted, and the crisis we have to deal with is upon us. It must be dealt with within the next month; and if the hon. Gentleman objects to my proposal, I ask him what scheme he is prepared to substitute? I have given this subject most anxious thought, and I hope he will believe me when I say I have approached it with a desire to benefit the population. Of course, we might have dealt with the question in other ways. If we had appointed Vice Guardians a great many evils would have arisen. We might continue the existing Guardians; but that would hardly receive the support of the hon. Gentleman, considering the strong language he has used about the existing Guardians. He has given the fullest assent to the heavy indictment brought against the present Guardians.

MR. DILLON: I did not give the fullest assent to the heavy indictment brought against them in the Report; but I said I was prepared to admit that the gravest abuses had occurred under the circumstances of extreme poverty.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will not quarrel about words. He thinks the Guardians have been guilty in the past, and he would not like to entrust to them the carrying out of any new policy. But some new policy is required, if this House desires to give relief at all. Of course, we might do nothing. If we did nothing, what would happen would be this—some creditor of the existing Guardians would distrain upon the workhouse furniture, and all credit from the merchants who now supply the workhouse with food would stop. The poor, under such circumstances, would most undoubtedly starve. I have now put before the House all the difficulties of the case. Now, what is the chief objection which the hon. Gentleman raises? He especially dealt with the case of arrears. My view with regard to that question I can very shortly state to the House. I can see that the finances of the United Kingdom are in no sense pledged to support the poor of any locality or to liquidate the debts of any locallty; but I do hold that the first charge upon the rates of any locality is the support of the poor. That being an absolute first charge, the creditors have no right to that part of the assets. Everything else is given under this Bill. Everything that is required for the support of the poor goes, under my Bill, to the poor.

Everything which is not required to support the poor goes to the creditors. I perfectly admit that the tradesmen will suffer. They will suffer, as all creditors suffer who lean to insolvent debtors. I do not think this House can for one moment admit that it is the duty of the Government to liquidate the debts of a Union. Such a duty cannot be undertaken by the Government without involving the most serious consequences in the future, and without encouraging every Board of Guardians to plunge as deeply as possible into debt in the hope that the British Parliament will extricate them. I hope I have in no controversial spirit dealt with the main points raised by the hon. Gentleman. I earnestly appeal to the House to pass the Bill as quickly as possible. The crisis is an imminent one. If the Government are not empowered by this Bill to do something to support the poor of these districts, and empowered soon, it may be that great and avoidable suffering will be inflicted upon a population which suffer, I am sorry to say, already too much from the circumstances in which they are placed.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I am extremely well acquainted with some of these Unions—namely, the Galway Union and the Unions of Westport and Belmullet. With regard to Swinford, I know nothing of it personally; but I believe that it is the most exceptional Union in Ireland, and is well represented by my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). I totally dissent from the principle of the Bill with regard to four of the Unions. These are situated on beautiful bays; there is an immense quantity of fish on the coast, and I think it is the fault of the Imperial Government that these natural resources have not been developed. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland laid it down that these Unions have no claim on the British taxpayer; but I contend that they have, because they contribute a considerable sum to the British Exchequer. You will find that the consumption of taxable articles in these Unions is the same as in the Unions in any other part of Ireland; and, consequently, if you spent a small portion of the taxes levied in the Kingdom by direct taxation in developing their natural resources, these Unions would be able to take care of themselves. I have been Chairman of the Board in one of these Unions; I know the exigencies of the district perfectly well, and I say that if you had done there what you have in India and elsewhere you could have altered the position of the district entirely. I say the population there could exist if you would explore the fisheries and encourage railway enterprise. There are several good points in the Bill; but what I want is that you should take over these districts, as we should do if we had Home Rule in Ireland, and then, I believe, you could greatly improve their condition. With regard to the creditors of the Unions, I protest against the action of the Government, which will have the effect of injuring the credit of the Unions. I am glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that the officers will be paid by the Government, because to attempt to levy their pay in the district would be a most improper thing; but I am bound to say that I do not read this in the Bill. Again, you take power for these Commissioners to borrow money on the rates, a thing which is not allowed in any other Union in Ireland; and I say that to allow money to be borrowed on the security of the rates for current expenditure, is to strike at the root of Poor Law administration throughout the whole of Ireland, and the fact that you are administering the Poor Law Unions will make the matter worse. If the Government want to better the position of these Unions, they must give them railways, for it is perfectly absurd to talk of piers and harbours unless they give the people the means of carrying their fish to markets.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Although I am somewhat disposed to agree that this is not a question of rent entirely, I think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was too much disposed to take the line that the question was not at all a question of rent. In my opinion, the landlords in the district ought to bear a certain proportion of this charge, which has to be cast upon someone or other. The right hon. Gentleman says he does not want to remove the check which the landlords have on the increase of holdings; but, looking at the district where rents have been reduced by 60 per cent and 70 per cent in some cases, and where the landlords and agents have encouraged the increase of holdings in the past, I do not think we can look to the landlords for any great check in this way. I point out that the rent paid is not made from the land, but from the fishing industry, and from working in England in harvest-time. The present condition of things is not so much the result of a falling-off in the produce of the land; it is due primarily to the falling-off of the other industries. I think it is absolutely essential that something should be done in connection with the Unions in these congested districts. I am in favour of extending communications which will enable their produce to be brought to market, and also in favour of migration and emigration, all of which, I am afraid, are entirely out of the question under the present system of administration. I do not wish to go into that question, however, for the right hon. Gentleman seemed to have a strong objection to that point being urged this evening, no doubt because he felt how strong an argument it is in favour of Home Rule. But the question is most pressing and must be dealt with; and although I do not altogether agree with the Bill before us, I shall give it my support because it is a matter of urgency, and it is impossible to allow the insolvency of these districts to continue much longer. I believe the power of the Bill is permissive. The Government do not force any Union to accept their plan of assistance; it is only when application is made that the assistance is given. If the Government could see their way to enforce a certain rate on the landlords to meet a portion of the charge, I think it would go a good distance to meet the objection of my hon. Friend below the Gangway; but, as I have said, the matter is urgent, and we on this side of the House will be prepared to accept this as a temporary measure, and as one put forward from strong necessity.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I do not intend to touch on the relations which the principle involved in this Bill has to the Land Question; but I do not take the view of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that the one is so foreign to the other as to render the allusions of my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo at all irrelevant to the Bill. At this hour of the morning (1.35.), I do not think I should be justified in further discussing that view of the matter; but I wish to obtain some information from the right hon. Gentleman opposite on some points, and to make a few remarks on some of the details of the scheme by which the Bill proposes to release these Unions from their present position. In the first place, the Chief Secretary will permit me to point out that the Memorandum which he has issued is not so complete as it might be. The Bill is ushered into the House as one which has its origin in the maladministration in the Unions of certain funds issued to them under an Act passed two or three years ago. But I would point out that the maladministration of those funds is only answerable for half the indebtedness. I perceive that the total expenditure under the Act was £20,000, and that Unions empowered to spend that sum, spent £35,000—that is to say, according to the Memorandum. But this is probably a misprint, because in a subsequent part of the Paper the figures used are £16,000. The Memorandum gives us rather scanty information as regards the balance of £14,000 not accounted for. It says—

> "They owe £16,000, mainly to contractors, in respect of the excess of their expenditure over the gift of £20,000. Besides this they owe over £5,000 to the Treasury for seed rate collected but not paid over; and they have other debts, including £2,000 to Union officers, other than treasurers, which bring up their total liabilities to £30,000. Of the rates of last year, nearly £5,000 was still uncollected when the recent Commission presented the Report above referred to."

That is to say, practically, that these Unions owe £16,000 in respect of money which they have maladministered, that they owe £2,000 to their officers for salaries, and that they owe £7,000 as regards which this Memorandum gives us no sort of information whatever. I presume that by reading this bulky Blue Book dealing with this matter, we should get information upon this point, and I certainly think it is a point on which the House has a right to ask for details before we proceed to the second reading of the Bill. I would ask for information with regard to that. I would ask how the Guardians were permitted to run into arrear for the seed rate to the extent of £5,000? This seed rate was originally issued in the year 1879 or 1880. The amount advanced was to be repaid by a rate leviable every year, and this sum of £5,000 must represent the arrears of a considerable number of years. Now it is material, when we are discussing the extent to which these Guardians misconducted themselves, that we should know how it was that the Local Government Board in Dublin, who are supposed to supervise the Boards of Guardians throughout the country, and who must have had before them the fact that this £5,000 was accumulating, allowed such accumulation to take place from year to year, knowing, as they must have done, that the Guardians were in this way every day rendering it more difficult for them to meet their obligations. That is an important point which I think we have a right to ask for some information upon. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary knows that there is a strict system of audit over the accounts of the Poor Law Guardians. The Local Government Board sends down its Auditor every year to audit the accounts, and it cannot have escaped the notice of this official that this large sum had accumulated and was not being paid over. I should like to know why the Local Government Board did not take steps to see that these large arrears were not suffered to accumulate, and why did they not take steps to compel the Guardians to pay over this money as they obtained it from the ratepayers? Then I want information as to this £7,000. I want to know what that represents. Who is it due to? There is a general indication that it is due partly to treasurers and partly to contractors. It is material, when we are passing an Act which seriously affects the credit of the Unions, that we should know who these creditors are and what the nature of their claim is. Does this £7,000 represent advances that were made by the Banks who acted as treasurers to the Unions? I presume that to a large extent it does, and that as regards a portion of it it represents debts due to the contractors of the Unions for actual necessaries supplied for the use of the paupers—food and other necessaries. These are points arising out of the Memorandum of the right hon. Gentleman on which I would ask for information. In addition to these, there are some points in the Bill itself upon which I should like to be informed. I should like to be told how far it is expected that the assistance of the Unions which are to be handed over to the Commissioners appointed under this Bill are expected to meet the liabilities which the Boards of Guardians have incurred; in other words, how far these unfortunate contractors who have advanced their money or goods to the Guardians are expected to suffer from the extraordinary enactments of this Bill. I think we should also have some information upon that point. The sole asset that I understand this Bill will leave in the hands of the Guardians for the purpose of paying their debts will be the value of the actual buildings and workhouse grounds. The Bill provides in the 4th section that—

> "On the appointment of Commissioners all the property of every description of the Board of Guardians of the Union, except money in the hands of the treasurer, should, without any conveyance or assignment, be transferred to and vested in the Commissioners free from any charge, lien, or incumbrance."

The provision goes on to state that the Local Government Board should cause an estimate to be made of the market value of all such property, and shall make an order declaring such value, and that the Commissioners shall, within reasonable time, to be fixed by the Local Government Board, pay over the amount of such value to the Board of Guardians. Now this is a very serious matter. What is the market value of workhouse buildings? I submit that in nine cases out of ten the market value of these buildings will be absolutely nil, because the buildings would be absolutely useless to any buyer. If these buildings were put up to auction to-morrow no one would give sixpence for them, and the real effect of this proposal will be that the Local Government Board will value these buildings at very small sums, and will hand over these sums to the Boards of Guardians. Let me point out that apart from the workhouse buildings and any furniture they may have in them—which will be a very trifling asset—let me point out that apart from the buildings and furniture of the grounds upon the buildings stand the Guardians have no assets except the rates which will not be available. What the right hon. Gentleman proposes, therefore, is that the market value of the buildings and grounds shall be ascertained and handed over. I consider that that is very unfair. I consider that what the Boards of Guardians ought to get should not be the market value of the buildings and grounds, which may be absolutely nothing, but that they should get a fair valuation fixed on the workhouse buildings estimated according to the amount they cost to build. However, that is a detail for discussion in Committee rather than on this second reading stage. Now, Sir, the first question upon which I ask information upon the Bill itself is to what extent it is expected that the creditors of these Unions will suffer by the arrangements that this Bill proposes? To my mind, if this Bill is carried out as it stands literally, it will mean that the creditors will get about sixpence in the pound. That is an exceedingly unfair arrangement for unfortunate people who have advanced their money or given their goods to the workhouses. Further than this, I want information as to where the Government expect the money is to come from to pay back the loans which are to be authorized to be made by this Bill. It appears to me that the loans are to be made by the Board of Works to the Commissioners appointed under the Bill, and that the only provision for the repayment of these loans is that they are to be a second charge on the rates, the first charge being the maintenance of the paupers. The Memorandum of the right hon. Gentleman practically admits that this second charge will be almost valueless—that these Unions are in such a condition that the maintenance of the paupers will practically consume everything in the shape of rates that they can collect, and that, therefore, there will be practically nothing left for the payment of this second charge. That being so, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to what he ultimately looks for the payment of these loans? The third point upon which I would ask information is how long they propose that the extraordinary state of things to be set up by this Bill will continue to exist? The Bill itself contemplates that at some future time the old state of things will be renewed—that the authority of the Guardians will be revived, and that things will be placed exactly as they were. I want to ask what the right hon. Gentleman's estimate is, because I presume he has formed one before elaborating a scheme of this kind? What is his estimate of the period which will probably elapse before the extraordinary state of things set up by this Bill will cease, and the old machinery of the Guardians is revived? Now, Sir, so much for the details of the Bill. As regards the principle of the Bill, it seems to me to be a dishonest principle—a principle, in fact, of repudiation. These Unions are to be authorized by Parliament to repudiate their debts, and they are not to be merely authorized by Parliament to do so, but are to be assisted by Parliament to repudiate their debts. The right hon. Gentleman relies on the analogy of the Bankruptcy Law; but would he allow me to point out that there is good reason why that analogy should not hold in this case? In the case of an individual creditor whose rights are cut away from him by the Bankruptcy Law, he has advanced his money with the knowledge that the Bankruptcy Law is in existence. He has taken the risk of his debtor becoming insolvent, and, of course, having taken that risk, it is not unjust that he should have to bear whatever disadvantages the Bankruptcy Law imposes upon him. But the creditors of the Unions are not in that position. There was not in the existing law any provision for the Unions becoming bankrupt when they advanced their money and gave hundreds and thousands of pounds to these Guardians. There was no power under the law by which the Guardians could evade their liabilities. I maintain that this is *ex post facto* legislation of the worst character. It is legislation that seriously interferes with and strikes at the rights of creditors long after they have advanced their money, and which confers upon them no advantage in return for the very serious disadvantage it subjects them to. That is a very serious matter, and I think it justifies me in saying that this Bill practically sets up for these Unions a policy of repudiation. I quite appreciate the force of what the right hon. Gentleman says, that the finances of the United Kingdom are in no way bound to defray the private debts of the Unions; but though that may be so, I say that this Parliament is bound not to interfere in any way to the detriment of these unfortunate creditors without giving them something in return for the rights it takes away.

The right hon. Gentleman asks what machinery can be set up in place of the machinery of this Bill. I admit that that is a question not at all easy to give a satisfactory answer to; but it appears to me that a great many plans might be suggested that would be less open to objection than the plan which is now proposed. The right hon. Gentleman proposes two Commissioners to discharge all the duties of the regular Board of Guardians. What does that mean? Why, it means that they are not merely to have placed upon them the ordinary duty of administering the Poor Law, but that they are also to have placed upon them the duty of administering the various other branches of the law that Parliament has from time to time placed upon the Guardians. It means that they are to have the working of the Laborers' Act, in the remote possibility of its being put into operation in these places; it means that they are to have the making of arrangements for the Voters' Lists; that they are to have the preparation of the Jurors' Lists; and that they are to have imposed upon them the working of the sanitary system. I respectfully say that these are all matters which should have been left in the hands of the Boards of Guardians. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Boards of Guardians have been guilty of nefarious conduct; but permit me to point out that it is only the Guardians who at this moment comprise the Boards who have been found guilty; and if he wishes to inflict punishment upon these individual Guardians, let him do so, and let the Unions proceed to elect new Guardians. Such a course as that would not be one whit more extraordinary than some of the provisions of this Bill. Let him, if he likes, introduce provisions disqualifying such Guardians as have been guilty of this conduct; but I say that to hand over to the nominees of the Lord Lieutenant these extraordinary duties quite independent of the administration of the Poor Law as at present vested in the Clerk of the Union and the Guardians is a measure of a most extraordinary kind indeed. I think the right hon. Gentleman should have done the very reverse of what this Bill proposes. To propose that the Guardians should be elected year after year after this Bill comes into force, for no other purpose than to defray the debts they have incurred, seems to me an absurdity. In my opinion, he should have reversed that process. He should have placed that burden on the shoulders of the two Commissioners he provides for, and should have left to the Guardians the ordinary duty of the administration of the Poor Law. This Bill is simply a development of that policy of bankruptcy which the Government seem to think a panacea for all the troubles of the people of Ireland, whether it takes the extraordinary form of the Land Bill or the extraordinary form of this measure.

MR. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): I cannot help thinking that this is, to a very great extent, a question of rent. There is in these districts a large amount of land which cannot pay rent, but a certain amount of rent is paid, and that rent ought to be responsible before the taxpayers of this country, or of the other parts of Ireland are called upon to contribute. As the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) pointed out, the present state of things is very largely the consequence of the utter disregard of their duties by the landlords. It is only fair that those who have produced that state of things and their creditors should be primarily responsible for the payment of the rates. The rent of one of the estates to which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. J. Balfour) alluded was something like £26,000 a-year, while the real agricultural value to English or Scotch tenants is not £9,000 a-year. Many thousands beyond the rent of this estate were remitted every year through the post office on the estate, independent of the money which the tenants or members of their family carried back in their pockets from this country. The landlords of Ireland are clearly responsible for the present state of affairs. If they had prevented the multiplicity of holdings, and fulfilled their duties as guardians, &c., much of the present misery in Ireland would have been prevented.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Order for further Consideration of Proposed Resolution [20th June] read.

(3.) "That a sum, not exceeding £71,430, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens."

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I think it will tend to cut short this debate, which might otherwise be a long one, if I explain in a few words how this matter stands. I see that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and my right hon. Friend the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) have both given Notice of a Motion to reduce the sum voted in Supply, by £2,000, being the additional amount required as contribution towards the new statue of the Duke of Wellington. If the House will allow me I will state briefly how we came to insert this sum in the Estimate. In the first place, let me remind the House that in 1883 the Government of the day resolved upon a great change at Hyde Park Corner, and at the time, no doubt, the proposal of the Government received almost unanimous approval. The proposed changes at Hyde Park Corner, however, involved the taking down of the old statue of the Duke of Wellington which stood there, and it was said—" Whatever you do you must not put the statue back upon the arch again, because the arch was never intended for the statue, and the statue was never intended for the arch." Then it was suggested by a Committee, presided over by the late Duke of Wellington, that instead of putting up the old statue again on the arch, the old statue should be melted down and a new one cast, and placed opposite to Apsley House, at an expenditure of £6,000. I think it is quite clear that as the Government determined to abolish the old statue they were fairly bound to replace it, and to pay for the cost of doing so, for the old statue had been provided out of public subscriptions, at very considerable expense. But when the proposal was made to melt down the old statue there arose a great outcry, because whatever may have been the merits or the demerits of the old statue, no doubt interesting associations had gathered round it, and there were many people who objected altogether to the destruction of the old statue. In the meantime His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had called together a Committee for the purpose of collecting funds with the intention of beautifying the space at Hyde Park Corner which had been created, as I have said, by the interference of the Government, and it succeeded in collecting a considerable amount of money by private subscription. When the difficulty as to what was to be done with the old statue arose, this committee undertook to remove it to Aldershot, and to set it up there in the presence of the Army, on the understanding that the Government spent the £6,000 which had been already suggested in providing a new statue opposite Apsley House. All that occurred in 1883 and 1884, and I think everybody will agree that so far as the expenditure of the £6,000 was concerned, it was an expenditure which the Government was under an obligation to incur. Well, under these circumstances, last year the committee presided over by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and which had collected, as I say, a considerable sum of money for the purpose of beautifying the space at Hyde Park Corner, thought that it would add considerably to the effect of the new statue if four additional figures of suitable design were placed around it. The proposed figures, it was suggested, should represent four soldiers, and cost £4,000. Now, I want the House to understand that this £2,000 which the Government have proposed is only in aid of another sum of £2,000, to be provided out of the private subscriptions collected by the committee presided over by the Prince of Wales. I consulted the Treasury, because I did not consider that the proposal was an objectionable one, when I remembered that the necessity for the whole business was created by the action of the Government, that the old statue had been originally set up by private subscriptions, that the action of the Government had necessitated the removal of the old statue, and that the committee presided over by the Prince of Wales were prepared to subscribe half the expense of the additions to the statue in order to make the statue a really good one. In that way the sum of £2,000 was inserted in the Estimate. However, as we find there is a strong opposition on both sides of the House, under the depressed circumstances, I suppose, of the time, to this £2,000 being voted, the Government have determined not to press this Vote against the will of the House; and I, therefore, propose to leave out the sum of £71,430 standing in Report of Supply, and to insert £69,430.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£71,430," and insert "£69,430,"—(*Mr. Plunket,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That '£71,430' stand part of the Question."

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Perhaps the House will indulge me for a moment or two, as the Motion for effecting this reduction originally stood in my name. I have no fault to find with the historical statement the right hon. Gentleman has given of the circumstances under which the late Government proposed the original Vote to Parliament. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman was correct as far as it went; but it was deficient in one or two parts, in regard to which I should like to refresh the memory of the right hon. Gentleman. In bringing the story down to the point that my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) made a proposition on the part of the Government that this House should contribute £6,000, and that the entire remaining cost, not of the statue, but of beautifying and completing the improvement at Hyde Park Corner should be defrayed out of private subscriptions, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) was perfectly correct. That was the shape in which it was put to the House, and the Committee, presided over, as my right hon. Friend has indicated, by the Prince of Wales, with great public spirit undertook that the suggestion of the Government should be carried out. But that arrangement was not accepted unanimously; on the contrary, there were two debates and two Divisions in this House, and the objection that was taken was not an objection based on any want of respect to the memory of the Duke of Wellington, or any indisposition to undertake burdens which were fairly chargeable on the public; but a large number of Gentlemen in this House hold the opinion that, as the nation was erecting a monument in St. Paul's Cathedral at a cost of £30,000, and as various provincial towns had, out of their own funds, erected monuments to the Duke of Wellington, the £6,000 should be defrayed out of London funds, and not charged to the public revenue. I should like to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the Division which took place on that occasion. On that memorable evening the distinguished Fourth Party were to the Front, and the whole of that Party—the noble Lord the Member for Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), the right hon. Gentleman who is now doing such important work at Constantinople (Sir Henry Drummond Wolff), and also two other Members of that distinguished Party who now sit on the Treasury Bench (Mr. A. J. Balfour and Sir John Gorst)—joined with the economists who then sat below the Gangway in opposing this charge upon the general funds. I find in the Division List the name of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Plunket) himself. He was one of those who voted with us; in fact, 14 Members of the present Administration who were then in Parliament, and a good many more leading Members of the Conservative Party who are not now in Parliament, voted with the late Mr. Peter Rylands and myself against any charge being put on the public funds, for what we considered was a charge to be borne by London and by gentlemen who resided in the neighbourhood of Hyde Park exclusively. The House decided against us. The House was of opinion it was a fair and proper charge to make, and we never raised the question again. We accepted the arrangement that £6,000, and £6,000 only, should be paid out of the public money. Now we find in the Estimates for this year an additional sum of £2,000. I must say the House is put rather at a disadvantage. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Plunket) did not explain in Committee of Supply that this £2,000 was wanted for the addition to the statue of four figures, and that another £2,000 would be supplied out of the public subscriptions. The sum is stated in the Estimates as "an additional contribution towards the statue of the Duke of Wellington." The impression left on my mind was that the statue which was intended to cost £6,000 was going to cost £8,000, and that the public was to be asked to make up the deficiency. I am bound to say that although the Prince of Wales's Committee is prepared to subscribe £2,000 towards the addition to the statue, I think the Government have done quite right in not pressing this Vote. I wish it to be distinctly understood on behalf of those who oppose this expenditure, that we are not wanting in respect to the memory of the Duke of Wellington, we are not wanting in sympathy with those gentlemen who have, I think, with great public spirit come forward and endeavoured to carry out this plan. It is simply on the broad general principle that London should bear its own expenses, and should not come upon public funds for such expenses, that we have felt it to be our duty to resist this expenditure. I am glad that the Government have decided that the contribution of £6,000 shall be the maximum contribution, and have not persisted in making any further grant.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford): I can corroborate all that has been stated by my right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). I recollect that in 1884 when this question was last before the House, it was distinctly stated by me that £6,000 would be the total amount which the House would ever be called upon to contribute towards the improvement made at Hyde Park Corner. [Mr. JACKSON: That was the estimate.] Mr. Boehm had undertaken to make the statue for £6,000, and it was intended that the cost of any additions to the work should be paid for out of the contributions that might be made by the public to the Committee. Even at that time it was contemplated to add some other figures to the statue. In my opinion it would have been a distinct breach of faith had the House been called upon to pay a further sum of £2,000. I have no fault to find with the action of the Chief Commissioner of Works from an historical point of view, but I should like to say that it was never part of the original plan that the statue of the Duke should be taken down from the arch. The original proposition was that the arch should be moved, and the statue replaced upon it; but to that the members of the Royal Academy raised an objection, and it was decided that the statue should be removed.

Mr. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven): I only rise to express my satisfaction that my right hon. Friend has withdrawn this Vote. I wish also to express my regret that a more suitable position has not been selected for the statue.

Question put, and *negatived.*

£69,430 *inserted.*

Resolution, as amended, *agreed to.*

Resolution [4th July] *reported.*

"That a sum, not exceeding £37,635, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Buildings of the Houses of Parliament."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to offer one or two observations with regard to an answer given to me in a Committee of Supply by the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket). I inquired of him the other day whether any portion of the extra receipts shown on the Votes was derived from deductions made for depreciation of furniture in houses occupied by Ministers, because it had been said that there was some portion of the amount obtained in that way. When I inquired whether there was any general rule recognized under which these reductions were made, the right hon. Gentleman answered very readily and emphatically that there was an arrangement of the kind made for all Ministers alike, and that there was no exceptional treatment. I knew perfectly well at the time that the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken; but I had not the proofs in my hand. The Question was brought up before the Public Accounts Committee during the present Session, and the subordinates to the right hon. Gentleman were questioned on the point, and the first answer given by Mr. Primrose was, that under the rule laid down some years ago, which applied only to the residences of the First Lord and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, a charge was made for depreciation of furniture during the time of occupation. He was then asked if such a bill was sent in to all the Ministers supplied with furniture, and that was the question which the right hon. Gentleman answered me in the affirmative, but to which his subordinate said—"No. The rule applies only to the residences of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord. It does not apply to other official residences." I think the right hon. Gentleman will see that he was mistaken in the answer he made to me the other day. The fact is, that an exceptional system exists under which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord are charged considerable sums; that in this particular case amounts to £500 for depreciation of furniture supplied at their residences; but there is a very large number of subordinates who are not only in receipt of residence, but of furniture, and from whom no such deduction is made. I should like to know if the right hon. Gentleman can explain the reason for this distinction?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER of WORKS (Mr. Plunket) (Dublin University): I must confess that I was not aware of the existence of the discrepancy to which the hon. Member refers, and I will certainly endeavour to get rid, as far as I possibly can, of the distinction.

Resolution *agreed to.*

BUTTERINE (FRAUDULENT SALE) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[Bill 175.]

(*Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Elton, Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, to leave out the word "Butterine," and insert "Oleomargarine."—(*Mr. Matthew Kenny.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'Butterine' stand part of the Clause."

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester, S.W.): As this Bill is no longer blocked, the hon. Member in charge of it will see that it is safe, and I think he will not consider it unreasonable that Progress should now be reported. The Amendment before the Committee is a very important one, and one which, I think, ought to be brought to the notice of all those who are interested in the measure.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Jacob Bright.*)

Sir RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells): I desire to express a hope that the Committee may be allowed to go through with this Bill to-night, because there are no substantial Amendments to occupy us for any length of time. The Bill was unanimously adopted by the Committee upstairs, and I have every reason to hope that it will pass through Committee in the same form as that in which it entered.

Mr. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I rise to support the Motion for Progress on the ground that we require time for the consideration of this measure, and because I think the reason given by the hon. Baronet is strongly in favour of our not proceeding further with the Bill to-night. It is a Bill which seems to me to violate all the sound principles of legislation. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I am speaking to the question, and I say that this Bill is not of that simple character which has been assigned to it. On the contrary, it is one of very great importance, and one which re-enacts mediæval law in its worst form. It is an attempt to dictate to tradesmen the manner in which they shall mark and sell, and describe their goods in the interest, as it is said, of the public, who, in my opinion, are very well able to take care of themselves. There is already an Act of Parliament in force which deals with anybody who sells for butter that which is not butter; but this Bill goes beyond all that has been attempted before, inasmuch as it says—that you shall give to the article sold a particular name, sell it in a particular way, and mark it in a particular manner. I do not think that butter merchants deserve any more attention of this kind than other classes of the community.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.): My own impression is, that this is an attempt to give an odious name to an article of commerce which the law allows, and which even this measure permits to be sold as a wholesome article of food. I think in the interest of those who sell the article in question some further light ought to be thrown on the character of the Bill by the hon. Gentleman who is in charge of it.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I would appeal to hon. Gentlemen who oppose this Amendment to withdraw their opposition. The real fact of the matter is, the only persons who are interested in the use of the word "butterine" are the French and the Dutch butter merchants who send the stuff into this country under the name of butter. The unfortunate consumers are made to pay the price of butter for that which is nothing more nor less than lard. This butterine rubbish competes with genuine butter in the market with the result that the farmers, and those who produce butter in this country are unable to get a fair price. If hon. Gentlemen who defend the present system knew the real facts of the case, they would be ashamed of the position they are taking up. They might just as well defend the receivers of stolen goods, as defend the men who send butterine into the market in place of butter. I would appeal to hon. Gentlemen to withdraw their opposition to this Amendment.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: The hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the Committee from below the Gangway was not a Member of the Select Committee which assisted in framing this Bill. He has not spoken upon this Question with that intelligence, or with that degree of information, which he generally exhibits to the House. The Select Committee divided upon the point we are now discussing, and I think there were two to one in favour of retaining the name "butterine." The Select Committee examined a great many witnesses, and by far the greater number of those who gave evidence were strongly against the change of name. The trade which would be affected by this alteration of name, should it take place, is a very extensive trade. It is a trade which has grown largely and speedily, and the interests concerned ought not to be trifled with unnecessarily. This article, "butterine," has been described by the hon. Member as "rubbish;" but the evidence which the Committee almost universally received went to show that butterine is an admirable article of food, that it, no doubt, competes most severely with common and bad butters, that, in fact, it is so good an article that bad butters have no chance whatever against it, even when sold at the same price. As I have said, the Select Committee, by a majority of two to one, defended the name "butterine," and the evidence the Committee took was almost altogether in favour of its retention. There is a large trade in this article, and it will be felt outside this House to be a groundless interference with that trade if the name under which the trade has been carried on for some 10 or 12 years, and which the Board of Trade itself has adopted for two or three years, is now to be changed. It will be a great injury to the trade.

SIR RICHARD PAGET: As one responsible for bringing in the Bill, I desire to say a very few words to the Committee upon this matter. The Bill, as brought in, would have prohibited the use of the word "butterine." My own opinion was that the admission of that name materially strengthened the measure. I am bound to say that, in the course of the investigation before the Committee, there was a good deal of evidence, on the part of the manufacturers and the retailers, in favour of the use of this name. The matter became the subject of serious consideration, and I am bound to say that the use of this name being conceded by a majority of the Committee, the proceedings of the Committee were immensely facilitated and the Bill was immensely strengthened. Having acted as Chairman during the final sittings of the Committee, and knowing exactly what evidence was given, I am obliged to say that I cannot vote for the Amendment now proposed. My opinion is that the Bill, in its present shape, is one which will admirably affect the object which we have in view; and, for my part, despite the fact that it was originally intended to prohibit this name, I am unable to support this Amendment.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): As representing an agricultural constituency, I earnestly support the Amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman behind me. I certainly should have no desire to prevent those who wish to eat "butterine," "oleomargarine," or any other "ine," from indulging their tastes; but, at the same time, when an article is introduced into the market, there is a palpable disadvantage, at any rate so far as the consumer is concerned, in having that article, which is only a substitute for another article, called by a name closely resembling the genuine article for which it is substituted—so closely resembling it, in fact, as, in many cases, to displace it. I am surprised at hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, who claim to represent the agricultural interests of England, opposing an Amendment which is clearly designed to benefit the majority of their agricultural constituents. Members representing the agricultural interests of England are clearly concerned in seeing that no imitation of a good article is foisted on the customers of their constituents as though it were an article of their production. I do not see why the interests of agricultural constituencies should be subordinated to the interests of the dealers in a spurious article—because that is what one may call this "butterine." This article has got a position in the market solely owing to its imitating a good article, and imitating it by an imitation so perfect that at the town of Maryborough, in Ireland, within the last few months, I saw butterine side by side with butter, and was obliged to confess that I could not tell which was the butterine and which was the butter. So perfect is the imitation, that producers of butter, not only in Ireland, but also in Great Britain, find their interests prejudiced by those who compete with them in the market for customers who really desire to obtain butter, and who do not wish to have butterine if they can help it.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I recognize the position of the hon. Baronet who spoke a few moments ago on this question. The hon. Gentleman acted as Chairman of the Select Committee, towards the end of its proceedings, in the absence of Mr. Sclater-Booth, and, therefore, he is, to some extent, bound by the decision the Committee arrived at. But I submit that the Committee arrived at this decision to some extent under a false impression; because, although the hon. Gentleman the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) said that the evidence given before the Committee seemed to be in favour of the name "butterine," it must be borne in mind that, of the witnesses examined before the Committee, there were at least 10 interested in the production and sale of butterine to one on the other side. It is not surprising, therefore, that the preponderating influence should have been on the side of retaining the name "butterine." The Select Committee would not of itself have adopted anything like the change which was brought about from the Bill as originally introduced by the hon. Baronet, had it not been that the advisability of the change was impressed upon it from outside. It was declared that, in the event of any alteration taking place in the name of this spurious article, those concerned in its sale would, through their Friends in this House, exhaust the Forms of the House in order to prevent the passing of the Bill. I am informed that one hon. Member, friendly to that interest, has declared that if we alter the name of this article, he, and those who act with him, will keep the Bill 10 years before Parliament. I must say that it is the duty of this House to overcome a conspiracy of that kind, entered into with the object of defeating the will of Parliament. I will not detain the Committee by describing the manner in which frauds are systematically carried out, under this name "butterine," as the law at present stands. It must be obvious to every Member of Parliament that if the name "butterine" was not dishonest and misleading, and if it did not mean a great fraud being perpetrated on the public, the persons connected with the trade would not have the smallest objection to changing the name to that by which it was originally known.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I should like the Committee to bear in mind exactly what the issue is which it has to decide. We should recollect that not only have we to pay attention to the interests of the butter producers, but to the interests of large classes of the community in our great towns. So far as my knowledge of the matter goes—and I have had to investigate it at the Local Government Board—I understand that this butterine is a perfectly wholesome article of food, and that, as a matter of fact, it is sold at a very low price as compared with good butter, while it is decidely superior in quality to bad butter. I think the Committee cannot be too careful, while restricting the provision in this Bill—which will render it apparent to everyone who buys butterine that they are not buying butter, but a substitute for butter—to avoid going to the other extreme. They ought to think once or twice before they brand this article with a name which in itself would deter people from buying it. The name "oleomargarine" is by no means an attractive one; and if this substitute for butter were branded with such a name, people would imagine that it is something much more horrible than it really is, and would not buy it. The Bill distinctly provides, as I understand it, that persons buying butterine shall see on the face of it, if they want this article, that they are not buying butter, but butterine. There is a provision in the Bill that, where sold in small quantities, the article shall not only be marked "butterine," but "butterine — not butter." I think that is a sufficient precaution to safeguard butter. Every precaution is taken to make it evident to those who buy the article that they are not buying butter. I only wish to put these facts before the Committee so that they may see what it is they have to decide on. It is well known that this question formed the main bone of contention before the Select Committee, and that the name "butterine" was decided upon by a large majority.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I support the Amendment—at least, I would support it in a modified form if the "oleo" were left out, and simply the "margarine" left in. I think we ought to give this substance its scientific name, which is "margarine." I have no objection to the substance "margarine." It is just as wholesome as butter, just as fattening, and just as useful. The substance originally sold as "oleomargarine" was a mixture of clarified fat and butter; but the article now sold as "butterine" is composed solely of clarified fat, without the butter. The manufacturers simply clarify the fat, colour it, season it, and sell it as butter. It is just as good as butter, only the one comes in the natural way from the living cow, and the other comes from the cow after it is dead. I think you ought to call this substance "margarine," which it is, and by that means you would prevent people from being misled. If you call it "butterine," most people will think you mean some kind of butter; but if you simply call it "margarine," they will know you simply mean purified animal fat, and they will taste it as such, and buy it as such. By doing this, you will prevent people from being imposed upon. I hold that you should call a thing by its proper name.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): I should not trouble the Committee on this matter, but that I had occasion to examine into this process some two or three years ago. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) says that the people who produce this article are swindlers; but when he says that, and when he says that the people who sell the article are guilty of a gross fraud upon the public, I consider that he uses language of exaggeration. I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), that butterine can be made without butter. The acid which is necessary to give the material the butter flavour can only be introduced by means of butter, and that is why it is mixed with it. The material can only be manufactured from the purest suet; and, from the evidence we had, it is exceedingly good food. Though it may compete with the coarse kinds, it does not compete with the better descriptions of butter; and I certainly think that if you took the name butterine away, an injury would be done to this trade.

Mr. WHITLEY (Liverpool, Everton): As representing a large commercial community, I feel bound to say that I am satisfied that the proposed alteration would cause great inconvenience, not only to the trade, but to a large section of the public. The only object of this Bill is to prevent butterine being sold as butter; and why we should carry it farther, so as to seriously injure a trade which has a large amount of money invested in it, and which is supplying an article largely used by the poor, I cannot conceive.

Mr. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I do not intend to occupy the attention of the Committee for any length of time; but we are told by hon. Gentlemen over the way that this article, butterine, is equally wholesome and equally fattening with butter. Perhaps that is the reason why I do not take either of them, and am able to out prejudice either side. But I would ask the Committee not to sanction the principle of insisting upon a certain name or description being given to a product. On what principle of rational liberty or freedom is it that we are going to dictate to any set of people in this country, whether they buy or sell a certain article, what they shall call that article? On what principle of liberty? [*Laughter.*] Well, hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite tell us a great deal about liberty for Ireland; and I fail to see why we should not claim liberty for the English traders to call a wholesome article they manufacture by any name they please. Why we should insist on calling this product which is under discussion by a name which sounds like a new kind of hair-oil, I cannot make out.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I have no objection to adopt the Amendment proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark). The name he suggests would be a simple one. I adopted the name "oleomargarine" in my Amendment, for the reason that it was in the Bill as originally introduced by the hon. Baronet opposite. The Bill was brought in under that title, and I thought that by adhering to that name I should place the matter more clearly before the House. This oleomargarine may be a healthy article of food; but if that is so, and if the public have no objection to it, I should like to know what objection the people who deal in it can have to the proposed alteration of name? The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down speaks of this proposal as a novel principle of legislation, and describes our action as interfering with national liberty; but he must remember that it is the constant practice of the Legislature to interfere with the methods of conducting trade. He knows that it interferes in the question of fraudulent trade marks and names. I need not remind him that there is an Amendment before the House dealing with an analogous subject. It is a perfectly common-sense view of the matter, that persons carrying on trade by fraudulent means should be restrained by legislation.

MR. HOYLE (Lancashire, S.E., Heywood): I should like to say a word as to the discussion in the Select Committee upstairs on the name of this article hitherto sold in Lancashire as "Butterine." There were several Members who said that when the Committee first sat they were strongly opposed to the name "butterine," but after hearing the evidence of the scientists and traders they changed their minds. When the Committee upstairs struck out the word "oleomargarine" and inserted the word "butterine," I do not think any one was more surprised than the hon. Baronet who has charge of the Bill. I would ask whether it would not be well for the Committee of the whole House to wait until it has read the evidence before rejecting the name decided upon by the Select Committee? I beg, Sir, to move that the 1st clause be postponed.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I would point out to the hon. Member that nothing would be gained by carrying such a Motion as that, as the same question arises in every part of the Bill.

MR. RITCHIE: I hope the hon. Gentleman will not press that proposal, as the word "butterine" runs throughout the whole of the Bill.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 70; Noes 87: Majority 17.—(Div. List, No. 289.) [3.5 A.M.]

Question proposed, "That the word 'Oleomargarine' be there inserted.

MR. CHANCE: I beg to move that "Margarine" be substituted for "Oleomargarine."

THE CHAIRMAN: Let the Committee negative "Oleomargarine" first.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 9, to insert the word "Margarine."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Question proposed, "That that word be there inserted."

MR. ILLINGWORTH: I think the Committee has taken a very hasty step in having utterly thrown overboard the evidence of the Committee which sat upstairs. As the alteration now made will involve a series of changes all through the Bill, I think it would be as well to take a little more time before proceeding further. I, therefore, now move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

MR. M. J. KENNY: I would point out, in answer to the hon. Gentleman who has moved to report Progress, that the alterations which will be involved by the vote of the Committee are simply verbal alterations all through. They are all consequential, and are not questions which will involve discussion. I think it would be highly improper to postpone the proceedings of the Committee, seeing that we have now arrived at a definite and final conclusion. Seeing that the Committee have decided, by a substantial majority, on the adoption of a different term from that in the Bill, I think that we are entitled to claim that we should go on with the measure.

Mr. RITCHIE: I would point out to the hon. Member who has moved to report Progress, that the Committee having decided that the word "butterine" be left out, it would be impossible for him, even if he succeeded in obtaining a postponement, to get that word re-inserted. If he has a question to raise, let him wait until the Report stage.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH: Very well; I withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. W. F. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): The Committee is inflicting a gross injustice on an important trade; therefore, I move that the Chairman do leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. W. F. Lawrence.*)

Mr. M. J. KENNY: The hon. Member jumps up and proposes a postponement at a moment when the adjournment can do neither him nor his Friends the slightest amount of good. It is not possible for the Committee to reverse the step it has taken and re-introduce the word "butterine;" but if the hon. Member wishes to raise the question again, he can do so on Report. It is absolutely frivolous of him at the present moment to move the adjournment of the debate.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Definition) *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Penalty).

Mr. W. F. LAWRENCE: I desire to move to insert after the words "or otherwise," the words "and every *employé* of such person." I am aware that in asking the Committee to agree to the insertion of these words, I am departing from the principle laid down in the Sale of Food and Drugs Act. It is admitted that it would be a great injustice if the penalties under this Bill—which do not follow the precedent of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, being much more strict—were inflicted on a wholesale or retail seller by reason of the wrongful act of one of his *employés.* Under such circumstances, the employer would be unduly punished. I think that it would only be proper to make the *employé* who is the person who actually commits the offence liable jointly together with the principal. If this is adopted, I shall take the precaution to add similar words to carry out the same principle later on in the Bill.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 21, after the words "or otherwise," to insert "and every *employé* of such person."—(*Mr. W. F. Lawrence.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Sir RICHARD PAGET: I hope the Committee will not accept the proposed Amendment. I do not think it will commend itself generally to the favour of hon. Members that the word "*employé*" should be here inserted. We are, in our legislation, in the habit of expressing ourselves in English, and I must say I fail to see any reasonable ground for departing from that custom on the present occasion. But the hon. Gentleman who has moved the Amendment has himself given a reason why we should not accept it. He has said that it is not in harmony with the Sale of Food and Drugs Act. That is exactly what is the case. The whole matter was fully argued before the Select Committee. We had a large body of evidence upon this particular point, and the subject was thoroughly threshed out. My impression is that after the debates which took place upon the Committee, and after hearing the evidence which was taken, there was but one opinion—namely, that we should keep rigidly to the principle which underlies the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, and require the burden to fall upon the retailer. The introduction of these words would place the Bill out of harmony with the Act on which it is framed. I would point out that Mr. Sclater-Booth, who acted as Chairman of the Committee, was the person who brought in the Sale of Food and Drugs Act in 1875, and, consequently, was thoroughly acquainted with the details of that Act.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: This clause is extremely severe in its penalties. It provides for the first offence a fine not exceeding £20; for the second offence a fine not exceeding £50, and for the third or any subsequent offence a fine of £100 or imprisonment with or without hard labour, not exceeding six months. I beg to move that all the words after the word "pounds" in line 26 be left out. It seems to me that a penalty of this character surrounds the trade with all sorts of risks and dangers, and that if these words were to remain in the Bill the tendency would be to drive all respectable men out of the trade, and to leave it in the hands of the more reckless and the least respectable persons.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 26, to leave out the words "or imprisonment with or without hard labour not exceeding six months." —(*Mr. Jacob Bright.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. M. J. KENNY: This question was discussed in Committee and the imprisonment clause was carried by a majority. I think it was very properly carried, because it was pointed out by the Select Committee that if there is no deterrent influence greater than a fine, it is possible that the magistrates will, in certain places, go on imposing small fines—that the traders will go on breaking the law, being content to pay the fines, unless brought face to face with the possibility of imprisonment. In this clause the Bill merely follows the precedent laid down in numerous Acts. In the case of fraudulent weights and measures, a third conviction necessitates imprisonment. In this Bill we do not propose to follow that precedent, but we leave it to the option of the magistrate, who will judge of the nature of the offence, and who will judge as to whether or not the person charged is incorrigible. He can impose a fine of 5*s*., or he may send the offender to gaol for a week. I would point out that the representatives of the trade themselves, the men who spoke and gave evidence for these retail dealers and dealers in butter substitutes, all accepted the principle of the Imprisonment Clause. The hon. Member who is sitting below (Mr. Maclure) himself accepted the principle, and spoke at considerable length in support of it as representing these persons. I trust, therefore, that this matter having been decided after considerable discussion by vote in the Committee, hon. Members will not accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright).

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E.): I must entirely repudiate what the hon. Member states. The cause of my voting was that an honourable understanding had been arrived at to the effect that the term "butterine" should be used. I consented to vote for imprisonment in cases where fraud was committed through the non-use of that name. Under existing circumstances, I shall most heartily support my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester in his proposal to exclude these words. I think that a great injustice is about to be done to a most honourable trade, and to a trade which is very beneficial to the working classes of Lancashire. I think the Committee, in acting in the way it has done to-night, has taken a very false step.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: I do appeal to the Committee to accept this Amendment. I should have been glad if the hon. Member for Manchester had gone farther than the Amendment he has proposed, and had proposed that there should be no penalty exceeding £20. What is it that this measure proposes? Why, a piece of gross cruelty to the retail trader. The retail trader may be perfectly honest, and it may be farthest from his intention to commit a fraud, which is a term I object to in connection with the selling of two articles, one of which is just as good as the other, although the law requires that it should be sold under a different name. ["Agreed, agreed!"] I cannot imagine that the House of Commons will allow an Act of Parliament of this kind to pass without due consideration—an Act putting into the hands of the magistrates, many of whom may be interested in the production of one article, powers to restrict the sale of another, and to deal with traders whose industry they may conceive opposed to that in which they themselves are interested. ["Agreed!"] I claim the right to be heard on a point of this character. The second argument of the hon. Member for Tyrone cut his first to ribbons. He said the magistrates would impose a fine of a few shillings, and that fraudulent traders would repeat offences against the Act over and over again. Well, I certainly think that when a magistrate has power to inflict a fine of £20 for the first offence, £50 for the second, and then £100, he is visited with the heaviest penalty that this House ought to pass on anyone who offends in the direction I speak of. I appeal with confidence to the Committee not to go to such extreme length. We have already been told that even in the Sale of Food and Drugs Act the penalties are not so severe as they are in this Bill. No evidence has been given to show that oleomargarine is not as wholesome an article of food as butter itself. It is not denied that it is as wholesome; and, therefore, to impose these enormous penalties upon men for substituting one article for another I hold to be acting most cruelly.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): If the Committee will allow me to say one or two words—[*Cries of* "Agreed!"] If it does not listen to me, I shall move to report Progress. I shall insist upon that. I am not in the habit of intruding upon the House——

Mr. M. J. Kenny here made an observation.

The CHAIRMAN: I call upon the hon. Member for Mid Tyrone to withdraw that observation.

Mr. M. J. KENNY: What observation, Sir?

The CHAIRMAN: "He intrudes often enough."

Mr. M. J. KENNY: I withdraw it, of course; but I did not intend the observation to be heard.

Mr. F. S. POWELL: It is said that the Bill now before the House follows the analogy of the Sale of Food and Drugs Act of 1875. Now, as regards that Act, there is no penalty in the nature of imprisonment for the sale of any article which does not contain an ingredient injurious to health. No one can say that there is anything in this butterine injurious to health; therefore, all analogy based upon the Act of 1875 falls to the ground, or is entirely against imprisonment. The tendency of modern legislation is not only to form new crimes, but also to pile up penalties. I do not think the House is aware of the number of penalties we are asked every year to impose on the subject in our private Bill legislation. If the House were aware of this fact, I think our local legislation would be much more carefully guarded. Here we are asked to allow a man to be imprisoned on the arbitrary decision of the magistrates, and we go beyond the precedent of the Act of Parliament on which the supporters of the Bill rely as an example and pattern for their proceedings. I most sincerely hope that the precedent of that Act will be followed, and that there will be no imprisonment following the sale of an article that is not injurious to health.

Mr. CHANCE: I do not agree that margarine is necessarily a wholesome thing. I have heard of its being made out of very strange substances indeed. If it is made out of unwholesome substances under the sale of Food and Drugs Act the dealer can be imprisoned. What we are dealing with, however, is not selling an unwholesome article which can be dealt with under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act; but the selling of an article which is not an unwholesome article. Well, it appears to me that a fine of £100 would be to a great many of these people an extremely heavy fine and I, therefore, do hope that the hon. Member for Tyrone will give way upon this point, and will not leave to the magistrates the power of inflicting six months imprisonment with hard labour. With regard to what has fallen from the hon. Member opposite (Mr. F. S. Powell), I regret that his present objection to the creation of new crimes did not come to his mind two months ago.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I believe these particular words are taken from a Bill which was introduced by the hon. Member for East Cork. Well, I drafted that Bill, and I remember expostulating with the hon. Member against the heavy nature of the penalty, and it was against my better judgment that I put that in. But as regards a heavy money penalty for a third offence against the provisions of this Bill, I am assured that so large are the profits from the manufacture and sale of this material margarine that a small pecuniary penalty would be, in many cases, altogether insufficient. But, whatever may be the money penalty it does seem to me that imprisonment for six months for such a thing as selling clarified fat is altogether beyond the necessities of the case.

MR. M. J. KENNY: I would point out that in many continental countries the penalty for the fraudulent sale of margarine for butter is two years imprisonment. But having succeeded in carrying the main part of the principle which appeared to me necessary in this Bill, and the Committee having decided upon a name which renders it more difficult to deal fraudulently with an article of this kind, the necessity for an excessively stringent punishment has disappeared, therefore, I should have no objection in acceding to the Amendment.

SIR RICHARD PAGET: When the Bill was originally introduced there was no such penalty as six months imprisonment contained in it. That was introduced when the Bill was passing through the Select Committee, under circumstances with which hon. Gentlemen are now familiar. I am by no means disposed to insist on the retention in this Bill of the six months imprisonment. I would venture to point out, however, that in the Merchandise Marks Bill which has just passed through Committee it is provided that when a false trade description is given of goods the offender is liable to imprisonment with hard labour for two years.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Marking of cases).

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): I beg to propose that this clause be omitted from the Bill. It seems to me to be an illustration of legislation gone almost wild, because this is a clause that proposes to dictate to traders in what manner they shall sell this article, which we are told is perfectly wholesome. This margarine, as it is now to be called, is to be branded or durably marked. What is meant by durably marked I do not know, as I should have thought that a compound of this kind would be difficult to mark durably; and then it is to be marked upon the top, the bottom, and the sides. If the suggestion is that a trader is to be told how he is to mark, and where he is to mark a compound of this kind, then, why should you not deal in the same way with the manufacturers of Pears' soap, and other articles? Then it is to be marked with printed capital letters. How is it to be printed; is the butterine or margarine to be passed through a printing press? [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members may well laugh at that, but that is the actual proposal that is made by this clause. For the first time, unless there is some Act in the 13th century that I am not acquainted with, this is the first time we have told any trader in England the exact letters and the size with which he is to stamp his goods, and the place where he is to put them. It seems to me to be a piece of legislation which if allowed to pass, no one can tell where it will stop. Let us really consider, even at this hour of the morning, what we are doing. If this compound is to be exposed for sale there is to be attached to it, in such manner as to be clearly legible to the purchaser, a label printed in capital letters of not less than half an-inch square, "Margarine," and any trader is to be liable under this Act who does not do all that. I cannot help appealing to the good sense of hon. Members whether in this country, or even in Ireland, they ever saw any attempt to interfere with people in their lawful trades in this way?

Amendment proposed, to omit Clause 4.—(*Mr. Addison.*)

Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): I think in answer to the remarks that have been made, that I can satisfy the Committee. I was a Member of the Committee upstairs, and we went very carefully into the consideration of all these questions, and this clause was framed at the suggestion of the traders themselves, both wholesale and retail. They have no opposition to offer to the proposals which are introduced into this clause, and, as in fact, in several instances the suggestions came from men engaged in the wholesale and retail trade it shows, so far as they are concerned, they do not consider it any hardship to have these restrictions put upon them.

MR. W. F. LAWRENCE: I submit that the traders must have been asleep to their own interests. Each parcel of butter purchased from a retailer has to be labelled "Butterine, not Butter," in characters $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch long, while such parcel may amount to only half a-pound or a pound. This would be a great inconvenience in a shop window; and further, the retailer will have to keep a special supply of printed wrappers to wrap up these small parcels. It is absurd to think that the retailers were aware of what they were sanctioning, and I hope therefore that the Committee will agree to the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Addison).

Mr. HOYLE: In confirming the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Penrith as to this clause having been framed on the suggestion of the trade itself, I wish to say that was done in the hope that the word "Butterine" might be retained, and the clause was passed after the adoption by the Committee upstairs of the name "Butterine." Now that "Margarine" has been substituted, there is not the same necessity for stringent regulations.

Dr. CLARK: I was rather astonished at the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne, because, at the present moment, the principle of the clause is in operation. If the hon. Gentleman went into a grocer's to buy coffee and chicory, the grocer would have to sell it with the label—"This is sold as a mixture of chicory and coffee"—and it is simply the application of the same principle to this compound, margarine. As very large profits are made out of it, there is no hardship in asking them to pay for printing the word "margarine" upon the paper in which it is sold. At the present time they do print upon the firkins the name of the material.

Mr. M. J. KENNY: The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. W. F. Lawrence) has called up difficulties that do not exist. The provision trade of Liverpool, stated in evidence, that it was the custom to wrap up even the smallest quantities in paper upon which was printed the word "Butterine." One witness supplied us with numbers of examples, and stated it was the invariable practice in Liverpool, and what we asked for was that the custom which prevailed in Liverpool should be extended among all traders throughout Great Britain and Ireland. I think there is no real difficulty in the way, and as regards the inconvenience that would arise to retail traders to be compelled to ticket this article in their shops, we were supplied also with tickets which they were in the habit of using at the present time, and all these it was argued might be used without inconvenience; therefore the operation of the clause would not be any hardship upon the trade. I would further point out that it would be unwise to listen to the proposal to omit this clause; because, if it were omitted the Bill would cease to hang together; therefore, it is of vital importance that the clause should be retained, and it is essential to the carrying out the policy which the Bill seeks to carry out.

Mr. WHITLEY (Liverpool, Everton): The hon. Gentleman is quite right in regard to the practice in Liverpool, as the traders have been careful there to mark the article; but I quite agree with the hon. Member for the Heywood Division of Lancashire (Mr. Hoyle) that an alteration having been made in the name, there is no longer any necessity for the clause.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH: The Committee should not be misled by the statements that have been made as to the traders agreeing to this clause, because that was when the title was different, and they were threatened with an article to compete with butter under an almost identical name. But are we here to regulate the sale or the use of the article "margarine?" ["No!"] Then if that be the case, why is this thing to be put upon it? [An hon. Member: We want to advertise it.] Yes, exactly so; but that is not our business; our business is to act honestly and fairly. I think the Committee has gone as far as it would be disposed to go to make the distinction, and to go one step further would be an unnecessary and unbusiness-like interference with the trade of the country. If done in this case, then there are many other articles that it would be applicable to, and legislation should follow. In the illustration given of coffee and chicory there was a mixture in which the quantities could not be ascertained; but here there is no such suggestion, and I do not think it is the business of the House of Commons to damnify any article that is genuinely offered for sale.

Sir RICHARD PAGET: This clause is the very essence of the Bill. Whatever name the Committee may decide this imitation butter must bear, that name must be boldly displayed. As to the particular marks on the labels and wrappers, I would inform the Committee that every one of them was taken from the examples given to us of those in use in the trade in Liverpool. In some cases the labels are used, and in others the wrapper; but this is the open way in which traders should act.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 106; Noes 23: Majority 83.—(Div. List, No. 290.) [4.5 A.M.]

Clause 5 (Presumption against vendor) *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Power of officer of local authority to inspect manufactory).

MR. ADDISON: As regards Clause 6, this introduces an entirely novel principle into our legislation, for it enables an inspector to enter at all reasonable times any premises where the article is manufactured for the purpose of inspecting them. Now, we have heard over and over again this is a perfectly lawful trade and perfectly wholesome and proper, and yet we are to be told the inspector may come on any man's premises at any reasonable time—that being, I suppose, to be decided by his own discretion—and inspect the way in which any trader may carry on his business. That is contrary to one of the most elementary rights we have, the elementary right being that people shall not be disturbed or have their premises invaded without some reasonable cause. I beg to move the omission of the words "any inspector may enter and inspect, at all reasonable times."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, lines 28 and 29, to leave out the words, "any inspector may enter and inspect, at all reasonable times."—(*Mr. Addison.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

SIR RICHARD PAGET: This clause was introduced at the instance of one of the largest manufacturers of the article.

DR. CLARK: This is a very important matter, and without this clause the manufacturers, instead of making margarine from suet, which is the best thing to make it from, might put into it something that was very dangerous indeed.

MR. ADDISON: I would only add one word to what the hon. Member says. The same thing would be exactly true in the manufacture of cigars, which I am told—I do not smoke myself—are often made from cabbage leaves and other stuff, and the same with sausages, which may or may not be made of animals of which sausages ought to be made; but I will not discuss the matter further. I should have thought the feeling of the Committee would have been entirely with me, but if not, I shall not force the Amendment to a Division. Having made my protest, I would ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Butterine imported or manufactured).

Clause 8 (Registration of manufactory).

MR. ADDISON: Again, as to this clause I cannot, having regard to the wishes of my constituents who have representations to make, allow this to pass without protest. This is a proposal that the manufacturers of "margarine" as it is now to be called must be registered with the local authority in such manner as the Local Government Board may direct, and a person not so registered is to be liable to all the penalties we have heard of. On what ground has the manufacturer of margarine to register himself any more than any other manufacturer in England? It may be right with regard to gunpowder and all other dangerous compounds, but not in this case, which is an infringement of a man's rights.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Power to inspectors to take samples without purchase).

MR. W. F. LAWRENCE: In Clause 9, page 3, line 14, I beg to move to leave out, after the word "may," the words, "without going through the form of purchase." This is a departure from the Food and Drugs Act, and it appears to me there is not sufficient reason for it.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 14, after "may," to leave out "without going through the form of purchase."—(*Mr. W. F. Lawrence.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Sir RICHARD PAGET: This, again, was the suggestion made to the Committee by several of those interested in the sale of the article, and no one expressed any objection to it. I would call attention to the Food and Drugs Act, in which will be found ample provision for the payment of the article.

Mr. W. F. LAWRENCE: I would like to explain, as the hon. Gentleman says those he has had to deal with approve of the clause, those I represent highly disapprove of it.

Mr. M. J. KENNY: The reason for the provision is this. Inasmuch as this Bill deals not only with shopkeepers who sell by retail, but persons who sell wholesale, it would be very inconvenient to have an inspector going into a wholesale dealer's and taking away a large packet, and the provision is put in for the purpose of providing for a small quantity to be taken for analysis. Further than that, this clause had the approval of the persons who represented the trade when they came before us.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Appropriation of penalties) *agreed to.*

Clause 11 (Proceedings).

Sir RICHARD PAGET: I have an Amendment in the first line of this clause, and it is to insert in line 25, page 3, after the word "shall," the words "save as expressly varied by this Act."

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 25, after "shall," to insert "save as expressly varied by this Act."—(*Sir Richard Paget.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. F. S. POWELL: I should wish to ask the effect of this Amendment?

Sir RICHARD PAGET: The effect of the Amendment is this. This clause embodies Section 28 of the Food and Drugs Act, 1875; but there is a provision in a previous clause of the Act that would, to a certain extent, modify it unless these words are introduced.

Mr. F. S. POWELL: My hon. Friend has not answered the question which I ventured to put as to the safety of the innocent retailer, whether there would be security that the sample taken should be divided.

Mr. M. J. KENNY: Yes, there is; all that is included in the Food and Drugs Act.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, with an amended Title (*changed to* "Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill);" as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

ULSTER CANAL AND TYRONE NAVIGATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jackson, Bill to provide for the Transfer of the Ulster Canal and the Tyrone Navigation or Coal Island Navigation from the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to the Lagan Navigation Company; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Jackson, Colonel King-Harman, and Sir Herbert Maxwell.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 313.]

POINDING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Watt, Bill to amend the Law of Scotland in matters relating to Poinding, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Watt, Mr. M'Ewan, Mr. J. C. Bolton, Mr. Baird, and Mr. Howell.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 314.]

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Four o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 8th July, 1887.

MINUTES.] — Public Bills — *Committee — Report*—Trusts (Scotland) Act, 1867, Amendment * (117).

Report—Quarries * (160).

Third Reading—Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment (144); Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) * (143); National Debt and Local Loans * (141), and *passed.*

Provisional Order Bills — *First Reading* — Local Government (Ireland) (Ballyshannon, &c.) * (163).

Report—Gas * (123).

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord LAMINGTON, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether it is intended in any way to recognize the excellence of the police arrangements and the admirable conduct of the Metropolitan Police during the Jubilee celebration? said, that if there was one thing more than another which filled foreigners with admiration, it was the admirable behaviour of the police on Jubilee day. On no day had there been fewer charges brought before the magistrates than on the day after the Jubilee celebration, and that he attributed to the admirable conduct of the police, and the excellent organization which had been brought about by Sir Charles Warren.

EARL BROWNLOW, in reply, said, he wished emphatically to endorse the statement of the noble Lord as to the excellence of the police arrangements, and the admirable conduct of the men themselves on Her Majesty's Jubilee day. He had to inform their Lordships that the services of the Metropolitan Police would be duly recognized and rewarded. The Chief Commissioner had already granted three days' extra leave with full pay to each member of the force. In addition, each member of the force would receive an extra day's pay and a bronze medal commemorative of the occasion.

NAVY—H.M.S. "IMPERIEUSE."

QUESTION.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN asked Her Majesty's Government, What the maximum weight of coal the *Impérieuse* is now intended to carry, what is her full rate of speed at sea, and what is the average consumption of coal per hour at that speed?

LORD ELPHINSTONE (A LORD in WAITING) said, that the maximum amount of coal the *Impérieuse* is intended to carry is 900 tons. The rate of speed for continuous steaming was 15½ knots per hour, which would involve the average consumption of 150 tons of coal per day. A speed of 10 knots per hour would involve an average consumption of 40 tons per day. He might remind the noble Earl that the same Question was put on April 28th last, on which occasion the same answer that he had now made was given.

INCUMBENTS RESIGNATION ACT (1871) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.*)

(NO. 144.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.*)

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE said, their Lordships would remember that when this Bill was in Committee an Amendment was introduced at the instance of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Grimthorpe). It was accepted on the understanding that time should be allowed for the Bishops to consider its effect, and take such action as appeared desirable at a later stage. After careful consideration, he (the Bishop of Carlisle) and his Brethren had come to the conclusion that the Amendment was not one which they could accept. The 5th section of the Bill provided for certain deductions or drawbacks to be made in calculating the net income with a view to pension of an incumbent about to resign. It was provided that all expenses and taxes upon the parsonage house, and any mortgages which existed on the living which the incumbent was bound to pay, should be treated as deductions. The clause also provided that where a curate was compulsorily employed the stipend should be a deduction. So far, the proposal of the Bill was perfectly fair; but the noble and learned Lord's Amendment introduced two additional possible deductions in the calculation of the net income. It proposed that a deduction should be made where a curate might be compulsorily employed, and also where a curate was in fact employed. It would obviously cause much litigation to decide when a curate might be compulsorily employed, as it was necessary that a Bishop should issue a Commission, and that Commission should report in favour of the employment of a curate, before the Bishop could compel an incumbent to employ one. When a curate was in fact employed, his stipend was paid either by voluntary contributions of the congregation, by a society, or by the incumbent. In the two former cases, it was obvious that the income ought not to be reduced by an expense which was not borne by it, and when an incumbent voluntarily paid a curate, it would be the height of injustice to make a deduction in calculating his income on account of an expense incurred through his own zeal and liberality. Under those circumstances, he should move that the Amendment of the noble and learned Lord should be struck out.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

On the Motion of The Lord Bishop of CARLISLE, Amendments made.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

CROFTERS HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENTS.

Commons' Amendments *considered* (according to Order).

Commons' Amendment to Clause 2.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he must ask the House not to agree to this Amendment introduced by the House of Commons. The Amendment exceeded the scope of the Bill, which was simply to remedy the defects of the Bill of last Session.

Moved, "That this House doth disagree with the Commons in the said Amendment."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN) said, that, although he thought a good deal might be said in favour of the Amendment, he was bound to say that the objection raised by the noble Lord had great force; and he did not propose to ask their Lordships to agree to the Commons' Amendment.

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendment *disagreed to.*

Remaining Amendments *agreed to.*

A Committee appointed to prepare Reasons to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said Amendment: The Committee to meet forthwith. Report from the Committee of the Reasons prepared by them; read, and *agreed to;* and a message sent to the Commons to return the said Bill with the Reasons.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 8*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*First Report*—Army and Navy Estimates [No. 216].

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Qualification of Guardians of the Poor * [315].

First Reading—Law of Evidence Amendment * [316].

Committee—Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) [153]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Merchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment (*re-comm.*) * [304].

Third Reading — Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) [305], and *passed,*

Withdrawn — Copyright (Musical Compositions) * [195]; Public Worship Facilities * [292]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday * [41].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *Considered as amended* — Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * [288].

Third Reading—Local Government (No. 7) * [282], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—OATHS "WITHOUT RELIGIOUS BELIEF."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, at the present Middlesex Sessions, Mr. Fletcher presiding, a person named Mears, summoned as juror, having stated that he was without religious belief, the learned Judge directed him to be sworn, saying that he had, during the past year, had so many cases of persons declaring that they were persons without religious belief that he had directed them all to be sworn; and, whether, in view of the decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of the "Attorney General *v.* Bradlaugh," and the possible serious consequence of a conviction being reversed for error in fact, the error being that the jury have not been duly sworn, he will take any action in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I have communicated with Mr. Fletcher, the Chairman of the Middlesex Sessions, and from information received from him the facts are not quite correctly stated in the Question of the hon. Member. It appears that up to the present time the number of persons making objection that they had no religious belief has been so small that the Court has been able to dispense with their service as jurors. Mr. Mears did, however, raise the objection mentioned; but the Chairman did not direct him to be sworn, but told him that, in his (the Chairman's) opinion it was competent for him to take the affirmation prescribed by Section 8 of the Statute 30 & 31 *Vict.* c. 35. Upon this

Mr. Mears made no further objection. Mr. Fletcher informs me that when persons have come before him and have persisted in their objection, he has never directed them to be sworn or make affirmation, but has dispensed with their services as jurors. I think it right to say that I do not agree with the view of the Statute taken by the learned Chairman, but, under the circumstances, it is clearly not a case in which I can interfere.

HYDROPHOBIA—M. PASTEUR'S SYSTEM OF TREATMENT.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, seeing that the Committee of Inquiry on M. Pasteur's method of treating hydrophobia have reported that M. Pasteur has, in their opinion, discovered a method of arresting the progress of that disease, the Government intend to take steps immediately to provide in this country for carrying into effect the practice which has been so successfully pursued in M. Pasteur's Institute in Paris?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): At present I am not prepared to say more than that the Report of the Committee referred to is receiving consideration. I imagine that, in all probability, the matter is one which is more likely to be properly dealt with by Local Bodies than by a Government Department. As to the precautions which are desirable with the view of avoiding the spread of rabies among dogs, I may observe that a Select Committee of the House of Lords has been appointed to inquire into this subject. The recommendations contained in the Report to which the hon. Member alludes will, no doubt, be of considerable assistance to the Committee.

ADMIRALTY—HER MAJESTY'S JUBILEE —NON-COMBATANT OFFICERS.

SIR WILLIAM CROSSMAN (Portsmouth) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the intention of the Admiralty to recommend that a special *Gazette* be issued for the purpose of promoting some officers of the non-combatant branch of the Navy, Surgeons, Paymasters, and Engineers, as the promotions in the *Gazette* issued on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee were confined exclusively to officers of the executive branch?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The promotions that appeared in the *Gazette* issued on the 21st of June were those that would, in the ordinary course, have been dated on the 1st July, and were not special or additional on account of the Queen's Jubilee. The promotions of executive officers are made half-yearly, and those of non-combatant officers as vacancies occur. There is no intention of giving exceptional promotion either to combatant or non-combatant officers on account of the Jubilee.

DOMINION OF CANADA—CANADIAN CUSTOMS TARIFF.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can lay upon the Table Copies of the Correspondence with the Canadian Government respecting proposed changes in the Canadian Customs tariff; and, whether he can include in those Papers the Memorandum from the Canadian Finance Minister setting forth the manner in which the new duties will affect imports from the United Kingdom?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The Papers are being prepared for presentation to the House of Lords, and will, at the same time, be laid upon the Table of this House. They will include the Memorandum mentioned by the hon. Member, and also a later Memorandum from Sir Charles Tupper.

THE COMMISSIONERS OF IRISH LIGHTS.

MR. REYNOLDS (Tyrone, E.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether any situations under the Commissioners of Irish Lights are filled by persons who have been in the Royal Navy; and, if so, whether he will grant a Return as to the qualifications, pay, and pensions of these officers?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Three officers of the Board of Irish Lights have been in the Royal Navy, besides several men serving in the light vessels and steamers belonging to the Commissioners. The information as to these officers which the hon. Member appears to desire can be given at once, if the hon. Member will move for it; if the Return is to include the men, the collection of the information will necessarily take time.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND) — QUALIFICATION FOR MONITORSHIPS.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether passes in the essential subjects of the Fifth Class, first stage, constitute the minimum proficiency required of a candidate for monitorship in an Irish National School; and, if the candidates are examined specially for the appointment?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The qualification required of a candidate for monitorship in an Irish National School is as described in the Question. Candidates are examined specially for the appointment, if necessary. They are, however, usually examined at the last results examination.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DROMINTEE, CO. ARMAGH.

Mr. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Postmaster General, If a Memorial from the inhabitants of Dromintee, County Armagh, was forwarded to him, asking that the local post office might be made a money order and telegraph office; and, if he will remedy the inconvenience and loss felt by the people of the district by compliance with the request of the Memorialists?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University) in reply, said, he could not find that any Memorial had been addressed to him on the subject to which the hon. Member referred. An application was made in January of last year to the Secretary of the Post Office in Dublin; and a reply was sent in the following month by that gentleman, to the effect that the circumstances of the case did not warrant compliance with the request of the applicants. He should be very glad to cause a further inquiry to be made, and to communicate the result to the hon. Member.

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS—A REVISION COURT AT BALLYGAWLEY, CO. TYRONE.

Mr. REYNOLDS (Tyrone, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Lord Lieutenant will direct that a Court for the revision of Parliamentary voters be held at Ballygawley, in the South Tyrone Division of the County of Tyrone?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the Lord Lieutenant had recently had the object of this Question under his careful consideration in connection with Memorials submitted to him. He had decided it would not be expedient to transfer from Aughnacloy to Ballygawley the whole of the revision for that district, nor yet to add to the total number of Revision Courts, there being already 17 in the county.

MALTA—CASE OF DR. GRECH.

Mr. M'EWAN (Edinburgh, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Correspondence between the Governor of Malta and the Colonial Office in the case of Dr. Grech?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir Henry Holland) (Hampstead): I am afraid there is substantial objection to publishing correspondence with a Governor in which the acts of individuals have been discussed without the reserve which would have been used if publication were contemplated; and in this particular case there is no security that use might not be made of the correspondence for legal purposes. There would, moreover, be no public advantage in the publication, as the purport of my despatch has been already stated.

SOUTH AFRICA — BECHUANALAND —MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

Mr. J. G. HUBBARD (London) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has been correctly understood, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, to have directed the Acting High Commissioner at the Cape to enact for Bechuanaland an Act to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): No, Sir; I neither directed nor suggested legislation for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in Bechuanaland. What I did suggest was that in a general Proclamation for validating marriages contracted before annexation there should be inserted a clause, which has often been introduced into other laws of the kind, providing that where either of the parties has validly married someone else in the meantime the second marriage, and not the first, shall prevail. For the purpose of giving an example of such a clause I sent out a Queensland law which contained a similar Proviso. It happened to be a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, and this gave rise to the misconception to which my right hon. Friend calls attention.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—STATION ACCOMMODATION.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Regulations of the Board of Trade (Ireland) require that a station be erected for the accommodation of the travelling public within at least every 10 miles of railway; whether complaints have reached him that on the Great Northern Railway (Ireland) there is no passenger station between Dundalk and Bessbrook, main line (the station at Mountpleasant being used occasionally for stone and lime traffic only), a distance, as indicated by the Company's official time tables, of 13 miles; whether he is aware that within the past 10 years the Board of Directors of this Company have been frequently petitioned by deputations, memorials, and letters requesting that a station be erected at Ballinagh Bridge, near Meigh, to accommodate the people of the very densely populated districts; and, whether, in view of the existing Laws and Regulations, the Board of Trade can take any steps to secure for the travelling public the facilities so urgently needed?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have no authority to require a Railway Company to erect stations at particular places. Nor is there any such provision as that to which the hon. Member refers in the General Acts, or in the Special Acts under which the Companies work. No complaints of the nature referred to have reached the Board of Trade, nor are they aware whether the Directors have been petitioned to erect a station at Ballinagh Bridge. The Board of Trade will communicate with the Company with reference to the hon. Member's Question; but they have no compulsory powers in the matter.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—REPORTS OF SCHOOL INSPECTION.

MR. MILVAIN (Durham) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Why the Reports of the Inspection of Schools and the payment of grants have been so long delayed; and, when they may be expected to be made?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): Great efforts have been made by the Department, with the result of considerably shortening the time between the inspection of schools and the payment of grants. Whereas not long since two months used often to elapse, the average time now is little more than three weeks. But if my hon. Friend will oblige me with the particulars of any case I will at once make inquiry into the causes of the delay.

ISLAND OF THE MAURITIUS—LIEUTENANT GOVERNORSHIP—CHARGES AGAINST SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any decision has now been arrived at with reference to the charge alleged against Sir John Pope Hennessy; and, whether, in any case, he will undertake to announce a decision in time for the subject to be discussed on the Estimates, if necessary?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I have had under my careful consideration the voluminous Papers in regard to the charges alleged against Sir John Pope Hennessy, as well as his statements and explanations in reply to them, and I hope to be able to announce the decision early next week.

POST OFFICE—FACILITIES FOR THE SALE OF CONSOLS TO THE WORKING CLASSES.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has now considered the Memorial, signed by nearly 150 Members of the House of Commons, sent to him in March last, urging that increased facilities should be granted for the sale through the post offices of the United

Kingdom of Consols in small sums to the working classes; and, whether he will introduce a Bill to carry out the prayer of the Memorial without further delay?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I do not think that the more convenient course would be to introduce a Bill with one clause specially to carry out this proposal. But, subject to the concurrence of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think advantage might be taken to insert a clause in any Bill relating to savings banks which may be introduced.

LAW AND POLICE—ALLEGED CHARGE OF DRUNKENNESS—CASE OF MARY WILLIAMS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following report in *The Globe* newspaper of a case heard at the Westminster Police Court yesterday:—

> "Mary Williams, 24, a well dressed and well spoken young woman, described as of no occupation, and living at 307, Old Street, St. Luke's, was charged with being drunk and disorderly at Holden Terrace, Pimlico, outside the Victoria Station of the District Railway. Constable Wire, 243, said that last night about half-past 9 o'clock he was called to the District Railway Station, when he found the prisoner drunk and interfering with passengers. She had a crowd of people around her, and he was obliged to take her into custody. The accused said she was not intoxicated. She felt so faint in the station that she went to the refreshment room for a little pale brandy, but this she could not drink, and a gentleman seeing that she was so ill offered her some sal volatile. She was taken to the attendant and went in a fit. When she came round . . . two constables came to her side, and said, 'Why you're drunk.' She felt much upset at this, and told them she was faint, and had nothing to eat. Mr. D'Eyncourt: Do you live in Old Street? The accused: That is my uncle. I am going to be his manageress. Vince, the assistant gaoler, said the accused had a fit that morning. He did not know whether she was subject to them. Mr. D'Eyncourt: Have you any friend with you? The defendant, crying bitterly, said she had never been in a Court before. Last night she came from Baron's Court to Victoria, intending to go to Brixton. It was the first time she had been out for a fortnight. The constable said the Railway Station Inspector, Mr. Shenton, was in Court, and had signed the charge sheet. Mr. D'Eyncourt did not call this witness, and discharged the accused without comment;"

and, if this report is correct, whether, in he interest alike of the police and the public, he will direct a Departmental inquiry into the conduct of the constable and of the officer who took the charge at the station?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have asked the magistrate and the Chief Commissioner to be good enough to report to me on this case; but as yet there has not been time to receive their Report. When it has been received I will consider whether any interference on my part is necessary.

MR. PICKERSGILL gave Notice that he would repeat the Question on Monday.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — POLICE ORDER AS TO DEFAULTER SHEET OF CONSTABLES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Sir Charles Warren has recently issued a Police Order forbidding superior officers to make remarks as to a constable's general character on his defaulter sheet when he is sent before the Commissioner; and, if so, what is the date of such Order?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he was informed by Sir Charles Warren that the Order to which it was supposed the Question referred was dated the 24th of May, 1885, and was as follows:—

> "Defaulters, complaints.—In the investigation of charges against police officers for misconduct, every officer before whom the charge is investigated, and who does not dispose of it summarily, shall be careful to avoid any expression as to the guilt or innocence of the officer charged."

MR. PICKERSGILL asked the right hon. Gentleman whether he could state the case which led to the issue of that Order?

MR. MATTHEWS said, if the hon. Member would give Notice he would inquire; but the Order was a general one. If the case was disposed of summarily as a clear breach of discipline, the officer conducting the inquiry could not be said to be prejudicing the constable by pronouncing the result of the inquiry.

UNIVERSITY (SCOTLAND) BILL—LEGISLATION.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Government intend to bring in the Scotch University Bill this Session; and, if so, when it will be introduced?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The present intention is to proceed with this Bill. If the hon. Gentleman will put down the Question for Thursday I will be able to give him a definite answer.

ADMIRALTY CONTRACTS—CONTRACT FOR NEATSFOOT OIL.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether a tender for neatsfoot oil by Messrs. Brown and Deighton, of Preston, was recently declined, the only explanation being that the sample sent in was "without fat;" whether, when this firm replied that, on the contrary, it was "entirely fat," and "pure fat," the Director of Navy Contracts not only did not deny the fact, but stated—

> "Your remarks appear to prove that the specification given in the tender form is not as good as is to be desired. Steps will be taken to amend it next year;"

whether, when he recently stated in the House that the facts were not as abovementioned, he had been furnished by the Department with merely an abstract instead of the actual words of the correspondence on the subject; whether he will cause admittedly defective specifications to be altered at once, instead of being left over for another year; and, whether, in connection with Navy contracts, he has found other instances of specifications either defective or not in accordance with present requirements?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): In reply to the Questions of the hon. Member for Preston, I beg to say, as to the first, that a lengthy technical explanation, based on the Report of the Admiralty chemist on Messrs. Brown and Deighton's sample of oil, was furnished to that firm. In reply, they wrote expressing dissatisfaction with this explanation and commenting generally on the specification. The Director of Contracts replied to this communication, from which letter the Question of the hon. Member conveys a partial extract. The intention of the Director of Contracts was to convey to Messrs. Brown and Deighton that, as the specification did not appear lucid to them, he would take steps to make it more explicit in future. As regards the third paragraph in the hon. Member's Question, the information furnished to me, on which I based my reply on June 14, was an abstract which fairly detailed the circumstances of the case, and I see no occasion to amend the reply that I then gave. Specifications that appear to require alteration are naturally amended before new tenders are issued; and the one for neatsfoot oil will be considered before the next tenders are invited, which will not be required until 1888. Specifications do, from time to time, require amendment, as circumstances of manufacture and the wants of the Service suggest. In the Revised Regulations for the Director of Contracts he is instructed to inform himself as to the general conditions of purchase prevailing in the respective trades, and suggest such modifications in terms of purchase as may seem desirable. As regards appeals from manufacturers for redress, these are not to be decided except with the concurrence of the Financial Secretary.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—INSTITUTION OF A BOUNDARY COMMISSION—INCLUSION OF THE METROPOLITAN DISTRICT.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the President of the Local Government Board, When the Bill for the appointment of a Boundary Commission will be introduced; whether it is intended that the Local Government Board shall cease to hold inquiries and to issue orders under the Divided Parishes Acts until the Report of the Commission has been received; and, whether the Commissioners will be instructed to abstain from making such alterations as will affect the decision at which Parliament may ultimately arrive with regard to the nature and extent of the intermediate areas to be constituted under a Local Government Bill?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Bill with reference to the appointment of a Boundary Commission will be introduced shortly. It is not proposed that the Local Government shall cease to hold inquiries and to issue orders under the Divided Parishes Acts until the Report of the Commission has been received in cases where there is no overlapping by the parishes of a county boundary. No alterations of areas will be made by the Commissioners. The duty of the Commission will be limited to inquiry and reporting.

Mr. WHITMORE (Chelsea) also asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether it is intended to include the Metropolitan District within the scope of the inquiries of the Boundary Commission?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): It is not proposed to ask the Commission to deal with the Metropolis. The Local Government Board already possess considerable information on the subject. If further investigation be necessary, it is considered desirable that the proposals of the Government as to the Metropolis should be before the House prior to such investigation.

POST OFFICE — MEMORIAL OF THE SORTERS IN THE LONDON DISTRICT.

Mr. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can give an answer to the Memorial of the sorters of the London District, which was sent him in the early part of the year, asking that they might be placed on the same footing as the Provincial sorters, under the Order of the 30th November last?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): The matter to which the hon. Member refers is one which affects a very large number of persons, and I am not prepared to give an answer at present; but I hope to be in a position to answer the Memorialists before the close of the Session.

BULGARIA—THE ELECTION OF PRINCE FERDINAND OF COBURG.

Mr. SETON-KARR (St. Helen's) (for Mr. Legh) (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can give any information as to the reported election of a Prince of Bulgaria?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): I can only tell my hon. Friend that Her Majesty's Government are officially informed that Prince Ferdinand of Coburg was yesterday unanimously elected Prince of Bulgaria by the Great National Assembly at Tirnova.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—TECHNICAL EDUCATION — LEGISLATION — EVENING SCHOOLS.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the Government propose to include evening schools within the scope of their measure on Technical Education?

The VICE PRESIDENT (Sir William Hart Dyke) (Kent, Dartford): Yes, Sir; it is in contemplation to bring evening schools and classes within the scope of the promised measure.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—FORWARDING AND RECEIVING PRIVATE TELEGRAMS — THE LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE RAILWAY COMPANY.

Colonel BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that the telegraph service has been stopped throughout the Lancashire and Yorkshire line; and, if so, why this has been done?

Mr. TOMLINSON also asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether his attention has been called to the serious inconvenience occasioned to traders and others by the sudden withdrawal from the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company of the privilege of forwarding and receiving the telegrams of private individuals; and, whether the Post Office will take steps, by putting up additional wires or otherwise, to replace the service so discontinued, and, in the meantime, will suspend the prohibition?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): With reference to the Question of the hon. Member, and also to the further Question which the hon. Member for Preston has proposed to ask me, I may state that I had an interview last evening with the Directors and Manager of the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company; and that following thereon there seems reason to expect that an arrangement will be arrived at, and that I shall be able to give instructions for the re-opening of the stations on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway for the transaction of public telegraph business on Wednesday next.

CARDIFF SAVINGS BANK—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the great loss to depositors by the failure of the Cardiff Savings Bank, the difficulties in the way of depositors recovering their losses, and the total absence of responsibility of Trustees of such banks, the Government will consent to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter, with a view to early remedial legislation on the subject?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government have given a very careful consideration to the case to which the hon. Member refers. They are doubtful whether the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the matter would be desirable; but it is their intention, if possible, to introduce, in the course of the present Session, a measure that would aim at the case to which the hon. Member refers, and with the object also of dealing with other cases of a like nature which may by possibility arise.

CONTESTED ELECTIONS—THE LORD JUSTICES AS GOVERNORS OF IRELAND.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury Has the Right Hon. John Thomas Ball, with Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar and the Right Hon. the Vice Chancellor of Ireland, been appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, who discharge the Executive duties of the Lord Lieutenant during his absence from Ireland; did the Writ for holding the election to return a Member of Parliament for Dublin University, in place of the late Attorney General for Ireland, issue under the authority of the Lords Justices as General Governors of Ireland; is he aware that the Right Hon. John Thomas Ball, at the nomination of candidates for the University Election, on Wednesday, 7th July, while filling the post of Lord Justice, seconded the nomination of Mr. Serjeant Madden; and, is it usual for one of the Lords Justices to take an active part in a contested election?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have to answer the first paragraph in the affirmative. The Writ for holding the election referred to issued in the usual way from the Hanaper Office, in obedience to the warrant of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and not under the authority of the Lords Justices. The Right Hon. Dr. Ball, in relation to the University Election, acted in his individual capacity. He had been a member of Mr. Madden's Committee for several months; and he did not consider that the holding of this office at the moment of the election formed an objection to his seconding the nomination of Mr. Madden.

MR. MAC NEILL: Do the Lords Justices represent the Crown in Ireland?

MR. W. H. SMITH: In the absence of the Lord Lieutenant.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I beg to say that the right hon. Gentleman has not answered the last paragraph of the Question, which asks—

> "Is it usual for one of the Lords Justices to take an active part in a contested election?"

The right hon. Gentleman told us that, in the opinion of the Right Hon. John Ball, he was entitled to do so; but we do not want Mr. Ball's opinion; we want his——

MR. W. H. SMITH: As the hon. Member is very well aware, I am not personally responsible for the particular Department of the Government of Ireland. But, according to my own opinion, it is not usual for the Lords Justices to take part in the contested elections. I am only speaking from my own observation.

MR. MAC NEILL: Would the right hon. Gentleman kindly tell us whether the action of Dr. Ball was protested against at the election?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have given the hon. Member all the information in my power.

METROPOLITAN POLICE ACT—ARREST OF YOUNG WOMEN FOR ALLEGED "SOLICITING"—ARREST OF MISS CASS.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) drew the attention of the First Lord of the Treasury to the following passage from the Report for the year 1884 of the Society for the Defence of Personal Rights:—

> "In the month of May information was received by your Committee 'that the police now,

in Waterloo Place, Regent Street, &c., take up women for molesting men without any complaint from the men, and that Mr. Newton, of Marlborough Street, does not hesitate to convict on the unsupported evidence of the policeman.' The Secretary (Mr. J. S. Baily) was instructed to attend the court, which he did on the 28th and 29th of May. On the first day he saw 11, and on the second eight, women convicted on the unsupported evidence of one policeman, who merely stated in each case that he saw the woman solicit, and that she was a prostitute. On our advice one young woman thus convicted applied for an appeal, which was granted. The magistrate's clerk, Mr. Lyell, informed our Secretary that the conviction took place in accordance with what he and the magistrates believed to be the correct interpretation of the Act—namely, that for a prostitute to be in a public place was an offence, and that the words 'to the annoyance of inhabitants or passengers' applied only to soliciting, and that they always acted on such interpretation. As the result of communications which passed between Mr. Lyell and our solicitors the former acknowledged the interpretation of the law hitherto acted upon to be incorrect, that 'annoyance to an inhabitant or passenger' must be proved in order to justify a conviction, and that care would be taken in future to prove annoyance before conviction. Owing to the action of your Committee the fine was remitted in the case referred to, and the appeal was not proceeded with;"

and asked, Whether he will direct that the promised inquiry shall include the cases above referred to as bearing upon the consideration of the same magistrate's action in the case of Miss Cass?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I must premise that the circumstances to which the hon. Member refers occurred four years ago, and I have not yet had time to verify the facts stated in the Question. The rule acted upon by all Metropolitan police magistrates I understand to be that, while annoyance to inhabitants or passengers must be proved, that fact may be proved by any legal evidence, and not necessarily by the evidence of the inhabitant or passenger himself. At a meeting of Metropolitan magistrates in October, 1886, this was agreed to as being the correct interpretation of the Metropolitan Police Act. Having regard to the lapse of time and other circumstances, it would be inexpedient to include the cases referred to by the hon. Member in the inquiry now being carried on.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—REDUCTION OF THE IRISH BENCH.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, When the Bill to reduce the number of the Irish Judges will be introduced, in accordance with the promise made on the 14th of April last, upon the faith of which opposition to the Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill was withdrawn?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill dealing with the question in the course of next week.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION THE RIOT AT MOCHDRE.

MR. BOWEN ROWLANDS (Cardiganshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been called to a paragraph in that day's *Daily News*, in reference to the trial at Ruthin of the prisoners charged with having been concerned in the Llangwm riots. It was stated that—

> "The wife of one of the defendants having died, permission for him to go home was asked; but as the prosecution opposed it the Bench could not permit him to do so?"

He asked, whether this prosecution was being conducted by or on behalf of Her Majesty's Government; and whether they would not, if the statement was true, take notice of such inhuman conduct?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, the matter was entirely new to him, and he had not had time to inquire into the facts. He must, therefore, ask the hon. Member to give Notice of the Question.

MR. BOWEN ROWLANDS gave Notice that he would repeat the Question on Tuesday.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can, for the convenience of the House, give us any information as to when the Government propose to take Supply?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is the intention of the Government to take the Irish Land Law Bill on Monday, and I hope it will be read a second time not later than Tuesday. In that event Supply will be taken on Wednesday or Thursday.

In reply to Mr. BURT (Morpeth),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he feared it would not be possible to proceed with the Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill next week.

BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, in the event of the Belfast Franchise Bill coming down from the House of Lords to-day, If he will agree to have it set for Monday next, so as to obviate the necessity for a further adjournment of the Main Drainage Bill on Tuesday next?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have not charge of the Bill, therefore it is not under my control. I hope it will be possible to put it down before the other Orders of the Day are considered in this House. On Tuesday I gave an engagement to the hon. Gentleman that if the Franchise Bill was not in this House before the Main Drainage Bill was considered, I would use my endeavours to get a further postponement of the latter.

MR. SEXTON observed, that unless the Franchise Bill was considered and finally dealt with before the Main Drainage Bill came on on Tuesday, he should ask the right hon. Gentleman to consent to a further adjournment of the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Drainage Bill till Friday.

MR. W. H. SMITH assented.

MR. W. O'BRIEN AND COLONEL SAUNDERSON — PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): I should like to raise a matter in the nature of a personal explanation. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) read a quotation last night from a speech of mine at Cork, and proceeded to state, after reading the quotation, that I spoke in a different sense, and I think in a contrary sense, before a Cork audience to the tone of my remarks in London. I had not any report of my speech at hand at the moment, but I have had an opportunity since of obtaining one; and, as I think the imputation of the hon. and gallant Gentleman hurtful and unjust, I shall ask leave of the House to read one or two sentences from what I said at Cork. I quote from *The Freeman's Journal* of June 20—

> "We are for conciliation with the English people. I say it here to-night before one of the most extreme audiences that could be assembled in Ireland, we are for conciliation, without one mental reservation, or without one thought of bitterness or vengeance for the past. I do not fear to say that before every Irish audience in America, and your cheers tell me I need not fear to repeat it here to-night. We long for conciliation, and the hand of friendship of Mr. Gladstone and the democracy of England stretched out to-day if grasped to-day by the whole Irish race throughout the world. Yes; it is easy to conciliate us to-day, but it is impossible to subdue us now or ever."

I will now leave the House to judge what truth there is in the allegation that I speak with one voice in Cork and with another voice in this House.

ORDER—THE CASE OF MISS CASS—THE MEMBERS FOR LANCASHIRE.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I desire to put a Question to the hon. Member for the Northern Division of Manchester (Mr. Schwann), of which I have given him private Notice. My attention has been called by more than one of my constituents to a speech which it is alleged the hon. Member delivered at the Free Trade Hall, in Manchester, on Wednesday last. The following is the passage in the hon. Gentleman's speech as reported in the newspapers, to which I wish to draw his attention:—

> "Although the Tories were jubilant at present, the time might soon come when, in vulgar language, they would laugh at the other side of their mouth. We might also find that the men who did not object to sacrifice the liberties of the Irish people would not object to sacrifice the liberties of the English people. Look at what took place on Tuesday night when the Government was put in a minority. He saw that 22 Lancashire Members—he supposed they were Conservatives—formed part of the minority. He desired to point out to Lancashire men that they sent Members to Parliament who did not object to see the daughters of the honest poor insulted in the streets. He hoped they would take due note of their names, and that the knowledge would penetrate into the dull intelligence of the Conservative working men."

I should like to ask the hon. Member, Whether he is correctly reported to have used these words with reference to the Members for Lancashire, who voted in the minority on Tuesday night, and may I express a hope that, on consideration, he may think fit to withdraw this language, bearing in mind that we meet here on terms of fairness, of courtesy, and of some mutual consideration?

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.): The words ascribed to me by the right hon. Baronet are, I believe, perfectly correct. I wish to state to the House that they constitute an inference which I drew from the vote of the minority—the real effect of their vote; but as I have learnt from you, Sir, that it is not proper, even outside this House, to refer to the assumed motives of hon. Members, I have to express my regret for having unwittingly transgressed the Rules of the House, or hurt the feelings of any of my Conservative Colleagues from Lancashire.

MR. FORREST FULTON (West Ham, N.): Does the hon. Gentleman include in his strictures the vote of the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), or of those Members on his own side of the House who——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The point is a personal question between the hon. Member and the right hon. Baronet, and I hope the matter will not be further pursued.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): This question is, I need hardly say, a matter of surprise to us Irish Members. May I ask you, Sir, if we take the trouble of directing your attention to language used in regard to us of a similar kind, whether you will extend to Irish Members the same protection?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The interruption of the hon. Member is irregular. When the Question was put to me by the right hon. Baronet, who showed me the statement of what was said by the hon. Member for the Northern Division of Manchester, I was naturally desirous to make peace between any hon. Members so far as I could. I suggested to the right hon. Baronet that he should make his statement in such a way as would allow the hon. Gentleman, without any reflection on his personal honour and character, to make such an explanation as I felt sure he would make under the circumstances. I consider that the hon. Member has made a statement which is satisfactory to the right hon. Baronet and to the House, and I hope the House will not take any further notice of a matter which is purely personal between two hon. Members.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 305.]

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.*)

THIRD READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [7th July], "That the Bill be now read the third time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Gladstone,*)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) said, the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster), who spoke last night, at any rate paid the arguments they had urged against the Bill the compliment of seriously trying to refute them; but he (Mr. Bryce) did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman had succeeded in demolishing those arguments. The hon. and learned Gentleman was, for instance, very far from appreciating the force of the reasons which led them to believe that the 2nd clause did create new crime. It was hard to make a technical matter of this kind perfectly clear in this discussion; but he must remind the House that the law with regard to conspiracy, as it stood in England until the passing of the Trades Union Act of 1875, and as it appeared now to stand in Ireland for everything not covered by that Act, was a very vague law. Their contention had been that the principal reason and motive of the Statute of 1875 applied with no less force to agricultural disputes in Ireland than it applied as between employer and workman in England. The morality of the matter was the same, and the considerations of expediency were the same; and they said that, after the Act of 1875 in England, no English Judge—if a similar case arose in an agricultural dispute—would venture to press the law as it stood before 1875, and to apply it in the case of an agricultural dispute in England. But by this Bill they were re-enacting that objectionable law, and that was the point which the hon. and learned Attorney General failed to meet. In that sense a new offence was created, and if he added to that the provision of the 4th subsection as to incitement, they would see what a large stretch the law received by the Bill. This provision appeared to be expressly aimed at the case of persons who, in speech or newspaper, should endeavour to justify any combination of tenants. He did not know any case in England in which it had been held that to advocate such a combination would be deemed a punishable offence. There was another point upon which the hon. and learned Attorney General endeavoured to meet the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). The hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Lord Lieutenant did not make an act a crime by proclaiming it, because the crime was to be punished by the Courts. But the Bill laid down that, if the Lord Lieutenant was satisfied that an association existed for certain purposes, he might declare membership in that association to be a crime. The crime existed in the impression of the Lord Lieutenant, recorded in his declaration that it was a crime—that was, merely in the impression in the Lord Lieutenant's own mind; and what was the mind of the Lord Lieutenant? His right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian had said that it was the mind of the Chief Secretary. It was not even that. It was the mind of some lawyer in Dublin Castle—whom they were not able to get at—and they had had experience of the way in which lawyers in Dublin, from the Lord Chancellor downwards, administered Acts of this kind. The hon. and learned Attorney General said that these offences would be punished by the Courts and not by the Lord Lieutenant. Yes; but if a case came before the Court, what had the Court got to ask? They had merely to ask—Did the prisoner take part in this association, and was the association mentioned in the Lord Lieutenant's Proclamation? Judgment did not follow from the finding of the jury upon the character of the association, but merely from the finding of the jury that the defendant had taken part in the proceedings of that association which the Lord Lieutenant by his own proper motion made criminal. Then the hon. and learned Attorney General, repeating an observation made earlier in the evening by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), said the discussions on this Bill were not directed solely against those provisions which were capable of being perverted to interfere with political liberty. He (Mr. Bryce) supposed the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to the lengthy discussions on the 1st clause; but the 1st clause was ancillary to all the rest of the Bill. It was because the exceptional powers given for investigation might be applied so as to aid prosecutions for acts which were not really crimes that a minute and lengthy opposition had been given by the Irish Members to the 1st clause. Besides, the hon. and learned Attorney General was out of court on that point. The clause, before it had left the Committee, had swollen from a few lines to three pages, with Amendments which the force of argument compelled the Government to adopt; and, therefore, the time was not wasted which was spent on the 1st clause. He was glad to pass from those somewhat hackneyed points, and make one or two parting observations upon the Bill. It would no longer be capable of amendment in this House; it certainly was not likely to be amended in "another place," for the other House generally considered it to be its function to make seven times hotter any furnace prepared in this House. Nothing was left to them but to put on record the grounds on which they should ask the people of this country to condemn the Bill and the authors of the Bill. The Bill was opposed on three grounds. The first objection to it was that it was an unequal Bill, which destroyed the equal citizenship of Irishmen with Englishmen, which cut away the very ground on which hon. Gentlemen opposite relied—namely, that this was a United Kingdom, and that the same laws ought to be passed for England, Ireland, and Scotland by a United Parliament. The second main objection to it was because it was a permanent Bill. It did not come before them with excuses. It was not intended to tide over exceptional circumstances; but it was enacted as a permanent addition to the Criminal

Code of Ireland. It would be in the power of the House of Lords to keep this Bill always on the Statute Book—a weapon always ready, sharp, and burnished, for the hand of any Conservative Government. It continued that demoralization of the Irish Executive, who had been too long accustomed to rely on exceptional powers, who had not learned, as the Italian statesman said, to govern without a state of siege, and who had lost the sense of the ordinary and natural government of a free country. And the third ground of objection to the Bill was that it was a Bill of a thoroughly despotic tendency. It gave powers too large even for a wise Executive. And what was the Irish Executive? It was an Executive which combined nearly every evil which an Executive Government could have. It was a shifting Executive—how many Lord Lieutenants and Chief Secretaries had there been in Ireland during the last seven years—how many Chief Secretaries belonging even to the same Party, but with different policies—and it had the great disadvantage of being more out of touch with public opinion than, he should think, any other Executive in the world—at least in a free country. It was out of touch with the public opinion of England, because it lived in Ireland in the recesses of the Castle; and it was out of touch with the public opinion of Ireland, because it was anti-National in its whole spirit. The Irish Executive was so far local that it had not got the traditions and the spirit of English justice to guide it. It was not accustomed to submit its acts to public opinion, as was the case in regard to English administration in this country, where, as had recently been shown, one apparent abuse of power in regard to a single individual had raised public opinion and this House in arms. The Irish Executive was not subject to public opinion in this way. But, though in some degree local, it had not the advantages that spring from a local Executive. It was not in sympathy with local feeling or anxious to meet local needs. He had been told the other day by an Irish Tory landlord that the Government was already believed in Ireland to be weak, and commanded little confidence there, because, if not, they would not have had recourse to exceptional powers, but to a more energetic administration of the ordinary law. He knew that hon. Members opposite were told by their landlord friends to bring in this Bill, because if the Government had not vigour of its own the Bill would give them vigour. But if they were to ask the wisest men in Ireland they would be told that if they relied upon the ordinary law, and put it in force with all the vigour and constancy at their command, they would find it amply sufficient for their purposes. He had mentioned on the occasion of the second reading—and he had not since addressed the House—that they were not discussing the Bill as if it were the first Bill of the kind; and it was rather remarkable that, in the course of the long debates since, there had been scarcely any reference on the other side of the House to any previous experience of the working of the law, with the exception of occasional recriminations against the Opposition in respect to the Bills of 1881 and 1882. Now, coercion in Ireland had a history which extended backwards beyond 1881. This history began with the year 1800, and, in fact, farther back than that; for the Irish Parliament between 1782 and 1800 had also passed Coercion Bills. They had been reminded of the fact that the old Irish Parliament had passed Coercion Bills; but it was a landlord Parliament—an exclusively Protestant Parliament. The Irishman of the day might, however, say, in the famous words of Byron—

> "Our tyrants then
> Were still, at least, our countrymen."

He asked hon. Members opposite if they had taken the pains to study and consider the history of coercion in Ireland since 1800? They were told that the richer classes and the educated classes in this country were in favour of the policy of the Government. He was not disposed to admit that there was any superior authority in the opinion of the richer classes, and what those classes called their education very often had the effect chiefly of filling people with the vain conceit of their own knowledge, and with a false notion of their own competence to discuss questions offhand which required a great deal of minute and careful study and consideration. He was not prepared to admit that because men belonged to the upper classes, as they were called, that they were likely to be wiser or better fitted to judge difficult and complex questions which required a great deal of special knowledge and of special study. They had had some experience in England of the attitude of superior persons towards the great causes which had been fought among us during the last 20 or 30 years. The upper classes sympathized with the Southern States of America in the war of Secession. They sided with Austria against Italy in the long struggle for Italian national freedom. They went out of their way to show how entirely they had condoned the offences of Louis Napoleon. In the case of the Reform Bill of 1866, the upper classes — and conspicuously the upper classes in London—received with rapture the fervid declamations of Mr. Robert Lowe against the extension of the franchise. In days still more recent there was a large majority of the so-called educated classes who approved the monstrous folly of the Anglo-Turkish Convention and the wanton wickedness of the Afghan War. If a *plébiscite* had been taken in the London Clubs in 1878 both those acts of Lord Beaconsfield's Government would have been approved by large majorities, and he was afraid the University Clubs would have given no wiser judgment than the other clubs. How many of the persons who spoke so confidently upon these Irish measures had been to Ireland, or, being in Ireland, had tried to see the people, or get out of the little landlord circle in which most English visitors moved when they went to Ireland? How many had gone over the Irish history of the last century, and had tried to understand the causes of this perpetually-recurring discontent? He ventured to contend, in the teeth of all this appeal to the upper classes, that both logic and history were on their side. First, as to logic. They had given in 1884 an enlarged representation to the people of Ireland. They had given a franchise which, considering the condition of the country, was really more liberal than in England; and they, in redistributing the seats in Ireland, had continued to Ireland rather more than her share in the numerical representation. And now, when they had made that gift to Ireland, had invited the opinion of the Irish people, and had received the answer of the Irish people, they refused to listen to their Representatives. Some hon. Gentlemen actually made it a ground of complaint against the Opposition that, in considering what measure of self-government would satisfy Ireland, the Opposition had felt bound to pay some regard to the opinion of the Irish people expressed by five-sixths of their Representatives. Hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to think that this was a question that ought to be settled without considering the feeling of the Irish Representatives. What, then, was representation for? To escape from this dilemma, the Conservative Party had invented the theory that in Ireland half the people were coerced by the National League and by agitation. It must be a curious agitation which had been able, in one form or another, to sustain itself for nearly 90 years, and had been able, as the National League now was, to thrive against all the wealth as it was said, against all the education as it was said, and all the powers of administration in Ireland. There must be some real ground of discontent, or the League could not have such power. They had in another part of Europe a state of affairs which was parallel to what they had in Ireland. There had been for two or three years a struggle going on in Bulgaria between the great bulk of the Bulgarian nation and a comparatively small part of it which desired Russian influence to be paramount. The Bulgarian people had asserted themselves, and continued to assert themselves, and had demanded national independence. But while the whole body of the Bulgarian people were of this opinion, the Russians, on the contrary, were fully persuaded that the leaders of the Bulgarian national movement were only a handful of conspirators who were endeavouring to crush the voice of the people. The Russian people believed what they were taught by the Russian newspapers in the teeth of all the facts. So it was with some of us. The supporters of the Government continued to believe, in the teeth of the evidence, that the Irish people were harassed by wicked agitators who had managed in some mysterious way to maintain their agitation for 90 years against the real wish of the Irish people. That which the so-called Unionist Party really desired was to extinguish the national feeling of Ireland, and there had been some candid, and perhaps unintended, admissions of that fact. There was a remarkable letter purporting to emanate from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) in which that admission was candidly made. This Bill would, no doubt, practically suppress freedom of speech in Ireland. But it did not go far enough. It would not have any effect upon freedom of speech in the House of Commons. Irish Members would still be able to say whatever they liked, and any denunciations of the Government or of the landlords, which they indulged in, and the Press would carry on its wings the speeches made in that House openly and freely throughout every village in Ireland. Why did not the Government silence the voice of hon. Members in that House? Why did they not take away Irish representation, which was useless if they were not going to listen to it? The action of the Government had been often compared to putting a man in a strait-waistcoat. But while putting on the strait waistcoat they were leaving one of the patient's arms free. Let them have the courage of their opinions. Let them go through with their policy. If they were going to disregard the voice of Irish representation let them get rid of it, and let them govern Ireland as a Crown Colony. When the discussions on this Home Rule Question began, he had asked one of the most learned men in this country—indeed, one of the most learned men in Europe—he was a Member of the other House of Parliament—on what ground he would base his argument for Irish self-government? He replied "that he should base it on the ground of history, because he considered the argument of history to be absolutely overwhelming." He (Mr. Bryce) believed that must be the conclusion that any unbiassed mind who studied the history of Ireland for the last 100 years must come to. Irish history showed that these Coercion Bills had not subdued and quieted the country; that they had destroyed the grace and the healing power which ought to go with concession; that they had made law and order not loved but hated by the people; and that they had brought us no nearer to that peace and unity on which the greatness of the Empire must ultimately depend. He must insist upon this point, because it appeared to him that the argument from history was the supreme argument—the beginning and end of the whole matter. He asked hon. Gentlemen opposite to point out what ground of hope they had for better results from this Coercion Bill than from one of its predecessors. The House was naturally suspicious of prophecies, for it heard a great many; but the Liberal Party had made a prediction last year that if the Government of the day refused self-government to Ireland they would be driven to coercion as the only alternative. Hon. Gentlemen opposite and some hon. Gentlemen who sat near him derided that prophecy at the time, and declared that coercion would not be necessary. But the prophecy had come true, and he ventured now to lay before the House another prophecy, which was not a very bold one to make in view of the history of Ireland since the Union, and that was that this Bill must fail, because it had not even the advantages that the previous Bills had had. Previous Coercion Bills had been supported by both English Parties. The courage of those who supported them had not been broken by successive defeats at English bye-elections. The policy embodied in these Bills was, to a considerable extent, supported by Irish Representatives; certainly it had never been opposed, as this Bill was, by five-sixths of the Irish Members. How long did they think this new coercion policy would last? The Government could have no confidence in the permanency of their policy. They could not tell whether they would be in a power a few months hence. Their feet were not planted on a rock; they were standing on a whirling globe like that on which the Greek fable made Fortune stand, balancing themselves with difficulty on it, and liable to be overset by a hundred accidents. If the Government thought that the country would pardon such mistakes as they might make in administration, in domestic legislation, or in foreign policy, merely for the sake of supporting a plan of coercion in Ireland, which was not even submitted to the people at the last General Election, and had never received their approval—if they thought that merely for the sake of keeping a Tory Ministry in power every error would be condoned and forgiven they were sadly mistaken. He had endeavoured to show that logic was with those who opposed this Bill; he had also shown that history was with them, even recent history, the history of 1884 and 1885, that famous year of Tory surrender. He repented that this was not a case, as was alleged, of education against sentiment; it was a case of reason and experience against prejudice, arrogance, and fear. This was a very solemn moment for the Irish people. The Bill to which they were to be subjected was doubly wanton because it was not justified or required by the state of Ireland, and because it was foredoomed to failure. But there was a new factor in the problem. They on the Opposition side of the House, at least most of them, who stood by the oldest and best traditions of the Liberal Party —[*Ministerial Cries of* "Oh, oh!"]—yes; those traditions which had not disregarded national feeling, which regarded it as the duty of every Government to be, like our Throne, "broad based upon the people's will," and which held that, wherever there was discontent from year to year and from century to century, there were deep-lying causes which ought to be got at and removed—those were the traditions they stood by, and in the spirit of those traditions they had assured the Irish people of their sympathy and help. The Irish people were about to be subjected to harsh government, to be administered by Dublin lawyers and country magistrates, neither of whom the Irish people had much reason to trust. Coercive policy had hitherto been generally followed by more bitter hatred between the two countries, by outrages, and by secret and often deadly conspiracies. They could not be sure that they might not be followed by the same results now. But he hoped the Irish people would refrain from outrage, and especially from those secret conspiracies which had been the darkest chapter in Irish history. Let them be sure that the Liberal Party in England would not desert the policy they had adopted. There were differences on the Liberal side as regarded the particular form the self-government to be given to Ireland should take. They hoped by amicable consultation to settle and remove those difficulties, and bring about a more general re-union of all who believed in self-government than was possible a year ago. But whatever minor differences there might be on such points, they were, at any rate, perfectly united in their opposition to this Bill. There was no doubt about that. There were no difficulties to be settled there. The principle was plain and clear. Upon that they would stand or fall—upon that line they would fight. He therefore hoped and trusted that the Irish people would recover their courage and their confidence—that they would prove, by the self-restraint with which they would conduct themselves even after the passing of this Bill, that they understood and felt the new spirit of friendship in which the English Liberal Party purposed to treat them. He should like to say to the Irish Members and to the Irish people—"Time is on our side." All the chances and changes which happen in human affairs, and which have overthrown Governments far stronger, both in numerical majority and in their intellectual power, than the Government they saw before them—these were on their side. The moral forces of the world — [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"]—yes, Sir; the forces which had made Europe now different from what it was at the date of the Treaty of Vienna, the forces which had everywhere recognized in one form or another the sentiment of nationality, which had advanced the liberties of the masses of the people, and which had made self-government more general, and the rights of the citizen everywhere more secure—all the forces which made for amity, peace, and freedom—these were on their side; and they were forces which, in the long run, would prevail. Therefore it was that he entreated the Irish people to be patient, because he believed that patience would be rewarded by victory.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): Mr. Speaker, I feel that anyone who rises to address the House at this stage owes to it something in the nature of an excuse, and ought to have something of a practical character to say after the long and protracted debates which have already taken place upon this Bill; and I can assure hon. Members who are present to hear me that it is not in the slightest degree because I believe it is in my power to add anything to the arguments which have been urged so frequently upon the consideration of Parliament in support of this measure that I venture to rise and say a very few words on the last stage of the Bill. It is solely because I fully recognize that as we have often been told in the progress of these debates, every portion of the majority which has supported this measure has and must bear a great responsibility for the action it has taken, and inasmuch as that majority has been composed, to a certain extent, of the Party with which I have the honour of being connected and of acting, I do not wish that there should be the slightest doubt or hesitation in expressing the full sense of the responsibility which we bear for the part which we have taken. I think it is our duty to take this final opportunity of saying that we are as fully convinced, after all the debates that have taken place—after the discussion upon the introduction, on the second reading, and in Committee on this Bill—of the necessity and the expediency of the provisions it contains as we were at the first introduction of the Bill. Now, I shall not attempt to follow the able, but somewhat academical, speech which has just been addressed to us by my hon. Friend (Mr. Bryce). I think that my hon. Friend carried the argument about the judgment of the upper and the more educated classes, as compared with that of the less educated classes, a little further than it has usually been carried, and it did strike me that he was a somewhat remarkable champion to espouse the cause of ignorance against education. We are told—we were constantly told, Sir—that one of the elements in this case to which we ought to pay the greatest attention is the opinion of the civilized world, and that the opinion of the civilized world condemns the action of England and its relations with Ireland. We also heard last night how that opinion of the civilized world is expressed—that the permanent and lasting exponent of the opinion of the civilized world is the literature of the civilized world. We are, therefore, to understand that, as regards the judgment which is to be delivered upon the English policy towards Ireland, the opinion of the educated classes, who are, I suppose, the classes who produce that literature, is to be conclusive on this subject, and upon that judgment thus delivered we are to rely so long as those authors and writers do not belong to the British people. The people of the cultivated class throughout the world, and the opinion of the educated classes all over the world, is the opinion of the civilized world; and that, we are told, condemns us, and their verdict we are to bow to. But we are also told that the opinion of the educated classes among ourselves is the opinion not of a really educated class, but of a class which is only distinguished by its self-sufficiency and its shallowness. We have, however, never appealed to the opinion of the upper or educated classes, or to the opinions of any particular class in this country as conclusive on this question; but we have argued, and we shall continue to argue, that the opinion of those classes, who have, at all events, much more time and better opportunities of studying the historical questions which are involved in these discussions, is an element which is not to be neglected. We shall, therefore, continue to feel some confidence that we are in the right way so long as we are supported by the opinion of those classes. We shall not consider that the mere fact of being supported by those classes is sufficient to condemn them, because, as my hon. Friend went on to say, they are always in the wrong. He further went on to say that he thought the historical argument on this question much the strongest argument. Does my hon. Friend think that the educated classes are absolutely incapable of appreciating the historical argument, and that the great mass of the electors of the country are in a better position to form sound views of the history of the relations between England and Ireland than the educated classes whose opinion he condemns? But I wish to say a few words on the passing of the third reading of this Bill. The sole question now is, whether this House is to decide that this Bill is to pass as it stands? It is no longer a question whether it contains any unnecessary or any too stringent provisions. If it does contain any such provisions which have not been adequately discussed in the course of these debates, the fault cetainly does not lie with the Government, but rests with the Opposition. It cannot be denied that in the discussions of this Bill ample time has been given for a full and superabundant discussion of every one of those points on which my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition last night rested his final condemnation and denunciation of this measure. My right hon. Friend said he would not refer to the character of the opposition which has been offered to this Bill. Perhaps my right hon. Friend was well advised in taking that course. It seems to me that the Opposition have either done too much or not enough. They began by denouncing the measure before they had ever seen a single provision it contained. They conducted two protracted second-reading debates before the Bill was laid on the Table of the House. They conducted another long debate on the second reading, which was partly of the nature of a second-reading debate, partly of the nature of a discussion in Committee, and partly of the nature of a third-reading debate; and up to the time when the House separated for the Whitsuntide Recess my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian took various opportunities of palliating, if not of justifying, the character of the opposition which had been offered to this Bill by the Party that sits on the other side of the House from Ireland. When the House returned after that Recess, my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), seeming to have some suspicion that the discussion had gone beyond the limits of the patience and forbearance of the country, did make a single, a first, and, I believe, a last attempt, in which he was supported by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), somewhat to limit the character of this discussion. But that suggestion of my right hon. Friend was absolutely rejected by the Irish Members below the Gangway. [" No, no!"] The offer was made nevertheless. It never, to my knowledge, was renewed, and the rejection of that advice did not make, so far as I am aware, and has not made, so far as I know, the slightest change in the attitude which has been taken by my right hon. Friend and his Colleagues towards the Irish Party. It has not made the slightest change in their attitude towards the Government, nor has the rejection of their advice induced them to give to the Government, or to the majority, the slightest assistance in shortening or putting an end to this debate. Well, Sir, I say my right hon. Friend is hardly entitled to take the credit of this barren protest, which has had no effect whatever on the conduct either of his own Friends, or, as far as I am able to see, on himself, and which, at the same time, only went to justify the action which had been taken by the Irish Party. Nay, more, in the last observations which my right hon. Friend made on this subject, I thought he actually went to the extent of applauding the Irish Members for having rejected his advice. He told them that if a Bill of this character had been introduced to apply to the county of Derby, he would have resisted it as the Irish Members have resisted this measure, and that he would have been entirely indifferent to the accusations of obstruction brought against him. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] My right hon. Friend cheers that declaration. Then I want to know why he thought it necessary, at an earlier period of this discussion, to suggest to the Irish Members that the discussion should not be carried on, or carried on in a more limited manner? Therefore it is we say that the Opposition has done too much in this matter, or it has not done enough; and, instead of exhorting the Irish Opposition to restrict discussion on this Bill, they ought either to have boldly supported them, or avowed that they would support them in any amount of obstruction to this Bill. My right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian said last night that the debates on this Bill might have been greatly shortened if the character of the Bill had been altered, if it had been reduced to what, in his judgment, was a real Crimes Bill, and had followed out the rule of such Bills in not attempting to interfere with political combinations. That conjecture has not received much support from the actual progress of the debate. My hon. Friend who has just spoken (Mr. Bryce) has admitted the fact that the 1st clause, which does not deal with political combinations at all, was a clause very similar to the clause contained in the Act of 1882, and yet that was the clause which received the longest and most protracted scrutiny.

MR. BRYCE: My point is that the reason why the discussion was protracted on the 1st clause was because the machinery supplied by it was to be used for all the other clauses of the Bill, to which we objected.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: My hon. Friend has interpolated in my speech exactly what I was going to say.

But I ask him whether he considers that is a proper way to discuss measures in this House? Does he consider himself justified in discussing at enormous length a clause, which is, as he says, ancillary to something which is to come subsequently? If so, would it not have been more in accordance with the Orders and the traditions of this House that the provisions of the Bill to which my hon. Friend takes direct exception should be debated on the clauses where they occur and are directly raised than to discuss them on other clauses; and that indirect discussions on the 1st clause should not be resorted to, because there are parts of the Bill to which exception is to be taken? We are asked to reject this Bill on two grounds—first, because my right hon. Friend said that a Bill against crime was, at the present time, unnecessary in Ireland; and, further, that this was not a Bill against crime, but a Bill which created new crimes and offences—a Bill different in character and scope from all previous legislation of such a character. Well now, Sir, the position of my right hon. Friend is not quite clear. My right hon. Friend referred to a forecast which he made last year, when he told the House that coercion would be the alternative to the adoption of a Home Rule policy. Does my right hon. Friend hold that that forecast has been realized, or that it has not? Does he think that, notwithstanding the rejection of the Home Rule Bill, there is no necessity for a Crimes Bill in the present year, and that, therefore, his forecast of last year was an erroneous one; or does he think it has been realized, and that in consequence of the rejection of that Bill a coercion measure is required? And when a measure of this sort is, as he prophesies, the only alternative to the adoption of his own policy, I can understand that he is justified in opposing this Bill if he wishes the House still to adopt his alternative; but he cannot be astonished and surprised if we, who thought those proposals were absolutely inadmissible and likely to produce greater evils to the country and to Ireland than coercion, should be driven to resort to the alternative which he himself told us would be the necessary consequence of the rejection of his Home Rule scheme. My right hon. Friend says that the ground on which he asks us to reject this Bill is that there is no crime in Ireland which necessitates or justifies the introduction of a Crimes Bill. I deny altogether that the prevalence of the increase of agrarian crime is the only justification for Parliament resorting to a measure of an exceptional character; and I deny that it has ever been held to be the only justification. It is perfectly true that the Act of 1882 was, perhaps, stringent. Its introduction was hastened—perhaps it was carried—on account of the exceptional amount of agrarian crime which prevailed in Ireland, and that it was still further strengthened and hastened by the occurrence of a crime of a singularly atrocious character. But that Bill was in preparation by the late Government long before that event, and it was not aimed solely, any more than this Bill, at agrarian crime. That Bill was aimed, as this Bill is aimed, at the proceedings of the National League, and at the Boycotting which is the weapon of the National League. That Bill was aimed not, as my right hon. Friend contends, solely at agrarian crime, but at the intimidation which is the result of the proceedings of the National League. Sir, the provision in that Act against intimidation includes any words spoken or act done in order to, or calculated to, put any person in fear of any injury or danger to himself or to any member of his family, or to any person in his employment, or in fear of any injury to or loss of his property, or his means of living. That definition was not aimed at the prevalence of agrarian crime in Ireland; but it was aimed at that intimidation carried on by the National League, which I defy my right hon. Friend to say is now practised in a less degree than it was practised at the moment when that Bill was passed. If the Act of 1882 stepped short at the provisions aimed at acts of actual intimidation—if it contained no such provision as the present Bill does, aimed at conspiracy to intimidate — my firm conviction is that that was owing to the fact that it was considered at that time that it would be sufficient to strike at acts of intimidation, and that it was not necessary to deal with conspiracy or combination to intimidate. At all events, in the discussions on that Bill nothing was heard in palliation or extenuation of the proceedings of the National League, or of the Boycotting which it practised; and never was it suggested by any of those who are now sitting near me, and with whom I was then associated, that the National League and its practices as to exclusive dealing—its combinations for promoting exclusive dealing—were the only powers which the poorer tenantry of Ireland had for protecting themselves. These are considerations which it is absolutely necessary for anyone to bear in mind who would understand the reasons for the introduction of this Bill and the necessity for the provisions which it contains. It has been said in the course of the debate that no Government would dare to introduce a similar measure for England. The necessity for it does not exist in England; and, therefore, it would be a wanton, unnecessary, and gratuitous act to introduce for England a measure for which there is no necessity. My right hon. Friend speaks of the National League as a combination to promote the practice of exclusive dealing. He then proceeds to a general condemnation of the practice of exclusive dealing, and he invariably goes on to speak of it as being practised in some parts of England, and also as being practised, to a considerable extent, by Protestants in Ireland towards Protestant Home Rulers; and he cited instances of that exclusive dealing as being analogous to the exclusive dealing encouraged by the National League. Now our position is this—that there is no resemblance whatever between the practice of exclusive dealing as prevailing in England and Ireland, in the instances referred to by my right hon. Friend, and the exclusive dealing habitually resorted to by the National League. Voluntary combinations to give preference to political adherents and political friends may be a very objectionable proceeding; but, whether they are objectionable or not, they differ absolutely from the proceedings that take place under the sanction of the National League, and from the practices to which that League resorts. We are told, as I have said before, that we dare not apply a measure of this sort to England. Well, when we are told that, let us attempt to conceive —though it is not easy to conceive—a case of a Primrose League in some part of England, where they are in a very large majority, adopting the policy and the methods of the Irish National League. Does the Primrose League hold courts, and summon before it its own members, or other persons, and examine them as to their transactions in business and their relations with other individuals? Does it take evidence and pass sentences, and does it enforce those sentences? Does it enforce those sentences by inflicting similar penalties to those inflicted by the National League on all persons who do not pay attention to their decrees, and by means which are unknown in this country? If any instances of such practices on the part of the Primrose League can be adduced, I wonder why some Member on this side of the House has not been found to bring them forward. I should have thought they would only have been too glad to do so. But I go a step further, and I ask whether the Primrose League has been ever known in England to exercise its intimidation upon juries where the proceedings of the Primrose League have been brought before the tribunals of the country? I maintain that if any such state of things could be found to exist in relation to the Primrose League, in any single part of England, such as I have described in connection with the proceedings of the National League in Ireland—I cannot say whether Parliament would think it necessary to interfere or not, because that might depend upon the relative strength of the aggressor and the aggrieved—but if there were any such proceedings in any corner of England, there would be an immediate demand made on the Legislature for its interference in order to protect the victims of such tyranny, and the sense of the great majority of the impartial people of this country would cheerfully support any legislative interference which might be required to protect the minority. I deny, therefore, altogether that the prevalence of agrarian crime is the only ground that can justify Parliament in legislation of this kind, and I maintain that an amply sufficient ground for it has been admitted by former Parliaments in the existence of an organized tyranny that attempts to administer a law of its own—a law not in accordance with the law of the land, and a law intended and devised for the purpose of defeating and overthrowing the law which has been framed and established by Parliament. The next ground on which my right hon. Friend invited the House to reject this Bill is that under the Bill new crimes have been created. New crimes, I understand him to say, have been created by the 2nd as well as by the 6th and 7th clauses. As to the 2nd clause, my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, who will be admitted to be a legal authority of some weight, absolutely denies that any new crime has been created by the 2nd clause of the Bill. And I must say that to my mind, not being a lawyer, it does appear to be impossible to conceive how a new crime can have been created by the 1st sub-section of the 2nd clause since the introduction of the words "now punishable by law." How is it possible that any acts subsequently enumerated in that sub-section should hereafter be held to be crimes, when it is distinctly stated in the second line of the sub-section that it only applies to acts which are "now punishable by law?" Sir, it seems to me that upon legal authority, and on the ordinary common-sense view of the matter, it cannot be contended that new crimes are created by the 1st sub-section. And if it is contended that any new crime is created by the 2nd sub-section of the 2nd clause exactly the same imputation can be brought against the Crimes Act of my right hon. Friend himself, for this sub-section has, I believe, been taken, word for word, from the Crimes Act of 1882. Then my right hon. Friend says that new crimes are created in a certain sense by the 6th and 7th clauses of this Bill. But I maintain that the Act of 1882, for which my right hon. Friend is responsible, contains provisions which have exactly the same aim and object, although the method adopted was a different one. The 9th section of that Act made it an offence under the Act to be a member of an unlawful association as defined by that Act, and in the definition of an unlawful association I find every unlawful association which is formed for the commission of crime; and the expression "crime," for the purposes of the section, means any crime punishable upon indictment by imprisonment with hard labour. Under that provision, any member of the National League might, at the discretion of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction, be sentenced to imprisonment by a magistrate, upon his definition of what an illegal association was. And after all that we have heard, and the opinion that is held on this side of the House as to the legal capacity of Irish Resident Magistrates, it seems to me that equal protection is given by this Bill, which requires that the definition of an unlawful association proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant should be submitted to the review of this House, to that given under the Act of 1882 by the review of the decision of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction. Therefore, I say, though technically it is quite possible to maintain that new offences have been created by the Bill, the objects aimed at are precisely the same as those aimed at by the Act of 1882. I say the Act of 1882 was not framed entirely with respect to agrarian crime. It was aimed to strike at the unlawful interference practiced, or supposed to be practiced, by the National League at the time, and the provisions of this Bill are aimed at similar proceedings, undoubtedly carried on by that Association. My right hon. Friend said the other day—

> "We have never given over to an Executive officer like Lord Castlereagh, or a Secretary for Ireland like Mr. Balfour, the power of determining the innocence or guilt of an individual with reference to belonging to particular associations, and of cancelling that right which essentially attaches to him as a British subject, the right to a judicial hearing of his case; and the carrying over of what are now questions of law and right into the chamber of the Executive Government, to be dealt with secretly, according to their interests or their views, is a fundamental change, and Lord Hartington has no right to say that any one of us for a moment ever gave countenance to a principle which, from the bottom of our hearts, we abominate and detest."

When my right hon. Friend made that statement, he must have forgotten that he was the author not only of the Act of 1882, but of the Act of 1881. The Act of 1881 gave to his own Executive officers power to imprison men without trial before any judicial authority, without a hearing of their case before a Court of Law, for any offence of which the Lord Lieutenant might choose to suspect him. When we are told that the fact that this Bill places a power in the hands of the Executive Government not even remotely approaching that which was so energetically exercised under the Act of 1881, I cannot help thinking my right hon. Friend must have allowed his love of argument somewhat to overpower his memory and judgment, and that he can scarcely urge the fact that such a power is contained in this Bill as a conclusive reason why the House should reject it. Since my right hon. Friend and those who support him have adopted a different principle of government for Ireland, if they have discovered, as my hon. Friend who has just spoken has said, "a more excellent way," of course they are entitled to resist not only this Bill, but any Bill which introduces exceptional legislation for Ireland, and increases the power of the Executive. But what I cannot understand is why they should not be satisfied with condemning coercion as an alternative to their policy in the abstract, and why they should seek to prejudice the consideration of this measure, which really does not differ in any essential particular from Acts passed by my right hon. Friend himself, by imputing to it all sorts of high crimes and misdemeanours which it does not contain, and with which in reality it has no concern. My right hon. Friend last night, in the eloquent conclusion of his speech, asked what we were contending for. He asked whether we considered the condition of Ireland, after 700 years connection with England, so satisfactory and honourable that the maintenance of the Union was worth fighting for any further? ["No, no!"] I do not want to misrepresent my right hon. Friend; but he asked us whether we considered the state of Ireland satisfactory or honourable, and whether the existing relations between England and Ireland were worth the special effort of the Conservative Party, or of any portion of the Liberal Party, to maintain by fighting for them? I altogether deny that the state of Ireland is so unsatisfactory and dishonourable to this country or the British Government as my right hon. Friend contends. It is not so very long since I heard my right hon. Friend describe the vast strides in her material and moral condition which Ireland had made. But, granted that the relations between Great Britain and Ireland are neither satisfactory nor honourable to us, I cannot help thinking when my right hon. Friend was making that eloquent appeal he went a great deal further than he ought to have done to induce us to vote for the alternative he laid before us. If my right hon. Friend had convinced himself that separation between the two countries was the only way to put an end—[*Loud Home Rule cries of* "No, no!"] I say "if." [*Renewed cries of* "No!"] I am very well acquainted with the power of contradiction of hon. Members, but I do not know how those powers can extend to an "if." I say if my right hon. Friend had convinced himself that separation was the only way of bringing to a conclusion the unsatisfactory relations between Great Britain and Ireland the appeal made to us last night might have been made in the same words as he used. But my right hon. Friend admits that separation is impracticable, and physically impossible, and that he will not be a party to it. I think, therefore, I may put it to the House, and even to my right hon. Friend himself, that if we believe, however wrongfully or wilfully, the policy which the right hon. Gentleman recommends will lead to separation, surely we are entitled to treat his demands upon us in exactly the same way as the right hon. Gentleman himself would treat a demand for absolute separation. We believe that the policy which my right hon. Friend is urging upon us, no doubt honourably and conscientiously, is a policy which will lead to that separation which my right hon. Friend repudiates. Having that belief, we are entitled to act upon the conviction we hold, and to do as the right hon. Gentleman himself would, if separation was the only alternative, and so to strengthen the law of the United Kingdom as to afford protection to every member of the community, in whatever portion of the United Kingdom his lot may be cast.

MR. CROSSLEY (York, W.R., Sowerby) said, that if they were to consult the feelings of hon. Gentlemen opposite, they would pass the third reading of the Bill without criticism or discussion, and it was because they felt it to be their duty to offer every opposition to the measure that they took part in the debate. In appealing to the country 12 months ago, the Conservative Party had not informed it that they intended to bring in a Coercion Bill. They had not promised a Coercion Bill. They had not said it was necessary—indeed, some of their most staunch supporters had gone so far as to say that the condition of Ireland was such that no coercion would be necessary. When Parliament met in the autumn, and when the Leader of the National Party in Ireland put in an earnest claim on behalf of the distressed tenantry of Ireland, the Government turned a deaf ear to his evidence and his warning, and since then they had been reaping the consequences of their neglect. What had Parliament done this year? It began with coercion; it said it would stand or fall by coercion, and that remedial measures might take their chance for all they cared. When the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was first brought in, it was expected that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would justify it by producing ample evidence of excessive crime; but all the right hon. Gentleman was able to say was that some parts of Ireland were in a state of great agitation on account of unjust evictions and of unjust rents, and all the remonstrances from the Opposition side of the House was met by the parrot cry—"It is the duty of the Government to preserve law and order." But what was this "law and order" which the Government considered it was their bounden duty to maintain? It meant the defence of a number of Shylocks, who demanded not only their pound of flesh, but every drop of life-blood which that flesh contained. It would be a hard thing to find on charging a man with burglary that the law of the land was on the side of the burglar. All this talk about "loyalty," "disloyalty," "rebellion," and so on, was just so much dust in the road. It irritated and even blinded the eye; but all that was wanted was the heavy rain of just legislation to clear the atmosphere. What they had to do was to deal with this serious question of the law affecting land, and it was because the Party opposite would not do that seriously that the House was troubled with this Coercion Bill. The Shylock landlords of Ireland had ruined the tenants, and he would say to them as to the future that, in regard to every pound of flesh they had exacted from the tenants, they should pay the tenants for every drop of life-blood it contained. They should be compelled to make restitution for every pound of rack-rent they had demanded from their tenants; and, if justice and equity were done, no doubt in a large number of cases the property would have to be handed over entirely from the landlords to the tenants. Any legislation to satisfy the Irish people must make fair and just rents a possibility for the tenants of Ireland. If they attempted to do that they would undertake a gigantic task, as the question of the position of the landlords was surrounded with great difficulties; but it would be better to deal with it, and act on the Report of their Commission, than to try to skim over the surface. There would be coercion for ever and ever so long as they neglected to go to the root of the evil. There lay the strength of the demand for Home Rule in Ireland, because this Parliament would not deal thoroughly with bad government in Ireland and the effect of unjust laws; but the House would find that it must have regard to justice and humanity as well as to law and order. Recently there was an extraordinary episode in the discussions upon this Bill, when hon. Members opposite endeavoured to show that it was impossible to find in that House a sufficient number of fair-minded and honourable men to deal with a simple question of the honour and privilege of the House. Now, however, they had no hesitation in placing in the hands of one hon. Gentleman the whole liberties of the Irish people. He looked upon this Coercion Billl as an instrument for undertaking a gigantic piece of Boycotting. The Government were going to endeavour to Boycott the National League, and they meant to put in its place, not a Constitutional League, but an Imperial League. The people of England would have to Boycott the Imperial League, and they were preparing to do it. The Liberals of England, who were staunch and true to their great Leader, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), were determined that they would not let this question rest until they had torn this legislation to shreds and tatters. He opposed it because he believed it would be disastrous to the Tory Party. He would infinitely prefer to see the Tory Party dealing with the Land Question in a manly way than dealing with coercion. He also opposed the Bill because he believed it would be disastrous to the Liberal Unionists. The Party on that side had been honeycombed by Liberal Unionists; but if this Bill passed they would soon be reduced in numbers, and those who remained would come back to the House wiser if not better men. The action of the Government in resorting to coercion and neglecting the real source of the evil afforded the strongest argument that could be used in favour of Home Rule; and he had no fear as to the loyalty of the Irish people, whose union with this country, he believed, would be truer, nobler, and more spontaneous than many hon. Members on both sides might possibly expect. Many hearts had been stirred by the question of justice to Ireland, perhaps more than by any other cause of political agitation. He protested against the Bill, and should vote against the third reading.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) said, he confessed he was surprised when he heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) on the previous night. He had never attempted to compare this Bill with the Acts of 1881 and 1882. Had he done so, the whole of the arguments upon which he rested his opposition to the Bill would have fallen to the ground. For his own part, he had never for a moment desisted from opposition to the views propounded by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite; and he had condemned any faltering whatever by one Government or another, from what he conceived to be the strict line of duty in reference to Irish government. He should like to go a step farther back in the retrospect than did the right hon. Gentleman, who chose a particular period as best suiting his own purpose. He would go back to 1847, when he knew Ireland well, and was engaged in carrying out what was necessary for the maintenance of law and order there. In 1847 there was an Act passed—Lord John Russell being then Prime Minister, and Lord Bessborough Lord Lieutenant—a necessary Act in the then condition of Ireland, after the Famine year. There were classes of murders such as he hoped and believed could not be committed now. Agrarian murders, not carried out by those concerned in the dispute, but by hired assassins — men who took "blood money," as it was called. Many were the murders, and two men were particularly notorious as having committed them, Ryan Puck and Andrew Day. Puck was principal in 13 murders and accessory in four others. A Commission sat, and these men were tried, condemned, and executed at Limerick, and unishment fell upon all those who connived at the crimes. This passed, and then arose disturbances between the "Old Ireland" Party and the "Young Ireland"—the Smith O'Brien Party. It fell to his lot to be called out on duty at Limerick to suppress a great disturbance in which three remarkable men were implicated — Mitchel, editor of *United Ireland*, Martin, who afterwards sat in the House as Member for Meath, and Meagher. On the occasion referred to the military cleared the streets, and these three men were sent off to Dublin, having been rescued just in time to save their lives by the dragoons under his command. Mitchel, Martin, and Meagher were all afterwards transported. Mitchel was editor of *United Ireland*, and he would venture to say that the articles for which Mitchel was sentenced to 15 years' transportation were not more mischievous than the articles in *United Ireland* of to-day. But what he intended to say was, that there was this state of crime; that a repressive Act was carried out; there was a Commission that punished the offenders, and for 20 years after that Ireland was prosperous and peaceful. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Would any hon. Gentleman who gave vent to his incredulity get up and deny the facts that showed that never had Ireland made greater strides towards prosperity than in the 20 years between 1848 and 1868, alike in regard to trade, cultivation of land, the number and character of the houses built, the money spent on improving property, and the ease with which money could be borrowed on mortgage for improvements? [*Laughter.*] Would any hon. Member deny that Ireland prospered in those 20 years? The right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) laughed; let him get up and refute the statement.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he begged the hon. Baronet's pardon. He certainly did smile; but it was at the hon. Baronet's statement that the proof of the prosperity of Ireland was shown by the greatness of the amount raised on mortgages.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that was not what he said or meant. Ireland could then get money when she required it, and England was prepared to lend it; and Englishmen were also prepared to buy, and did buy, land at that time. Would the right hon. Gentleman say there would be no difficulty now in raising money on an Irish mortgage? He would venture to say there was not a man who would lay out a shilling on Irish security. This state of things went on until the time to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian went back. To see what crime was, he went back to the Fenian disturbances. In reference to these, he might mention an anecdote which would show how easily the Irish people were influenced. It was in 1866, and in Wicklow, just after a considerable outbreak, that a raid was made upon the police station at Tullagh. Lord Strathnairn was in command at Dublin, and took such precautions that the Fenians were surprised; several men were shot, and the rest threw away their arms and ran away. [An hon. MEMBER: They had no arms.] Who said they had no arms? They had until they threw them away to use their legs. Some 208 were made prisoners, and sent to Dublin, under two sergeants' escorts. Lord Strathnairn having refused for such men to send them in under a stronger escort, he had the bands of their trousers cut, so that they had to hitch them up with both hands, and in this condition they marched into Dublin, and the Dublin population turned out to make merry at and laugh and jeer at the very men whom they had cheered on the previous day. And so it would be to-morrow if the Government had the courage of their opinions; if they behaved as they ought to behave. With the credit and honour of the country at stake, and when so much was said about the many friends of Irish malcontents, there need be little fear on that account. But the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) began his history with 1869, when the more recent troubles had their beginning. And why? Without attributing blame to one side or the other, it was then that, for political purposes, first one side and then the other began to tamper with hon. Members below the Gangway. This was the cause of all the mischief to one side or the other. Votes were of use, and were to be had, and a policy like this would be fatal to any country, and particularly a country like Ireland. It had been seen how ready were hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to turn out a Liberal Government that had made no overtures to them, and to give their support to the Conservative Party. They claimed to represent the interests of Ireland, and these, according to their own showing, were diametrically opposed to the interests of England. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] From speeches in and out of the House he could show that that was the case, and how the value of the professions made could be estimated. Who, after listening to the speech of the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien), could doubt that the feeling of hostility existed, and would exist, Home Rule or no Home Rule? Threats had been made to worry and annoy this country in her time of difficulty, and it was that power to make mischief that he would do all that in him lay to prevent. When the hon. Member for North-East Cork spoke of stalwart men abroad, did he not mentally think of them as harassing us when we were in difficulty, as the Irish had formerly sought the assistance of the French? Never should there be the opportunity, if he could prevent it, of a foreign nation using Ireland as a means of pounding England, as in the days of Pitt. An attack was recently made upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), and he was called by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby a deserter. There were two classes of deserters. A man sometimes deserted from his regiment from dislike to it, but re-enlisted in another. That was not a serious offence. But what do you say of the man who deserts and goes over to the enemy? The right hon. Gentleman who was so free with the epithet could say of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on December 16, 1885, that "they were not to be trusted," and on the 26th January, 1886, he accepted Office in a Government that came into power on a compact that Home Rule should be brought in. In a week he deserted the principles he had followed all his life and deserted to the enemy. The men whom he had condemned in unmeasured terms were now his faithful allies. On this matter he felt strongly, and he hoped the Government would feel that the country felt strongly. Morning, noon, and night had hon. Members sat there, and they had given powers to the Government to assist them in putting an end to the reign of Boycotting, terrorism, and crime; to restore law and order; and to prove to the loyal minority of Ireland that the Government would do their duty. He called upon the Government to do their duty as soon as they had the power, and if they found the powers insufficient, let them come to the House for more. Beyond what was necessary he did not want to go; but there was the work to be done, and no Government could remain leaving undone the duty of restoring law and order in Ireland. To the completion of that work he believed the Bill would prove a powerful means, and heartily, therefore, he supported the third reading.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), in the powerful speech he delivered a short time ago, referred to the peculiar circumstances attending the passing of this Bill through the House. He (Mr. E. Robertson) proposed to follow the noble Marquess, though he did not hope to reach the same conclusion. He thought the most remarkable fact about this Bill was that it had occupied a larger amount of Parliamentary time, and had received a less amount of Parliamentary consideration, than any other measure of the same importance, perhaps in the whole history of the House of Commons. The Session was nearing its close. The five or six weeks during which they had been here had been occupied with discussions, almost every one of which had been preparatory or subsidiary to, or incidental to, or in some way or other connected with, the measure which was now finally passing through the House; and yet as to three-fourths of that Bill, it had received no sort of Parliamentary consideration whatever. The Bill was leaving them, like the spirit in Hamlet, "unhouseled, disappointed, unaneled." Who was responsible for this state of things? The House as a body was not responsible. The vast body of private Members who had sat silent throughout these long debates were not responsible for this state of things. Responsibility, as his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) said last night, lay where power lay. There were various sections of leaders in the House to whom was freely and voluntarily given great authority in the management of affairs in this House. He was not there to deny that responsibility might rest upon the collective leadership of the House as to the management of this Bill. He inferred from what had been said on the other side, and what had been said that night by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, that the supporters of the Bill agreed with that principle. They had accused the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian of conniving at obstruction, and the noble Marquess said the right hon. Gentleman had palliated, if he had not justified, the course that had been pursued below the Gangway. This admitted the principle that where leadership was there the responsibility rested. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was responsible, because of his powers as leader of a portion of a minority, how much greater must be the responsibility of the right hon. Gentleman who commanded the majority, and who commanded the whole powers of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), speaking at a small meeting somewhere in London the other day, apologized to his own followers in a way which showed that he was sensible that this charge lay at his own door. He said the Liberals actually thought that the Government had been indifferent to this waste of time, because they were not prepared with legislative measures which they were anxious to force on the consideration of Parliament. He (Mr. E. Robertson) did not know whether that charge had been formulated in that way; but he had said in this House, and he said again, that the Government had been indifferent to the waste of time in the passage of this Bill, and if the reason given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not the true reason he would suggest another. It was that the Government were indifferent, because they did not wish to hasten the time when they should come into dispute with their allies, and force those allies either to disavow their principles or vote against themselves. No sooner did this Bill come to its final stage than the Liberal Unionists found it difficult to support hon. Gentlemen opposite. Two or three days ago they placed the Government in a minority, and he suspected when the Land Bill was reached, if they did not place them in a minority, they would place them in a position of very considerable embarrassment indeed. It was for this reason the Government had been callous and indifferent to the waste of time. Let him remind the House of the extraordinary powers which the Government had asked and received in connection with this Bill. First of all, they received a permanent power of closure of debate. He did not complain of that, because he himself was an absolute partizan of closure. In the second place, besides that power, which they deliberately mutilated at the time they got it, they received a Rule of Urgency of a peculiar and unprecedented kind in the Committee stage of the Bill. They received another Rule of Urgency equally unparaleled, which they applied on the Report stage; and the result of all these tremendous powers was that as to three-fourths of the clauses of the Bill it was leaving them without any consideration whatever. The Government were carrying this Bill, not by a regular process, but by a series of convulsions. The various stages of the Bill had not been stages so much as shocks. They had catapulted the Bill through the House. Instead of using the closure, which the Liberal Party bestowed upon them as an instrument for the benefit of ordinary debate, they had treated it as a Party expedient. Was it not the fact that since urgency was first devised the permanent and regular closure had never been applied at all? Let him take, for example, what happened in the Committee stage. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) fixed a period by which the debate was to close. He must have supposed that that period was sufficient for full and fair debate of all the clauses of the Bill. What did he do? He allowed the whole of that urgency week to be absolutely wasted on two clauses of the Bill. Either he under-estimated and blundered with regard to the amount of time necessary for that discussion, or he was faithless to his trust in not applying the regular closure in such a way as to distribute the time of the House over the whole Bill. There was another point on which right hon. Gentlemen opposite must share responsibility with their opponents on this side. He wished to bring this charge with all deference and humility and respect to the Leaders of the House. A great deal of time had been wasted in perfectly unnecessary recrimination between the two Front Benches, and in the irrelevant charges of inconsistency which they had been in the habit of bringing against each other. What did hon. Members who had not been tainted with coercion care about the inconsistencies of right hon. Gentlemen on either side of the Table? It was an easy and amusing game for them to play. It was like the spot stroke in billiards. It always succeeded, and it was always easy. In conclusion, he had only a word or two to say about the Bill itself. He thought the Government in framing the Bill, in defending the Bill, in everything that they had done with regard to the Bill, had displayed the same kind of fatuous imbecility as marked their conduct in the case of Miss Cass. It had been the same in this large matter as it was in the small matter. The right way was easy and obvious to them, but they chose the wrong and difficult way. The House would permit him to give one or two examples of what he meant. He would take, in the first place, that provision of the Bill which substituted trial by Stipendiary Magistrates for trial by jury. That was the gist of the whole matter. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), everybody knew, was perhaps the most extreme opponent of this Bill on this side of the House, and was prepared to carry his opposition to it much farther than he (Mr. E. Robertson) was. The right hon. Gentleman had said he wanted to make coercion difficult. That position he did not accept, because it seemed to mean that to the evil of coercion in Ireland the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to add the still greater evil of a wasted Session and a paralyzed Parliament. He only mentioned that to emphasize what the right hon. Gentleman said about the gist of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman said the gist of the Bill was in the substitution for trial by jury the trial by Stipendiary Magistrates. How easy would it have been for the Government to obviate all possible objections on this score by a simple method? Why did they not clean out the whole Bench of Magistrates in Ireland and substitute competent and qualified men? They could get plenty of them both in Ireland and in this country. If they had done that they might have smiled calmly at any amount of claptrap that might have been talked on this side of the House regarding the benefits of trial by jury. Then as to the arbitrary powers they proposed to give the Lord Lieutenant. There again, by introducing a definition as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South Hackney — the late Attorney General—(Sir Charles Russell) proposed, they might have avoided all reasonable objections. Perhaps a still more remarkable example of the way in which they had avoided the obviously right thing to do was in their treatment of the question of conspiracy. The way was there again pointed out to them in a clear and definite Resolution by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for South Hackney, and they refused to take it. They deliberately rejected that which would be—he warned them—the first principle of democratic jurisprudence, and that was that whatever was lawful for one man to do should not be unlawful for two or more men to do, and thereby they had drawn upon their heads perhaps the most formidable criticism levelled against this Bill. After all had been said, he must confess he was heartily glad that they had reached the final stage of this abominable Bill. He was sure that in that sentiment all parts of the House—including that part where hon. Gentlemen from Ireland sat —would cordially agree. They were going to get rid of it, and he was thankful for it. He had never pretended to be one of those who struck melodramatic attitudes about this coercion. He thought that after 86 Coercion Acts it was a little ridiculous to go into hysterics over the 87th, and for his part he hoped that way of looking at the Bill would be shared by some hon. Members near him. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] He believed many of them shared it now. He believed they would find that the Bill in its administration would be as great a sham as the policy of Her Majesty's Government generally. At all events, he hoped and trusted that hon. Members from Ireland, neglecting, if it be necessary, any counsel to lawlessness that they might receive from this side of the House, would do their best, by patience, by fair play, by abstinence from violence, to make it difficult for the Government to convert this sham Bill into anything like a reality.

Mr. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) said, the accusation of the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), that the Government had been guilty of "fatuous imbecility," added nothing to the strength or the value of his criticism. The hon. and learned Member had stated that the essence of this Bill was to substitute for trial by jury trial before Stipendiary Magistrates. That was perfectly true, and it was probably one of the most important provisions of the Bill, because the object sought to be attained was that crime which was committed on Monday should be punished on Wednesday; that the punishment, though moderate, should be swift and certain; and that there should no longer be the mockery of an Assize trial. No peaceable person going about his business in Ireland would be one whit the worse in consequence of this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) had taken care to avoid all personalities, and in no respect had the Government been responsible for the waste of time spent over the Bill. The suggestion that the delay was encouraged by the Government in order to postpone the quarrels with the Liberal Unionists which were inevitable in the future was absurd on the face of it, as there neither were nor were likely to be any serious differences between the Conservative and Liberal sections of the Unionist Party. He was proud to sit behind Ministers who conducted the affairs of the country with such dignity, skill, and moderation.

Mr. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland) said, that in respect of dignity the Government was the laughing stock of Europe in respect of the Turkish Convention. Of their skill they had proof in the absolute stagnation of Public Business, and their moderation was manifested by the introduction of a Bill of unexampled severity forced through the House by the most tyrannical methods. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) had commented upon the fact that the educated classes were in favour of the policy of the Government; and he also asked why it was that whilst they did not attach so much importance to them in this country, they yet did attach very great importance to educated opinion abroad. He ventured to point out this difference, and, in his opinion, it was a very striking one—

namely, that in this country those who considered themselves the upper classes had a strong and direct personal interest in such questions as they were now discussing—namely, the government of Ireland. Abroad the state of things was not the same. There educated opinion was not so closely identified with those classes of the population connected with the landed interest, and he did think that there was no doubt whatever that the views and opinions of the upper classes of this country must of necessity be, to a certain extent, influenced and tinged by the considerations which attached to their interests as contrasted to the interests of the masses of the people. If they were to have coercion, the sooner it came the sooner it would be ended. He believed that this was the very last lease of life it would have in this country. The noble Marquess told them that if such an organization as the National League existed in England it would be immediately crushed. If a National League existed in England the first thing Parliament would do would be not to set to work to crush it, but to remove the cause of its existence. In the same way, until the remedy was adopted in Ireland, no matter what attempts they might make to crush such organizations, they would spring up again and again. What right had the Party opposite to talk of a wasted Session? Had they not got their wretched Bill through? If they attached but half the importance to it which they professed to attach to it, they ought to be satisfied and to cease to prate about the Session having been wasted. The Bill had been described by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) as a measure for the protection of minorities in Ireland. What he wished to know was this—If, as was admitted, the opinion of the majority of that House was to govern, why should not the opinion of the majority govern in Ireland? The Bill was really only a makeshift. If the Government had had the courage of their opinions they would have adopted the only true alternative to the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and attempted to govern Ireland by martial law. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale had declared that the objects of this Bill were the same as those of the Bill of 1881. Even if that were so, nothing would be gained, for, according to the evidence of Lord Spencer himself, the Bill of 1881 failed to secure its objects, as would inevitably the measure now under consideration.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin, Co., S.) said, he thought he could very well understand why hon. Members opposite were anxious that the debate on this Bill should come to a very speedy conclusion, because from what had been said on the opposite side of the House during the debate their position had not been improved. The longer this measure, which they were trying to force on the House in this unprecedented fashion, was investigated, the more monstrous it would appear. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that hon. Members opposite did well in endeavouring to bring this debate to a speedy conclusion, it did not follow in the least that at any rate the Irish Members were bound in any way to give in to their wishes in that respect. They had not been sent there to suit the convenience of hon. Members opposite. Nowadays Irishmen were not prepared to betray their country to suit the convenience of an English political Party. The day in which that sort of thing could be done was gone by, and there was very little chance of its coming back again. They cared very little whether they were called Obstructionists or not any more than they cared whether hon. Members chose to call them dynamiters and assassins, for there was as much reason for the one reproach as the other. They were told that in opposing this Bill the Irish Members were impeding English legislation; but it was the duty of the Irish Members to oppose this Bill. It was the Government who were responsible for its introduction, and if English legislation was impeded, that was not the fault of the Irish Members, but of the Government. Would not hon. Members opposite have offered an equally strenuous resistance to the measure if it had affected their own country? Would they submit tamely while their liberties were voted away by an unfair and unscrupulous majority? In an old number of *The Times* he remembered reading these words—"Liberty is a serious game to be played out, as the Greek told the Persian, with knives and with hatchets." When that appeared *The Times* was supporting the cause of the revolution in Italy. He did not suppose that *The Times* would consent to the application of those words to the case of Ireland. But the Irish people considered that they were as much entitled to the rights of free men as were the Italians, and they had not the slightest intention to forego their claim. They could not regain their liberties by force of arms, but they intended resorting to every Constitutional method. This Coercion Bill had been brought in by the Government in breach of their pledges to the country at the last General Election. The Conservatives then denied that there was no alternative to Home Rule but coercion; but the event had proved that they were wrong. There was no justification for the Bill, for Ireland was in a very peaceful condition—more peaceful than when the Conservative Party were coquetting with Home Rule, more peaceful than when they themselves deliberately abstained from resorting to coercion. It almost seemed as if the object of the Government in bringing in this Bill was to find some excuse for not legislating for the reform of abuses and the abolition of privileges. At first reference was made to one or two charges of the Irish Judges to justify this Bill, but this ground had been abandoned, for it had been shown that the great majority of the charges of the Irish Judges testified to the crimelessness of the country. Then it was urged that the Bill was made necessary by the fact that juries would not convict. But, though it was quite true that Irish juries, to their credit, would not allow themselves to be made the tools of the Irish Government in prosecutions carried out by trick and chicanery against political foes, he denied that juries had been unwilling to return fair verdicts according to the evidence in ordinary cases. The last excuse for coercion was that intimidation was rife in Ireland. As a matter of fact, there was less intimidation than there had ever been, and far less than there had been when the Tory Party had gone about the country reproaching the Liberals for coercing Ireland. The Irish people had learned in legitimate combination a better method of protecting themselves and preserving their families from eviction than the mutilation of cattle and assassination. It was not intimidation that the Government intended to attack by this Bill; they wanted to put down the Plan of Campaign, which was now legal, but which the object of the Bill was to make illegal. It was a Bill to suppress the right of public meeting and free speech, to silence the Irish people, to attack the opponents of the Government, and to put down Constitutional agitation. Its only result would be to make things in Ireland worse than they now were, and to make the people more disloyal. They had asked through channels which the Constitution laid down for the right to make their own laws, and this Bill was the answer which was given them by the Government. He believed that they would succeed in winning back that right before very long, in spite of coercion and in spite of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. J. PLUNKETT (Gloucestershire, Thornbury), said, he quite agreed with the remark used by an hon. Member that the sooner this law was passed the sooner it would die. That was his hope and wish, and the sooner the Irish people made up their minds to enjoy the peace and security which Her Majesty's laws had brought to other parts of the Empire the better it would be for them. That Bill, by being permanent, would prevent a seditious and dangerous organization, under another name, but with the same leaders, from taking the place of the National League in Ireland. There were many parts of that country which could not by any possibility support their present amount of population, and he maintained that emigration was a blessing to the people. It was cruel to try and keep the people on the poor land, and he believed that emigration was the only remedy for the congested and impoverished districts of Ireland. In many instances that he knew of, Irishmen had borrowed the money to emigrate with, and had invariably repaid it, and in a little time they had also sent for their families and invited their connections to follow them. It was said that the poor Irish tenants had only been enabled to pay their rents with the assistance of the money they received from their kindred in America; but, instead of taking the hard-earned money sent to them by their brothers and sons in America, why did the poor

Irish tenants themselves not also go across the Atlantic, where they would be enabled to live in comfort and plenty? Scotland many years ago was in quite as bad a condition as Ireland was now, but her people wisely adopted emigration with the excellent results which were at present apparent. They were told that Ireland was now suffering under unfair laws; and the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) said that if the laws were unfair the first thing to be done was to rectify them and make them fair. The right hon. Gentleman, however, seemed to have forgotten that he and the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had been mainly responsible for the law in regard to Ireland for a long period of years. If, as was admitted, the past Irish legislation of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had proved a total failure, was it likely that the people of England would try his statesmanship again? If the right hon. Gentleman's Irish legislation had not been a failure, why did he completely turn round and now promote the very thing which his former measures were intended to guard against, because they had been entirely directed against Home Rule? They were often reminded that the right hon. Gentleman's public career had extended over 50 years. For 49 years out of the 50, however, the right hon. Gentleman had been against Home Rule, and one year for it. Had he been wrong for 49 years and right only for one? Each of the right hon. Gentleman's former great Irish Bills was announced by him as final, and yet they had all failed. Were they to have another great measure from him which should be positively final? If the right hon. Gentleman were to turn round again in his opinions, and to say that Home Rule would be a form of treason which, as a patriotic Englishman, he could not submit to, he would have just as large a following as he had at present. The hon. Member had made a charge of false imprisonment against the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian for having shut him up in Kilmainham. Why did not the hon. Member for Cork take proceedings against the right hon. Gentleman? The fact was, the case was settled out of Court, and the compensation awarded to the hon. Member was the Kilmainham Treaty, by which it was agreed that the hon. Member for Cork, on condition that he was released from gaol, would give a general support to the Liberal Party, and induce his followers to do the same. The next reward offered by the right hon. Gentleman for the support of the hon. Member for Cork was the giving over the country of Ireland to the tender mercies of that hon. Member. And the right hon. Gentleman said the whole of the civilized world was in favour of his extraordinary scheme. If that were the case, he could only say that the conversion of the civilized world to that creed had been effected quicker than its conversion to Christianity. It was quite clear, however, that such dark corners as London, Oxford, and Cambridge were not included in the civilized world, though in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman such places as Chicago were. The scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian would not have satisfied the Irish Representatives. Although their speeches in the House of Commons might have conveyed the idea that they were satisfied with it, they could not speak for those to whom they looked for support. The promises of the hon. Member for Cork could not be depended upon; and if the scheme of Home Rule offered were not exactly what the supporters of the Irish Parliamentary Party thought it should be, the only way of rectifying the fatal mistake that would be made in granting it would be a military re-conquest of Ireland. He had heard it stated in the House that the Crimes Bill would be rendered futile by the action of the Nationalist Press in Ireland; but he supposed that if a newspaper deliberately incited the people to rebellion it would come within the provisions of the Bill. The course adopted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had shown all disaffected persons that if they disagreed with the law they had only to break it either with gunpowder or with the other resources of civilization, and they would get it altered. His present allies, by persistent law-breaking, had wrung concession after concession from the right hon. Gentleman, until now they had got him on his knees, and he had gone over to the very men who were formerly described as marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the

Empire—to the very men he had put in prison, and who were now pursuing the same objects by the same means as those for which he imprisoned them, when all England applauded their imprisonment.

MR. B. COLERIDGE (Sheffield, Attercliffe): I have listened with what attention I could to the somewhat incoherent speech of the hon. Member for the Thornbury Division of Gloucestershire (Mr. Plunkett), and I could not but sympathize, when I listened to that speech, with the dislike and distrust exhibited on the part of the Irish Members with British rule in Ireland. It struck me that at this late period of the contest we have something graver and more weighty on hand than the wretched bandying of *tu quoques* from one side to the other, and I was surprised that the main argument of the hon. Member for passing an Act which deprives the Sister Country of the liberty we enjoy was that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) at some other time, and under other circumstances, had expressed other views than those which he now expresses. Whether that were true or not, it struck me that a taunt about the Kilmainham Treaty from a Member of a Party which, within the memory of everyone, has intrigued for the support of the Irish Party did not come from the right quarter, and was not addressed to the right quarter. I am well aware that the time for argument on this question is closed. I am aware that argument is treated with quiet contempt by those who have power on their side; but, although the time for argument may be passed, the time for protest, however unavailing, is not past. I speak on behalf of a working-class constituency; and I tell the House, that it may be some satisfaction to the Irish Members when I say it, that the working men in my constituency—and I believe they are only a sample of the working men throughout the entire Kingdom—repudiate with scorn and contempt all responsibility for the passing of this Bill. I am aware that this Bill has practically been passed by the closure of debate in this House. I have never said a word against the right of the Government of the day to pass the measures it thinks necessary to pass by closing debates in this House. I admit that from their point of view they are justified in preventing prolonged discussion if they think that prolonged discussion is a disadvantage to the country over which they rule. But I maintain that it is our right to protest in season and out of season against legislation which we believe to be damaging to the best interests of the country. It is our duty to show the people that if you destroy the liberties of a Sister Country you destroy your own. The result of closing debate in this House is to drive discussion to platforms. There the contest will have to be fought out; and I have no doubt of the issue. I maintain that by the legislation which the House is now attempting to enforce the House is running counter to the great and healthy moral sentiment of all that is best and wisest in the people of the United Kingdom. I know there are men who cast scorn upon any person in the House who mentions either moral or sentiment; but I say that in this time of day that Government will not last long which violates the moral instincts and sentiments of the people over which it rules. It is within the recollection of all in this House that the strongest Government perhaps this country ever saw was swept away because the people of the country considered it was in its foreign policy violating moral instincts, because it was fighting on behalf of oppression against freedom and self-government. I might appeal to the other side on other and lower grounds; I might ask them as a candid friend of an Opportunist Government, whether or not they think that the passing into law of this legislation will redound to their credit and benefit? The effect of passing bad laws does not cease when those laws come into operation. The effect of passing bad laws is to demoralize those who pass them. You have already begun to lower the line of controversy in this country. You no longer fight the question upon bare argument. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of this House (Mr. W. H. Smith) lends his name and the name of his business to the spreading throughout the length and breadth of the land accusations against Members of the House which, if false, are dishonouring to him who spreads them.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I wish to ask whether it is consistent with the dignity of political controversy to introduce charges of this kind into the debates of this House. I have said before, and I say again, that I have nothing whatever to do with the circulation of the papers to which the hon. Gentleman refers, and it is monstrous such charges should be made in this House.

Mr. B. COLERIDGE: I do not retract anything I have said.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I do not ask him to retract anything, and I did not expect it of him.

Mr. B. COLERIDGE: If the right hon. Gentleman had heard me out he would have heard I said that the spreading of these accusations, if they were false, were dishonouring to him to spread them. Into the truth or otherwise of those accusations the right hon. Gentleman himself declines to inquire, and I say that the right hon. Gentleman is thus dealing a blow at the respect which I say from my heart all persons in this House, including myself, desire to entertain for him. Such are the means, hitherto unknown, by which this Act is being propagated and pressed in this House. How will it work in Ireland? If it fails, it will be a monument of incapacity, covering the grave of the right hon. Gentleman's political reputation. If it succeeds, through what method and through what men will it succeed? After the Bill is passed all that is wisest in the Irish Nation will be stigmatized as rebellious and criminal. The persons by whom you will work this Act are those men who are cowards enough to become informers, or who are dishonest enough to become your spies. You do not even stop here. From day to day, on the platforms of the country, and in this House, you and those who support you are trading in the ignoble passions of religious hatred and religious prejudice. If I had that dash of opportunism in my nature which I believe is owned by Her Majesty's Government, if I were simply considering Party triumphs, I should say—"Go on, walk in the exact path in which you are now walking, do not be too hasty, but fill up drop by drop the cup of exasperation until it is full to overflowing." Sir, higher considerations animate our minds in dealing with a great question like this. I do not think that the attainment of Party triumphs are what we ought to consider in dealing with the Irish Question. I do not wish to see enacted over again the sad and harrowing details of Irish evictions; I do not want to see performed again upon public platforms the last tragedy of a nation's life. I do not expect the hon. Gentleman opposite will do anything else but jeer at anything that seems to them like sentiment or morals. I say this, that when that day comes, as come it inevitably will, when you have to appeal to the people of this country to endorse your actions and to approve your policy, I am as certain as I stand here that your actions to-night will be spurned and disowned by all that is best, wisest, and most generous in the people of the British Isles.

Colonel DUNCAN (Finsbury, Holborn) said, he felt bound to repudiate the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield (Mr. B. Coleridge), that argument was wasted upon those who sat upon the Conservative side of the House. He had listened to all that had been said on this subject, and he had endeavoured to put himself in the place of those who spoke on the opposite side, but he had come to the conclusion that this measure was necessary, and that it was no encroachment on individual liberty. As a soldier he objected to the term "coercive" being applied to a measure intended to enforce the law and to prevent crime. It was aimed at crime and criminal associations, and would no more interfere with well-affected individuals than did the law of this country. Complaint had been made that the Bill was aimed at political association, but as he understood politics it was the science of all that related to the welfare of the State, and if not the welfare of the State but its injury was contemplated by any political association then he said the political association should feel the power of the laws as much as the individual. There was no more reason why this measure should not be permanent than there was against the Decalogue being permanent. He trusted that hon. Members would come to a Division that night without any acrimony entering their minds.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have listened with considerable attention, and with some amusement, to the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just addressed the House. Although the hon. and gallant Gentleman belongs to the Tory Party, he is a Gentleman for whom I have always entertained a deep respect and kindly feeling. I have not the slightest doubt that he means well to Ireland if his lights enabled him to see the facts in their true position. I do not intend to follow him in the hopeless task of essaying to throw oil on the troubled waters, but there is one statement of his to which I must take exception when he said that he and his Party looked at this matter from a higher standpoint than we do. I deny that proposition. They look at it from the point of view of what is best for the Empire; we look at it from the point of view of liberty. Our duty is to see that the liberties of the Irish people are respected, and our first duty is, although we are prepared, as we have frequently stated in this House, to acknowledge when we are decently treated, a duty also to this Empire which we do not acknowledge at the present moment. Our first and greatest duty is to the people of Ireland, who have sent us here to represent them. There is one point frequently alluded to in the course of the long debates on this Bill, and which has formed the substance to-night of the speech of the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale. That is the protracted character of the opposition given to this Bill by the Members for Ireland. I admit that the character of that opposition has been prolonged and bitter, but hon. Members who indulge in this charge forget, or pretend to forget, that during the whole of this matter we have represented in this House a majority of five-sixths of the nation to which this legislation is alone sought to be applied. Can anything be more disingenuous or unjust than to conduct an argument on the assumption that there is no real distinction between the English and Irish nations? Had not the history of your legislation swept all such contention away? Are not the land laws of the two countries, is not the whole machinery of government, as different as possible? Why is it that the Queen does not rule directly in Ireland, but is represented by a Lord Lieutenant? Everyone knows that it is false and misleading to say that the two nations are one nation; therefore any argument as to the character of the opposition to the Bill drawn from precedence of the opposition given by a minority in that House to measures affecting the entire nation, or by a minority of English Representatives to measures affecting England, is false and fallacious. If the Irish nation formed an integral and indivisible part, as you maintain it does, of this British nation, why do you introduce laws into this House and not apply them to the whole people? I maintain that our position is impregnable when we say that we stand upon the floor of this House as the Representatives of a vast and overwhelming majority of the people—I was going to say the great people, but I will not say that, but I will say the unfortunate people whose fortunes and liberties alone are affected by this Bill. If there be any object at all in our remaining in this House that object must be, to some extent, to impress our views upon the House. We have laboured long and hard during this Session, and I cannot, for my part, see that we have achieved much in the direction of impressing our views upon the House. I recollect clearly at an early stage in these proceedings, when it was proposed first to put the closure upon the Irish Members in this House, that some of our Party upon these Benches used what might be described as the threat that if closured in this House they would betake themselves to the country and appeal to the people of England, and I recollect the roar of derision with which that threat was received by hon. Gentlemen opposite. In view of the threat I read with great amusement the speech delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at St. James's Hall, on the 6th of July, when he was endeavouring to revive the somewhat drooping spirits of his Party as the result of the Spalding election. What does the Chancellor of the Exchequer say in reference to the Spalding election? He says—

> "I will tell you one means by which that election was won. The Irish Party sent down almost a force of their energetic Members to spread their doctrines abroad in that constituency, not only making set speeches at big meetings, but going from village to village and almost from house to house."

I thought that, according to the right hon. Gentleman, if they attempted to do such a thing they would be kicked out of the place.

> "They put their plausible case before the electors, who had not the means which men

have in the great centres of intelligence to contrast the language used in England and the language used in Ireland. They heard the views which were put before them by those Irish Representatives—men of much eloquence and tremendous energy. They had not read about their antecedents; they had not read, no doubt, as most of you have read, of how that frendliness towards England which may have been displayed in the hamlets of that division has not been the friendliness avowed when they stood upon other platforms in Ireland, or America, and so a successful campaign may have been carried on, and a certain transfer of votes may have been obtained."

I can tell the right hon. Gentleman that his Unionist friends took care that the electors of the Spalding Division should read every blackguardly libel that has been circulated. They were deluged with them, and there was not a peasant's cottage or a labourer's house but the libels of the hon. Member for South Tyrone were poured upon their tables. The electors had read them, but they refused to believe them. Let not the Chancellor of the Exchequer lay the flattering unction to his soul that he has only to spread his libels and all will be well. These libels have been spread abroad for months past, but they had no effect, and the labourers and farmers of England will not believe *The Times*, but they will believe the Irish Members. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Members may laugh, but we will meet you at every election in England. It is made a grievance against the Irish Members that, not content with addressing public meetings in England, they went into the houses of poor men and sat at their tables. We did, and we are proud to boast that we were welcomed there in spite of your calumnies. We whom you denounce broadcast over England as murderers and assassins are welcomed at the poor man's board in England, and we will meet you there on every occasion, and we will see the poor men, and though we be denounced by *The Times* newspaper, we can get a hearing from the labourers of England, and get them, perhaps, to vote for the Irish Members in preference to men who sit on those Benches. You can clôture us in this House, and I told you at the commencement of these debates I did not care how soon you put the clôture on us in this House, but you cannot clôture us in England. I defy you, and I defy the Ministers to refuse us a hearing in England, no matter what Bills you may pass in this House. One of the great arguments in favour of this Bill, and which has been used throughout these debates—namely, that there is crime in Ireland, has been practically abandoned. The speakers to-night have practically ceased to put that branch of their contention. Men like the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) and others admit now that the object of this Act is to prevent the Government of Ireland and the power from passing into the hands of men whom they denounce as unworthy of all public confidence. Members opposite were parties some time ago to an attempt on which, at least, some of them must look back with a considerable degree of regret, and that was the attempt made to hound us from public life as murderers and assassins. There is not the slightest doubt that the Party opposite, in conjunction with their Press, made a determined effort to hound every Member who sits on this Bench out of public life and out of this country. What would you have bettered your position if you had done so? If you could have got the English people to believe that we were what you painted us to be, there would have been but two courses open to us—we should either have fought for our lives in Ireland, and fought for them as dearly as we could, or have quitted this country and gone to America or elsewhere where an honourable career was open to us. And do you imagine for one moment that you would have been better in your position in Ireland if you drove 86 men from this House across the Atlantic to America? I doubt it very much indeed. What has been the head and front of our offending—what has been the history of our political life? I state the history of the majority of the men sitting around me when I say our lives in Ireland have for seven years been one continued struggle to get our people to abandon the methods of revolution and violence and to trust to action within the walls of this House. Over and over again we have been assailed in Ireland by old comrades, and by men who call themselves advanced Nationalists, because we have asked the people to place hope in the action of a Party within these walls. If you had succeeded—as you did your best to succeed—in driving us across the Atlantic, or, at all events, in exterminating us out of public life in Ireland, how far do you think you would have advanced on the road towards settling the Irish problem? What would have been your position? You would have been face to face with the reconstitution of the Fenian organization and a rebellion—you would have been face to face with the secret societies of America—and I cannot see that you would have in the least bettered the prospect of settling this quarrel and bringing about peace in Ireland. I admit frankly—and I know there are men sitting on the Benches opposite, Irishmen, and Irishmen in Ireland, who deliberately look forward for years and years to come to a succession of rebellions to be crushed by a superior power. That is what has been to them the normal condition of Ireland since the Union. They like it, for it means ascendency, a subject people, and a tyrannous aristocracy. That is the future of Ireland that the Irish Tory Party look forward to, and I put it to Ministers, is that the future they look forward to—a repetition of what has come before—the maintenance of the aristocracy in a position of power, and a constant repetition of unsuccessful rebellion and savage repression. I know perfectly well that is the idea of the Irish Tory, but I question whether it is the idea of the English Conservative Party. Had you succeeded in the great scheme of extinguishing the Parnellite Party and driving them to America, that would have been all you could have looked forward to in Ireland. I wish I could impress upon the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite—those who mean well, and there are many men sitting on those Benches who mean well—that no wilder folly ever entered into the head of man than that you will ever quench the national spirit by repression. There is not a shadow of a chance of doing it. You can crush us and hold us down, but make us love you by repression you never will. I wish to say a few words on the speech delivered by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) to-night. The noble Marquess found fault with the statement of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian as to the verdict of the civilized world, and he asked him—"By what evidence are we to judge of the verdict of the civilized world?" I listened with the greatest attention for I thought the noble Marquess was going to adduce evidence on his side, but he carefully abstained from doing so. He pointed to no specific fact which tended to show that the verdict and feeling of any part of the civilized world was in favour of your cause, and no greater folly could be imagined, and there is not a single man on those Benches who believes in his heart that the verdict of the civilized world, whether on this side of the Atlantic or the other, has not an effect upon the public opinion of England, and ought to have its effect, and I scorn the man who stands up in this House—as some of little intelligence have done—and makes it a boast that the people of England have treated with scorn the opinion of the civilized world. I am not going to enter into the question of the civilized opinion of Europe—we could make a strong case as to the civilized opinion of Europe. But I take the case of America, and I venture to say there is no country in the civilized world whose opinion is of more value and ought to be of more weight in the minds of intelligent, liberty-loving Englishmen than the opinion of America, and I say it is absurd of any intelligent man to assert at this time of the day that nine-tenths of the intelligent and educated opinion of America is not with Ireland in the demand for Home Rule. I ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for he is about to speak, to name the great journals of America that do not side with us. I could name dozens which do, and I do not know one single journal of importance from the Atlantic to the Pacific that is not strongly on the side of Home Rule. Take the great City of New York, the greatest commercial City in the world next to London. There is not a newspaper in New York that does not side with us. "They are all Irish newspapers," says the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Are we to be told that the English and the Germans of that City are not wealthy and powerful enough to have newspapers of their own? I have a considerable opinion of the power of the Irish in New York, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer seems to hold a greater opinion of that power than I do. Does he know that there are 10 or 12 newspapers printed in the German language in the State, all of which are friends of the Home Rule movement? I challenge him to go from East to West and from North to South through the States and find a single journal of importance that opposes us, and the journals that circulate among the educated classes are on our side. A few observations were made by some speakers in reference to the fact that my hon. Friend the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) had not much to say of his experiences in America. My hon. Friend probably felt a little embarrassment on that subject because he is not very much in the habit of blowing his own trumpet. My hon. Friend went out to Canada under circumstances which hon. Members opposite will admit were of the greatest difficulty, and the impression prevailed in this country that his mission which seemed in the opinion of some of his friends to be a desperate one, would turn out a failure. But it has turned out a conspicuous success—aye, even in the province of Canada his mission was a conspicuous success. [An hon. MEMBER: Toronto. *And cries of* "Murderers!" *from the Irish Benches.*] Yes; a gang of murderers and assassins were the only men who were got to oppose him. The educated classes of the country do not take revolvers and stones in hand to settle political disputes in the streets. I make you a present of the mob of Toronto. My hon. Friend had on his side three-fourths of the Press of the country in spite of the influence of society and the Governor General, and I am aware that Lord Lansdowne, if approached privately, would admit that the mission was a success beyond everything he could imagine. When my hon. Friend returned to the United States he was entertained in Boston and New York, and I state without the slightest fear of contradiction except by those hon. Gentlemen opposite who were never in America, and many of whom do not know whether the Battle of Bunker's Hill was fought 100 years ago or 10—I say that men who know America and love America will admit that my hon. Friend was received by the noblest and most respected in the States, and, further, I say we are entitled to declare that not only the intelligence and education of America, but also the sentiment of the democracy, is unanimously almost on our side. The noble Marquess went on to sneer and become very witty at the expense of the hon. Member for Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce) because of his remark about the educated classes. The educated classes are all very well; I do not pretend to belong to them myself; I make no doubt that hon. Gentlemen opposite believe they constitute the educated classes. My experience in life is that the most learned men are not always University men, and that men who take degrees at Oxford are not always the lights of the Universe. The noble Marquess said the educated classes were those who had produced the literature of the country. That depends on what you consider as the educated classes; but if the noble Marquess means gentlemen who take "double firsts," and can spend their £300 a-year on their education, I absolutely deny it. Who are the men who have made the literature of the 19th century? If you run down the list, you will find a very large proportion of them belonging to the people — that the noblest and greatest names did not belong to the educated classes, but were the children of the people, who secured their education in spite of adverse circumstances by hard labour—men who were born out of the blood and brain of the people. The literature of the people springs from the people, and everything that is good has sprung from that class. I say, therefore, in spite of the sneers of the noble Marquess, that so far as I have been able to read history, there never has been a movement great and noble, with worthy principles, that effected a great reformation or change in the world, that had not its root and origin deep down in the hearts of the common people, and which was not opposed by gentlemen of the educated classes. That proposition is true from the day that the Gospel was preached to the poor and lowly at Galilee down to the present hour; and, in my opinion, one of the best signs of the success of any movement is that it takes its origin from out the ranks of the poor, and what you may call the uneducated classes, and is opposed at its outset by the wealthy and powerful and the presumably educated classes. The noble Marquess went on to denounce at great length the proceedings of the National League in Ireland, and he plainly intimated that the practical object and purpose of this Bill was to rescue Ireland from the power of the

National League, but he never went into detail as to what those proceedings were; but the Government, in spite of statements of this kind, has declined to state what they proposed to do with the National League. There have been eloquent indictments of the proceedings of that body. Irish Conservative journals have declared that the Bill would be worthless and a dead letter unless the League were broken up and utterly destroyed; but throughout the debate the Government have declined to state what they proposed to do with that body. It would, I think, be an act of courage if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would take this opportunity of frankly stating to the House and to the country what the Executive intended to do. Judging from the speech of the noble Marquess the Bill would be worthless, and the time that had been spent upon it would have been wasted, unless it were directed to the immediate destruction of that organization. Contrasting the position of his Party with that of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian the noble Marquess considered this Bill to be the only alternative to the granting of Home Rule. But only two weeks ago, at Manchester, he reiterated the statement that he was prepared to go a long way towards decentralization in Ireland and to give a large measure of local self-government. How was such a measure to be proposed *pari passu* with a Coercion Act? The noble Marquess said—

> "From our point of view if you once remove the Irish Representatives from Parliament, whether in 10 years or in one year—if you once create representative institutions in Ireland, then Parliament loses as regards Ireland its representative character, it loses the only title by which it has the right to concern itself with Irish affairs."

If that be the creed of the noble Marquess in this matter of the Irish Representation in this House, that it has no title to concern itself in Irish affairs but for the presence of the Irish Members, how does he reconcile that proposition with his policy and the policy of his Party—namely, that in Irish affairs the Irish Representatives are to have no voice whatever? What, I would ask, is the object of retaining the Irish Members in this Parliament for the pleasure of clôturing them? What is the object of retaining the Irish Members in this Parliament if for all futurity you are to pursue the same course which has been consistently pursued during this Session —namely, that on all questions relating to Ireland the voice of the Irish Members is not to be listened to, and they are to have no voice in the decision of them? It has come to be almost a commonplace with the noble Lord that important Irish questions are to be settled by English and Scotch Members without reference to Irish Members at all. And yet he says the only title of the House to deal with them arises from the presence of the Irish Members. I leave it to the ingenuity of the noble Marquess to reconcile these apparently irreconcilable positions. We have now reached the conclusion of these long debates, and you have practically got the Bill passed. You have worked hard for it, and now what will this Bill do for you? It is now about time to think of the value it will be to you. It is perfectly true that you may get a number of Gentlemen sitting round me, and get myself, into gaol. Certainly we shall not alter our course in Ireland by a single iota. Supposing you have 10 or perhaps 15 Irish Members in gaol by the time Parliament meets again, does any one of you really suppose that you will have advanced the solution of the Irish problem, or that the Irish Question will remain quiescent? Do you believe that you can in that way get rid of the trouble which the Irish Question gives you in this House and in Ireland? Supposing even that we wished to withdraw from our policy, which we certainly do not—we could not withdraw from it—we should have to hide our faces and fly to the uttermost ends of the earth if we turned our backs on our principles and our policy. But do you imagine that we are so lost to all sense of shame that we are going now to lie down and deny every principle which we have preached to our people—could we desert them now in their hour of trial? ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Member says "Hear hear." Well, I do not think we have given you any cause to suppose anything of the sort. I do not pretend to have the warlike courage of Members opposite. But this is not a question of courage—it is a question whether we are men lost to every sense of honour and shame, and men who would desert our people when danger came. The man who turned his back on a cause like this, who denied all the principles he had preached to the people and deserted them in the hour of their danger, would be unable to live on the face of the earth. Widely as Irishmen are scattered no English-speaking country would receive him. We have no choice in the matter. We must go forward; and I leave it to you to say how the matter is to end. I come now to the conclusion of the speech of the noble Marquess, when he said, to my surprise, that he denied the condition of Ireland after 700 years of English rule was so altogether unsatisfactory or dishonourable to England. Well, I must confess that part of his speech astonished me more than anything else. Does any Member opposite consider it is either satisfactory or honourable, no matter to whom it is attributed, even if I say it is our fault? Does it not show a contemptible and miserable condition of government to allow a few poor men, such as we are, to shake your government in Ireland to its foundations? No matter what you attribute to us in the way of base motives, conspiracy, and the other charming charges you have made against us. Even if we were all as black as you paint us—even if Ireland were brought into its present condition by our action, it is a condemnation of the government which has existed during the last 86 years, because it shows conclusively that whatever our policy may be the Government has not succeeded in founding itself upon the affection of the people or securing to itself their sympathies. It is an artificial government—it is a tottering government that is propped on bayonets and not resting on the confidence of the people. The people look to it not as a protecting power, as every Government ought to be, but as a hostile power, which they view with suspicion, and taking it at your own estimate the English government in Ireland is a government which can be maintained only by external force, and which has not a permanent foundation upon the confidence and the affections of Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): At the close of this long debate I certainly shall not trespass on the attention of the House, by endeavouring to review the whole of this complicated, and, as it seems to me, ill-omened Bill; but I would ask leave to inquire what is the object of the Bill, and what are the purposes which the Government expect to attain by it? We have been told over and over again, and I suppose we shall be finally told it again to-night, that the object of the Bill is to restore law and order in Ireland. What do you mean by restoring law and order in Ireland? As far as I know there is no disturbance of law and order in Ireland, except in the particular of the agrarian question, and I believe that that springs from the exaction of excessive and exorbitant rents. I do not think that can be denied. There was some Moonlighting six months ago; but that has been put a stop to by the ordinary law, and it is not for that purpose that this Bill has been introduced. The more we have pressed the Government for the real object of this Bill, the more it is apparent that this Bill is directed against what they consider to be dangerous and unlawful combinations. It is not intended to put a stop to the scenes at Bodyke. It will encourage the repetition of such scenes. The only object of this Bill is to put down what you call unlawful combinations, or conspiracies, if you so prefer it. Against the evil of excessive and exorbitant rents there is no remedy given at all. This is admitted by the Cowper Commission. It is asserted in the Report of that Commission that the rents are too high—I mean the judicial rents that were fixed some years ago. Is that true? We have before us the Returns for March and April—the most recent figures in regard to rent. They are astounding figures. They show that the estimate of the Cowper Commission was too low by half of the excess of the rents in Ireland. Of course, the estimate of the Cowper Commission was only a rough estimate; but these are the judicial decisions of the men who have gone into the cases. I will take the case of the County of Kilkenny, not for any special reason, but because it is complete. Now, the judicial rent in March and April was £1,369. The old rent was £2,364; and I may as well give the old tenement valuation, which in former times was lower than the actual rent, or the judicial rent. As compared with the judicial rent the tenement rent was £1,857, so that the judicial rent is £500 lower than the tenement rent. What does that mean? It means that the judicial rent now fixed is about

45 per cent lower than the old rent, and about 30 per cent lower than the tenement rent. These are the figures for the month of March. The figures for April are equally strong. The judicial rent was £2,540, and the former rent £4,000, the tenement rent being £3,562, or £1,000 higher than the newly fixed judicial rent. If you take the figures throughout the whole of Ireland, you will find that they give £6,000 judicial rent as compared with £9,000 former rents, and £7,642 the old tenement rent. What is the conclusion I draw from that? That the judicial rents fixed before the fall in prices were lowered 20 per cent, when they ought to have been lowered 40 per cent, in order to make them fair rents, and that is the difficulty for which in your Land Bill you offer no efficient legal remedy. You give a remedy to the leaseholders, because they will have a new revision, but you give no efficient remedy to the holders of judicial rents, because you will give them no revision at all. What is the consequence of that? You refuse a legal remedy, and the tenants of Ireland who are suffering from excessive rents have no redress whatever except that which they can find in combination. Now, bear in mind that I am not speaking of combinations which use intimidation as their instrument. I am speaking of combinations of men who are determined among themselves that they will not pay, and that to the utmost of their power they will resist the extortion of these exorbitant rents. In my opinion, the manner in which they have been met hitherto has been due to the operations of such combinations as have existed. That is the combination of which I am speaking. We tried to give them a remedy at law by the Act of 1881, but we failed. Why was it that we failed? We failed for two reasons. We failed, first, because of the fall in prices. That was one great cause of failure. There was another cause, of which I can only speak with indignation and with shame. I have heard from Ireland, and I believe it to be true, that the judicial rents were not fixed at the rate at which they ought to have been fixed in those years even, in consequence of the intimidation exercised upon the persons appointed to fix the judicial rents by the Commission appointed by the House of Lords. This House protested by its vote against that monstrous proceeding—the proceeding of a House of landowners, who were deeply and personally affected by the inquiry. You have heard a great deal about the intimidation of jurors by the National League. What do you say to the intimidation of Judges appointed to fix judicial rents by the House of landlords? That is what took place, and I believe it to be one of the reasons why the judicial rents were not fixed at the proper price. Now you have got no remedy by law. In my opinion, the Government are not going to give, as regards that class, at all events, of the tenants of Ireland, any remedy whatever by law. I doubt very much whether the ingenuity of any Statute could defeat that astuteness by which the landlords of Ireland, in the exaction of exorbitant rents, have defeated, in turn, every provision of the Legislature in favour of the tenants of Ireland. We know very well how they defeated the Compensation for Improvements Act of 1870, by confiscating the improvements, and by raising the rents in Ulster and elsewhere. Therefore, in my opinion, there is but one defence for the tenants of Ireland, and that is to be found in legitimate combination. I am obliged to say this, because, I confess, that until I read the evidence of the Cowper Commission, I could not have believed in the possibility of the organized injustice on the part of the landlords of Ireland towards the tenants of Ireland, which is revealed in the evidence of that Commission. I see the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) in his place. I was attacked by the hon. and gallant Member the other night. I have not a word to say against him. He has a good-humoured ferocity which charms his foes. We are pleased with the good-humour, and we do not take his ferocity seriously. This I will say, that if all the landlords of Ireland were like the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh I do not think we should ever have heard of this Bill. But the real truth is that the hon. and gallant Member is just one of those swallows who do not make a summer. He is the exception to the rule. I do not, to use a phrase of my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), attribute any special original sin to the

landlords of Ireland; but, as the hon. Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said to-night, as a proof of the prosperity of Ireland, that they have borrowed so much money on mortgage—the real fact is that the landlords of Ireland are in a position in which they cannot afford to be just or humane. We have had a very similar description of the landlords of Ireland given by an authority which I think even the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh will accept—certainly he will accept it much more readily than any authority of mine—for it is the authority of the Prime Minister of England. The noble Lord was speaking on the subject of the evictions in Ireland, and he asked why it is that these evictions take place in Ireland when they do not occur in England? And he made this remark, which hon. Members opposite recognize to be true —that in England the landlord does not evict his tenants; he does not want to get rid of them; his great object is to keep his tenants, and he will make great sacrifices in order to do so—I do not mean from mere motives of interest, but from higher motives. But in Ireland the great object was to get rid of the tenants. What does Lord Salisbury say of the Irish landlord? In this sentence is to be found the whole history of the agrarian question in Ireland. Lord Salisbury said — and I will read his words, for I think they will go deep into the consciences of the people of England, and I am sure they will be recognized as true by the people of Ireland—Lord Salisbury said—

> "It is the interest of the Irish landlord to get rid of his tenant who has become a burdensome obligation on the land, which can only be got rid of by getting rid of the tenant."

I hope these words will be remembered and thought out by the people of England, for they are the true account for generations of the history of the relations between the landlords and the tenants of Ireland. It is the interest of the Irish landlord to get rid of his tenant, as Lord Salisbury says. [Colonel SAUNDERSON: Certainly not.] I had hoped that the hon. and gallant Member would have been more loyal to his Leader. The noble Lord was disavowed by the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Johnston) the other day, and he is now disavowed in another quarter. Although the hon. and gallant Gentleman may not agree with Lord Salisbury, I hope he will excuse me for taking a course which is more loyal to his Chief than his own. Lord Salisbury, it is true, tries to make out that that condition of things is the result of the legislation of 1881. Well, was there ever such an example of the fable of the wolf and the lamb? Why, the legislation of 1881 was found to be necessary, because it was the interest of the Irish landlord to get rid of his tenant, and to prevent him from doing so. What is the history of the great evictions in all the periods preceding 1881? It is a notorious fact that every famine, every period of distress, was made use of by the Irish landlords to evict their tenants. What is the Irish tenant—this "burdensome obligation" to the Irish landlord? He is the man who has made the value of the land. He is the sucked orange that is thrown away, and the value of the land which he has created is parted with or sold to someone else, and the more often and the more readily the Irish landlord can get rid of this "burdensome obligation" the greater he finds it his interest to do so. That being the situation, as I believe it has been truly stated by the Prime Minister of England, of the interests of the Irish landlord, it can be met in one way and one way only, and that is by legitimate combination of the tenants of Ireland to resist this interest and desire on the part of the landlord to get rid of them. You talk of the American Irish. We have heard a good deal of the American Irish in this debate. Who are the American Irish? They are the "burdensome obligations" of Lord Salisbury who have been expelled from their native land by the cupidity of the landlords. These are the men of whom you complain that they do not love you; they are the "third and fourth generation of them that hate you." And why do they hate you? Because they have found in the English Government the supporters of the system which has expelled them from their native land. These American Irish, whom you are never tired of denouncing, who are they, or who were they? They were the victims, and they are the Nemesis of the Irish landlords. What are these poor "burdensome obligations," who are all to be got rid of, to do? They are to combine, and, in my opinion, they have a right to combine. They have a case to combine, and they ought to be supported in combining, as you have supported the English artizans in combining in defence of their interests. There never was a class so defenceless; there never was a class so cruelly ill-used; and there is not a class in the United Kingdom which, unless they are protected in their right of combination, are more certain to be cruelly ill-used in the future. And I condemn this Bill mainly because it attacks not only illegitimate and unlawful combinations, but because it attacks the right to form legitimate combinations on the part of this class. It is upon that right that I ask leave to press some arguments upon the House. We have said that you have refused to the Irish tenants what you have granted to the trades unions in England, and I will endeavour to state as fairly and clearly as I can the grounds on which I maintain that assertion. The history of trades unions is very instructive. They began with acts of violence and outrage, which were condemned, and rightly condemned. They were punished, and rightly punished, for that. But as the trades unions went on they became more educated and more reasonable, and they entered upon peaceful combination by methods which they considered lawful. It is the fashion now to say—"The trades unions were excellent institutions, and we always thought so." Take the file of *The Times* newspaper, and you will find that exactly the same language was held 25 years ago about trade unions as is now held about the National League. I remember that when we began the struggle for the protection of the trades unions we were denounced almost as much as we are now, and the language which was held about trade combinations was exactly the language which is now held about the Plan of Campaign. Although the trades unions adopted these peaceful combinations the law did not protect them, and the Judges condemned them. In the celebrated case of the gas-stokers the mere breach of a civil contract was treated as a criminal offence, and the men, if I remember right, were sent to prison. There is a vulgar error abroad that to break a contract constitutes a criminal offence. It is nothing of the kind. Every man has a right to break a contract subject to the civil consequences of breaking it. To treat it as a crime is contrary to the first principles of law. There may be an action for damages and a breach of specific performance; but it is not a criminal offence. It ought not to be so treated, although the Judges chose to treat the breach of contract as a criminal offence in the case of the gas-stokers. But what did Parliament do? Did Parliament follow the Judges in this respect? Did the Government read the Judges' charges? Did they put the combination down? Not at all. Did they introduce a Coercion Bill against the artizans of England to enforce the decisions of the Judges? No; they abrogated the doctrine of the Judges—they protected the trades unions against the application of that doctrine. Why was that? Because the artizans of England were able to influence the majority of the House of Commons, and the tenants of Ireland can get no hearing from the majority of the House of Commons. That is why they are treated differently. Now, that doctrine laid down by the Judges in the case of the trades unions was repealed only in respect of trades unions and of persons who come within their protection. It is an unjust doctrine applied to anybody. If the Code had passed into law it would have been abrogated, because it distinctly proposed to abrogate it, but it is extant. It can be brought out by the Irish magistrates and the Irish Judges, and that which you deemed unjust to be applied to the English artizans can be applied to-morrow by the Irish Judges against the tenants of Ireland. I am sure that the Attorney General, the other night, did not intentionally mislead the House. I know that he is incapable of doing anything of the kind. But he did not understand what our point was. He referred to the words "now punishable by law." What is meant by the words "now punishable by law?" Of course, everybody not within the protection of the Trade Unions Act is punishable by law under the old Common Law doctrine. That old Common Law doctrine, which you discredited and denounced and condemned when it was brought before you, by the 1st sub-section of the 2nd clause, you bring fully into operation against the tenants of Ireland. The Attorney General went off at the phrase of a "new crime." In one sense, no doubt, it is not a new crime. What we proposed under our Amendments was that against that old doctrine you should give to the tenants of Ireland the same protection you gave to the trades unions of England. But you refused it. I argued it, and am prepared to argue it, that you may answer; and depend upon it there is not a town or a village in England that shall not be made to understand it. You deliberately refuse protection against the old oppressive Common Law doctrine of combination to the tenants of Ireland, although you have granted it to the artizans of England. I defy any man on that Bench to say that that Common Law doctrine is not that doctrine which, by the words "now punishable by law," the magistrates are invited to put into force against the tenants of Ireland. This clause says anybody is to be punished who is now punishable by law under that old doctrine, who induces any person not to fulfil his legal obligations. It has been said that it is a plausible argument; that the trades unions offer no analogy to the case of the tenants, because the tenant remains in possession of the land; whereas in the case of combination to break a contract for labour, the contract is simply dissolved, and the parties are remitted to their original position. I admit the plausibility of the argument, but allow me to give my answer to it. That assumes that the landlord is the sole owner of the soil. He is not the sole owner of the soil. He is a co-partner in the proprietorship of the soil. [*Cries of* "No, no!" *from the Ministerial Benches.*] You say "No;" and yet in the same breath hon. Members on those Benches denounce dual ownership. What do you mean by it? If the tenant is not a co-partner, what do you mean by dual ownership? I say that he is entitled to his improvements; that he is entitled to fixity of tenure; and that he is a co-partner in the soil; and if the rent is raised in an unjust and exorbitant manner, what is it but this—that one co-partner forces the other out of the concern and compels him to lose his share? That argument, so plausible at first sight, has really nothing in it. But it is not only the question of the tenure of the land, as my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian has pointed out—it is not a law confined to men remaining on the land, but it is directed not only to contracts in land, but against combinations of people who have entered into no contract in land, and are not on the land, but who may have entered into any agreement with reference to the letting, hiring, using, or occupying of any land, or dealing with or working for any person in the ordinary course of business or trade; and every combination for any purpose is made criminal by this Bill under the old Common Law doctrine; and the magistrates are invited so to treat it. I say, then, that this Bill, in that respect, strikes at the rights of tenants in Ireland, which ought to be protected, as similar rights are protected in the case of the artizans of England, under the Trade Unions Act. Then, the Attorney General said—"We have only changed the method of procedure." Only changed the method of procedure! Well, Sir, in this, the most difficult of all questions of law, bad as the Combination Laws under the old interpretation of the Judges were, you had at least the protection of the Judge; you had the protection of the jury. You are going to take away both of these safeguards in respect of the administration of this Criminal Law. Now, I will just give an illustration of what it amounts to when the Attorney General says—"We only changed the method of procedure." Suppose the Attorney General came down with a Bill on the subject of political libel, and said—"We will alter the law, and make it criminal before a police magistrate." He would say—"We have only changed the procedure. It is no new crime. We have only taken away the jury and taken away the Judge, and have made the trial for criminal libel to be conducted before a magistrate. It is quite unimportant. We have only changed the procedure." What would the English people say to that? It is quite obvious that the whole object of the Bill is to bring this cruel law of combination into operation before the Resident Magistrates—which you abrogated in the case of trades unions—and to take away the old safeguards of the Judge and jury, which mitigated the operation of these laws against combination. Then, Sir, this is a highly technical and difficult law to administer. That was admitted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland in a moment of candour. In answer to an appeal made to him by me he admitted the injustice of leaving a question of this kind to the Resident Magistrate; and he said—"We mean to give an appeal in every case to the County Court Judge." It was pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that in sentences under a month no such appeal was given under the existing law. He said he would amend the law in that respect, and give an appeal to the County Court Judge in every case. Well, Sir, when the time came he did not give it. This is the most critical question in the most critical part of the Bill, because this is the part which is meant to be worked against the tenants of Ireland—meant to be worked by and for the landlords of Ireland against the tenants for the exaction of inordinate rents. On this critical point where do we find the pledges of Her Majesty's Government? The Chief Secretary for Ireland has been distinctly charged, both by myself and by hon. Members below the Gangway, with having broken his pledge. [*Ministerial cries of* "No!"] [Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Yes.] We have not had one word of explanation, not one word of apology, not one word of defence from the Government upon this point. The Attorney General—who might have defended or apologized for the conduct of the Government, and who might have shown, in some way or other, that this pledge had been fulfilled—has spoken and avoided the subject. I tell the House that the assertion that in the existing law the pledge has already been fulfilled is entirely without foundation. By the 14 & 15 *Vict.* c. 93—the Petty Sessions Act for Ireland—an appeal is given in cases of imprisonment exceeding one month. There is no appeal under that Act when the sentence is under one month. The Chief Secretary for Ireland said that an appeal would be given in all cases, whether the sentence was above a month or under a month. That was his distinct promise. Since it was made he has told us that he has found a law which will permit an appeal in every case. As far as I know in the absence of any other explanation, he could only be referring to 20 & 21 *Vict.* c. 43—the Act to improve the administration of the law as far as respects summary proceedings before the Justices of the Peace; but that Statute only permits the statement of a case for argument before a Superior Court, and gives no appeal similar to the one asked for. I am speaking in the presence of many lawyers, and they know that the appeal given by the first Act which I have mentioned is for a rehearing of the whole case, facts, and law and evidence included, and is a valuable thing; but the other thing, which is a mere statement of a case upon a legal point, is utterly without value for the purpose which we have in view. To bring forward such an appeal as that as a fulfilment of the pledge of the Government is a complete mockery and delusion; and, therefore, unless there is some other and some further explanation upon a point with reference to which the Government have been most painfully silent, I can only say that this Bill will go forth stamped upon its face in its most material part with the stigma of broken pledges. Then, I say that the Irish tenants have much need to combine—that they ought to combine. I am not speaking now of the Intimidation Clauses of the Bill, to which I referred on the second reading, and I say again, I do not object, for I am altogether opposed to the use of intimidation. I am speaking of the Conspiracy Clauses, which are aimed at mere combinations of men in defence of their own rights. I hope the Irish tenants and their advisers will confine themselves strictly within the lines taken up by the trades unions in this country. I cannot promise them that that will save them from the effect of this Bill, because the measure is meant to attack them just as the trades unions were attacked before they were protected by the Act of 1875. They are meant to be attacked in the same manner and upon the same principle. They will probably be punished and imprisoned as the members of trades unions were punished and imprisoned before 1875; but when that has happened their case will be understood by the people of this country; it will be understood by the Parliament of this country, and I venture to assert that we will never rest until the same protection is given to them which has been given to the artizans in England. Now, this is what you are doing in the name of law and order. Why, you are making laws which are provoking disorder. There is comparatively little crime in Ireland now. I hope that after this Bill has been passed into law the same thing may be said. I trust that as the result of this measure crime will not increase in Ireland. I do not believe that the Bill will diminish crime. I pass now to the only other point upon which I intend to speak—the 6th and 7th clauses of the Bill, by which absolute discretion is given to the Lord Lieutenant with respect to the proclamation of associations. The Lord Lieutenant may declare any association dangerous, and it becomes unlawful by virtue of that declaration. Not even the Resident Magistrate will have power to hear and decide. I wonder you do not rely solely upon that clause. By its aid alone you might destroy every combination in Ireland, and put down every tenant. How do you defend this clause? You defend it by a reference to the Act of 1881. The Chief Secretary the other night said—"You passed that Act, and a detestable Act it was." [An hon. MEMBER: A monstrous Act.] Yes, a monstrous Act. The Act of 1881, whether a monstrous Act or not, made an enormous mistake. It certainly proved so. The discretion vested in Mr. Forster, and exercised by him, became intolerable in the opinion, not only of Ireland, but of this country. Why was it condemned? Why was it abandoned? Why was it called by the Chief Secretary for Ireland a monstrous Act? It was because it vested the discretion of imprisoning men in the Secretary for Ireland, or in the Lord Lieutenant, and because the people of this country would not tolerate powers so exercised, or such a discretion. Therefore it was abandoned. It has been denounced by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] "Hear, hear," and yet, forsooth, when the right hon. Gentleman is challenged on the 6th and 7th clauses, he says—"I defend myself upon the Act of 1881, and that is why we have introduced this Bill." You say you have safeguards. What are your safeguards? Your safeguard is your Parliamentary majority. That is your safeguard for the liberties of the Irish people. Whatever the Lord Lieutenant might wish to do, there is not a Gentleman opposite who would not vote in support of it. Why, the Liberal Unionists have said that in the name of the Union they will vote for anything. It used to be said—"Oh, religion, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Now, in the name of the Union, there is no crime that will not be committed and approved. These are the safeguards you offer under the Bill. I am sorry my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) is not here at this moment; because I would like to ask him for an explanation of a very remarkable utterance which he made not very long ago. He did not repeat it in this House to-night. He was speaking of certain conferences which have taken place, of which I happen to know something, and he said that if only those had come to a successful issue, if the proposals that he had made at various times on the subject of Home Rule had been accepted, that then this Coercion Bill would never have been necessary. Now, that is a very dark saying. It seems to mean that if we had come to a certain agreement about the character of the Irish Members at Westminster, and their remaining there, and about certain arrangements with reference to the government of Ulster, and with reference to the Judges and the police, he would have voted against this Coercion Bill. Then what becomes of the assertion that this Coercion Bill is necessary to put down crime? As far as my noble Friend and his Party are concerned, this Coercion Bill has been adopted merely as a screw to carry out their particular plan of Home Rule; and unless there is some other explanation to give, I can come to no other conclusion. We have resisted this Bill as an evil; you have promoted it—I believe sincerely promoted it—because you believe it to be a good measure. You are as sincere in taking away the present rights of the Irish people as your ancestors were in refusing all civil rights to the great majority of the people of Ireland. You speak of the Union now just as they spoke of our Protestant constitution in Church and State, which they believed would be utterly and irretrievably ruined if the Catholics were allowed to have votes. You appeal to popular prejudice and passion exactly in the same way. Why, in those good old days the Pope played the part that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) plays now, and everybody who had communication with him was treated exactly as if he was a confederate in "Parnellism and Crime." You always had some bogey with which to delude the unwary. But then, in time, the people ceased to be alarmed at bogeys. We are not the least afraid, as your ancestors were, of the Pope conquering England. I do not believe even the Home Secretary fears that to-night. Your "Parnellism and Crime" bogey is ceasing to have any more effect than the good old Pope used to have on the good old people of England. The Liberal had to fight a hard struggle against those prejudices, and against those arguments. They suffered much in that cause; but at least they won civil rights for the great majority of people in Ireland in Catholic emancipation. We are fighting now against your taking away those rights, and even more than the rights which were then conceded. We shall win in the long run this battle as we won that battle. Every day you are losing votes, and we are winning them. You cannot always deceive the people whatever nonsense you may talk about—"Parnellism and Crime," the Union, and all the rest of it. That is all very well for a short time; but in a country where intelligence is spread and argument goes it wears off, and this Bill will do very much to undeceive the people of England. In that sense, if the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) will allow me to borrow a phrase from him—he has so many good phrases that I am sure he can spare one—I believe this Bill will be a blessing in disguise. It will awaken the minds of the people of England; it will make them understand what are the fundamental and necessary conditions of your system of government in Ireland. It may be a difficult and a painful—it may be even a shameful lesson, but it may also be a necessary lesson. The operation of this Bill will expound to the people of England the true principles of the great pillars upon which the great Party of the Unionists rests. Now, there are the Liberal Unionists who profess to be Home Rulers. They say they always were Home Rulers; they say they were all for self-government in Ireland. I observe that to-night in supporting this Bill the Leader of the Liberal Unionists said not one single word about the remedial measures for improving the system of government in Ireland. But other Members of that Party, who profess to hold the same opinions, have superadded this fundamental condition—they are perfectly willing to improve the government of Ireland, and give to it those blessings of self-government which they so much value and admire; but they make it a fundamental condition of the concession of self-government to Ireland that you should perpetually abrogate all the civil rights of the people of Ireland. That is only the superstructure upon which they will build a system of self-government. Those are the doctrines of what are sometimes called the Radical Unionists, and sometimes—the noble Lord will correct me if I am wrong—the National Party. The noble Lord had such signal success with a Party of four that he thinks he is going to double its success by halving the number. Well, you have made great sacrifices for this measure. You have sacrificed the character and the reputation of the House of Commons. You say, in effect, that you do not value the reputation and character of the House of Commons, and it is a proof of your sincerity that you make such a sacrifice as that you have sacrificed everything for coercion. ["No, no!"] You will have sacrificed your own souls. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Withdraw!"] Before you have done with this policy of coercion, you will have sacrificed a great deal more than you have sacrificed already—you will have sacrificed all the traditions of liberty and freedom which are dear to the English people. When you have done that, the English nation will have learnt at what price—you must carry out this policy. [MR. CHAPLIN: Hear, hear!] I am glad to be interrupted by the approval of the right hon. Member for the Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). I know that in his county my opinions are largely held. [An hon. MEMBER: Spalding!] Well, this is the policy of the National Party, which went to the hustings with the cry of equal laws for both nations. We all remember the declaration of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington when he was not a co-partner with the National Party, but a Leader of the Party opposite, and when he said he was all for the identity and the simultaneity of the law in England and in Ireland, and this Bill is to illustrate the equality and the simultaneity of the law in the two countries. I have spoken of one fundamental principle upon which Unionism rests, and I will speak now of another. The other principle upon which it rests is that under no condition shall you pay any regard to the opinion of the Representatives of Ireland. That is the other fundamental condition; that has been stated not only in the vulgar slanders published every day, but solemnly by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale. He says that it is a *sine quâ non* in the settlement of the Irish Question that the Irish Members shall not be consulted, and the policy of the Government made agreeable to them. That is the fundamental condition on which Unionism rests. Of course, you are not going to consider or to listen to the confederates of assassins. That is the language held by the Union Leader. That is the policy of the Unionist Party, and on that they hope to maintain the Union. What do you have the Irish Members here for? Is it for the purpose of defaming them and of calling them assassins? That is why you keep them here, and you denounce anyone who pays any attention to their opinions, or gives any support to the policy which it is the interest of their country to promote. Do you think that those two principles are likely to recommend the Union or Unionism to the affections of the Irish people? This coercion and this rejection of the opinions of the Irish people are the two principles that hold you together. I do not know that you have any other principle which you hold in common. Then you are going to pass this Bill, and when you have passed it, do you think you will have got rid of all the matters which it involves? Why, your troubles will then only have begun. The Chief Secretary for Ireland has had to explain and defend this Bill, and when it is passed he will have a great deal more difficult task to accomplish. He has got to use this Bill when he goes to Ireland, if he ever does go there. What will happen to him in Ireland? He will be put under the harrow of the Tory landlords in Ireland, who will say to him—"Now you have got your powers, get us our rents." We have had a full description of a military charge of cavalry from the hon. Baronet the Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), which he would insist upon being performed by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The Chief Secretary will have to put a great many of these "burdensome obligations"—the tenants of Ireland—into prison. Do you think that that will lighten your labours in this House, or that it will relieve the House? Why, when you have got these arbitrary powers there is no place where the exercise of them can be challenged except in this House; and as long as this Bill remains law, in my opinion the greater part of the time of the House of Commons will be taken up in examining how it is exercised. You will have a more difficult task than you ever had before. You will have to administer a Bill of this kind under the careful scrutiny of a great part of the people of this country. You will have to administer a Bill condemned by the great majority of the people of Scotland. [*A laugh.*] Oh, I know you do not believe in representative government; and if the majority of the Scotch Representatives vote against the Bill to-night, you will say that is nothing—that they do not represent the people of Scotland. You say it of Ireland, why not say it of Scotland? You will have to administer a Bill condemned by Wales. [*A laugh.*] Yes; laugh at Wales; laugh as you please, but he laughs best who laughs last. You will have to administer this Bill against the opinion of a large and, I venture to say, increasing section of the English people. I do not speak of the opinion of the people of Ireland, because that you profess to despise, and will not attend to; and the fact that it will be against the opinion of the people of Ireland is its great recommendation in your eyes. The more this Bill is worked, the more apparent it will become what is involved and what is the price you will have to pay for your system of government in Ireland. [*A laugh.*] You may laugh. I know you despise them. I do not condemn you. It is your opinion; it is your principle. But I do not despise the Representatives of Ireland; and I would say to them that the darker the night for them the nearer is the dawn. The people of Ireland may have to suffer much grievous injustice and much intolerable wrong under the administration of this Bill; but I hope that they will endure it with patience and with hope. I believe that injustice and wrong will be the road finally to their emancipation from injustice; I believe that the operation of this Bill will be the main instrument of converting the English people to the method we have proposed in place of coercion; and when the people of this country come fully to understand the spirit and the policy which the Government of this country are pursuing in this Bill, they will, I feel firmly convinced, condemn it as it deserves to be condemned.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Mr. Speaker, I do not doubt, if I may paraphrase the last words of the right hon. Gentleman, that when the people of this country come to understand the spirit and the policy which have animated the Government and the Unionist majority in passing this Bill they will know how to judge them. I do not for a moment wish to contend that the Government can be blind to the immense difficulties in the way of the administration of the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman has foreshadowed. He has warned us that as the Opposition has fought this Bill line by line, so when it is administered—and he does not say whether administered harshly or not—the whole time of the House will be employed in discussing the mode in which that administration takes place. That is the prospect which the ex-Home Secretary holds out to the Executive Government. I shall not pause for a single moment to inquire when the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) ceased to be a bogey to the ex-Home Secretary. A chronological inquiry into the various revolutions of the right hon. Gentleman's mind would be interesting; but it would take us too far from the serious issues with which we have to deal. I am bound to say that the right hon. Gentleman exhibited a shortness of memory in his speech to-night which I think he has scarcely equalled in any of his previous speeches on this Bill. I think my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) said that this is the 40th night of the discussion on this Bill. There seem to have been so many nights spent upon it that I am unable to enter into a calculation to test the correctness of the right hon. Gentleman's arithmetic. But, looking to the numerous nights on which we have discussed this Bill, it would, I think, be abusing the indulgence of the House if I were to interpose very long between it and the Division to which we shall shortly come; but I shall be obliged if the House will patiently listen while I reply to some of the observations that have been made in the course of this debate on the third reading. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian and other Members who have spoken have insisted upon the point that this Bill is more drastic, and goes further than any Bill proposed by a previous Administration, and the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down stated that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had defended the Bill on the precedent of the Bill of 1881. Not only did the right hon. Gentleman denounce that Bill of 1881, to which I think he was a party, but he asked how the Chief Secretary, who used some strong expressions in regard to it, can say that it is a justification for the present measure. The right hon. Gentleman misunderstood the point of the remark that has been made. Our contention is not that this Bill is justified, because previous Bills even more drastic have been passed. That would be no justification whatever. Our contention is, that it is necessary under the circumstances. That is our justification, and it has been our duty, will be our duty, and ought to be our duty; and it does not lie in the mouth of the right hon. Gentleman opposite to denounce the Bill as going further than previous Bills, when it is a fact that the Bill of 1881 abridged the liberties of the people of Ireland to a degree which this Bill certainly does not. It was by way of correcting this mistaken impression—an impression it has been sought to spread abroad, that this Bill ought never to have been introduced on account of its drastic character—that it was necessary to point out, as has been pointed out with success, that the Bill of 1881 was far more drastic. [*Cries of* "No!"] Hon. Members opposite say "No." Have they never heard of the number of men who were imprisoned under it without trial, without the possibility of trial on mere suspicion, at the discretion of the Executive? I know it is the fashion to say that that Bill created no new crimes, and that great emergencies required great remedies. [An hon. MEMBER:

Were they perpetual?] I will deal with that matter presently. I think I have said enough to show that the Government have introduced this Bill, although it undoubtedly abridges the liberties of the subject, in order to secure the restoration of law and order. That is the point I make, and I will not weary the House with a summing-up to show how previous Bills have gone further than that. I maintain that this Bill falls short, and that it is in no respect stronger than previous measures. It is said that the Bill creates new crimes, and some legal Gentlemen have argued at great length whether it constitutes new crimes or not. My hon. Friend the Member for South Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce) said that this is such a technical matter that it is almost impossible, except for a person who is a lawyer himself, to understand it, and yet he afterwards said that this technical matter is one of the main points on which the opponents of the Bill rely. The hon. Member considered the point so technical that we poor laymen can scarcely understand it; but, nevertheless, he said it is the chief point they rely upon. It is also true that my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian put that last night in the forefront of his charge against the Bill. The charge he put in the forefront was that the Bill is of so technical a nature that the House can scarcely understand it. Nevertheless, one legal point was discussed at great length by the right hon. Member for Derby—namely, the legal point, and a very important point it is, with regard to the parallel between trades unions and combinations of tenants in Ireland. I must admit that to the unsophisticated lay mind, if not to the legal mind, there seems to be the broadest possible distinction between trades unions in England and their methods, and the combinations of tenants which have taken place in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian spoke of lawful combinations and of unlawful combinations in Ireland; but he did not enlighten us, as we should have wished to be enlightened, upon the point as to whether the combinations that have existed in Ireland have been, in his opinion, unlawful conspiracies, or have fallen under the category of lawful conspiracies. The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues were certainly very long silent with regard to the Plan of Campaign; but I have no doubt that he now holds that the Plan of Campaign was an illegal conspiracy. There is lawful and unlawful combination. Let me see if it is possible to recognize the difference between what is a legal combination and what is an illegal combination. I should hold that it would be a lawful combination on the part of the tenants of Ireland if they were to meet together, and say—"We will agree not to pay more rent than so and so, and we will leave our holdings if we cannot get a reduction." [*A laugh.*] An hon. Gentleman on the opposite side laughs. Well, that is the lawful action to take. But to agree not to do a certain thing, and to hold the land against the laws of the country without paying one farthing, is quite another thing. I hope, at all events, that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite will appreciate the broad distinction between those two combinations—a combination to do something which is illegal in itself, and a combination to do something which is perfectly legal. Against a combination like that on the part of the tenants, that they will not pay more than a certain rent, this Bill does not strike at all. But the Bill will strike, no doubt, against conspiracies amongst a certain number of men to do something which is unlawful and illegal, and against the laws of the country themselves; and I presume that if such an illegal and criminal conspiracy took place in England it would also be the opinion of most men that it ought to be punishable by law. I confess that I am incompetent to argue this question with lawyers. When lawyers have argued it, I have held that I might rely, and that we might rely, as much on the authority of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General as upon the authority of my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby. We have sought the highest authority on these matters, and we contend, and will continue to contend, that the Bill which is now under consideration does not strike in any degree against such combinations as trades union combinations. We do not wish to strike at such combinations, and the Bill is so drawn that it leaves them untouched. And now one word as to the third point. I was reminded just now by an hon. Member below the Gangway that this Bill is permanent, and this is one of the stock arguments that has figured in many of the speeches of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. We have refused to put into this Bill a date at which the Act shall end, because of the experience to which my hon. Friend the Member for South Aberdeen pointed. My hon. Friend told us that were we to consult history and experience it would be shown that half the inefficiency of the Crimes Bills of the past had been due to the fact that they came to an immediate end at so short a period; that they kept this country in an unsettled state, because the determination of those Acts was made the occasions for the fight of political factions and Party struggles at elections. I do not think we could, in fact, inflict a greater damage on our future political prospects and on Ireland than if we were to again expose Parliament, in the near future, to such discussions as we have had to suffer during this Session. I think I might well, on behalf of the Government, put in this claim in the interest of English, Scotch, and Welsh fellow-subjects, that they should expect that we should not too soon again have to occupy ourselves almost exclusively with the affairs of Ireland, as we have been compelled to do during this Session; and so no date has been put into the Bill. But hon. Members opposite would indeed misread our sentiments, and would misinterpret our hopes, if they think that we believed this Bill would have to be absolutely permanent. It does not show that we wish to put what is called a stigma on Ireland by having a permanent Crimes Bill. We have shrunk from putting a date into the Bill, because it would necessitate at an early period, perhaps, the recurrence of these discussions, of which, Heaven knows, we have had enough. There is an interesting point which arises out of the whole argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and also illustrated in a striking manner by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt). The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian put it very pointedly to us in the forefront of his speech that this Bill was the necessary consequence of refusing Home Rule to Ireland. I believe I do not misinterpet my right hon. Friend who said—"You are driven to this Bill on account of your refusal to give Home Rule." But if that is the case, is this an Agrarian Bill or is it a political Bill? Hon. Members from Ireland have also insisted that this Bill is due to the rejection of the Home Rule Bill. But anyone who listened to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby will be capable of judging what possible connection there is between the rejection of the Home Rule Bill and a Bill for regulating illegal combinations on the part of the tenants in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman dealt with this question as if it were simply an agrarian question, and he repeatedly charged us with this—that it is a Bill simply in the interest of the landlords. But, if that is so, what has it to do with Home Rule? I think I caught the words that "it is owing to the Government;" but I believe that this Bill would have been as absolutely necessary if Home Rule had been granted as it is now. And if not, why not? Would hon. Members above and below the Gangway opposite then have ceased to take that keen interest in the tenants and their combinations which they now take? And how far would they have attempted to carry out the words of the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien), that landlordism would "die in the ditch?" Would that be the consequence of the adoption of the principle of Home Rule, and is it because that would be the consequence if Home Rule were passed that a Bill of this kind would never have been necessary? Does it mean that if the Home Rule Bill had become law there would have been no attempt to put down intimidation, Boycotting, or any of these illegal combinations? Or would it not have been necessary? But why not? Is this Boycotting, and are these other means employed with political objects, and not simply with agrarian objects? Is that part of their policy? I can see no connection between the two, unless there is this consequence —that as we fear, through the handing over of the government of Ireland to hon. Members below the Gangway, the interests of a certain class in Ireland would be entirely neglected, and neglected as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian himself expected they would be when he introduced, concurrently with his Home Rule Bill, his Bill which he thought necessary to preserve the rights of the landlords. It is not so very long ago since his Bill was introduced, and when it was introduced we did not hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby those denunciations of Irish landlordism to which we have listened in the course of the present discussion. When was it that my right hon. Friend began to hold these views with regard to the rack-renting landlords in Ireland? [SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: When I read the Report of Lord Cowper's Commission.] At last we have a valuable confession. It was the right hon. Gentleman who has been conversant with Irish affairs since the year 1881, who had been a party to all the land reforms which had been passed, who had watched the affairs of Ireland, who had spoken on the affairs of Ireland, who had instructed all the constituencies, Session after Session, and autumn after autumn, with unparalleled energy; and he confesses he did not know what was the situation of Ireland until he read the Report of the Cowper Commission. I should like some of the constituencies of England to think of the perils which they have escaped, from the fact that the right hon. Gentleman was not sooner made acquainted with the affairs of Ireland. He had been a party to a proposal that the Irish landlords should be bought out at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer. And what if that Bill had been carried side by side with the other Bill of the late Government? But fortunately we succeeded in defeating both Bills. [MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] Oh, most splendid confession! Oh, splendid cheers of repentance! Think from what we have escaped. Under the guidance of the right hon. Gentleman we have been denounced throughout the length and breadth of the land for defeating his measures, and now he congratulates himself on being defeated.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Nothing of the sort.

MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman says nothing of the sort. I should be extremely sorry to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: You defeated the Land Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN: No, no; I am too old a Parliamentary hand—I measured my words well, and I said both Bills. [MR. W. E. GLADSTONE assented.] My right hon. Friend admits that I said both Bills; but I presume the "cheer" was only to apply to one of the two unfortunate measures which came into the world at that time. But my right hon. Friend will forgive me if I say that it does bespeak some rashness, to say the least, that, although the Bill was submitted to the country so short a time ago, he already repents of it. I remember, indeed, the significant words used towards the landlords of Ireland—"The sand is running through the hour glass." But the landlords were Irishmen, as well as owners of the land, and they thought that they could not accept the price in gold which the then Prime Minister offered them in return for severing their country from ours. Patriotic but foolish, they refused the offer of the right hon. Gentleman, and now the consequence is, the denunciations of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby to which we have listened this evening. We did not hear that tirade before, and all I can say is, that if my right hon. Friend has waited for these last few months to inform himself with regard to the situation of the Land Question in Ireland I am very much surprised at the negligence of such an industrious statesman. It is most important for the country to understand the fallacy which is continually submitted to it with regard to the agrarian nature of this present Bill. Hon. Members opposite imagine that it is an extremely popular mode of discrediting the Bill to represent it as a Bill simply in favour of the landlords. I think it was the hon. Member for North-East Cork who, speaking last night, said that this Bill was introduced in order to maintain the rights of the Clanricardes and O'Callaghans. ["Hear, hear!"] I can quite understand that, carried away by their feelings, they entertain that opinion; but that opinion is cheered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, although he knows of, and has at this moment in his possession, a Bill which has for its special object the prevention of harsh evictions. Do hon. Members deny that? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] Then they have great powers of denial, and I am surprised that that capacity is shared by the right hon. Gentleman. There is a Bill before the House—and let the country understand it—and it is the object of that Bill on which the right hon. Gentleman made a speech that I thought had been prepared for Monday, but which he appears to have fired off this evening—it is the object of that Bill to put a stop to harsh evictions. At all events, it is known that it is so; and although we have a Bill introduced for that purpose, they say we have introduced the present measure for the purpose of keeping up harsh rents. We deny that entirely. *Interruption.*] I hope hon. Members below the Gangway opposite who have treated me with indulgence hitherto will ontinue to listen to the few remarks I have to make without too many interruptions, and I shall be very grateful to hem if they will do so. I must admit hat my right hon. Friend the Member or Mid Lothian has never taken that ine with regard to the Bill—the line of epresenting it as a Bill for the simple purpose of keeping up the rents of the andlords. But I think we should have rgued it, if I may venture to say so, in more fair and just spirit. He has aken the line exposed by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, f arguing it upon statistics alone. His rgument with regard to statistics, I nust say, was somewhat peculiar, beause he compared the last five months f 1886 with the first five months of 887. [Mr. W. E. Gladstone: 1885.] t may have been a slip of the tongue n the part of the right hon. Gentleman, ut he certainly spoke of the first five onths of 1887. That is my point. ny other five months I do not care bout.

Mr. W.E.GLADSTONE: No; I comared the last five months of 1885 with he first five months of 1887?

Mr. GOSCHEN: Yes; the first five onths of 1887, and the right hon. Gentlean said that as there was no increase, nd as there was no argument to be ounded upon those first five months of 887, we ought not to have introduced the ill. But, Sir, we introduced the Bill long efore the first five months of 1887 had lapsed, and the right hon. Gentleman as quoted and pointed to a period hich was not in existence when this ill was brought into the House. I do ot know what my right hon. Friend ould reply to such an argument as at; but it shows that, notwithstanding is great powers of dealing with statistics, he may fall into an error, though he may not deem it so himself. I do not know whether the conversation which my right hon. Friend is now engaged in will elucidate the point; but I should like to know how the five months of this year, which would include May, bear upon this Bill? The argument of the right hon. Gentleman was that we had not made out any case for our Bill. We have, from the first, contended that this Bill was not to be argued upon the statistics of crime. I may remind the House, though I will not weary it by repeating the arguments and the passages read from previous speeches of my right hon. Friend, that he contended and showed conclusively that statistics of mere crime were no criterion whatever as to the necessity for legislation. We contend that it is the state of Ireland with which we have to deal. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary exposed the fallacy that it was only when there was an increasing ratio of crime that interference was required. If crime has reached a certain point, if it is in a dangerous state, if it is discreditable to the country, it ought to be dealt with irrespective of any other consideration. What is the condition of the country at the present time? An hon. Member below the Gangway thought to improve his case—the case against the Bill—by alluding to the charge recently delivered by Mr. Justice Holmes at Drogheda. I presume the argument to be that the opinion of the Judges and their charges ought, after all, to be considered. The case of the Government for the Bill is so eloquently and clearly stated in the charge of another Judge, just delivered, that it is worth while perhaps for me to read it to the House. It is the charge of a Judge who was appointed by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, on the recommendation of Lord Spencer. I do not think he was a political Judge. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He did not hold the Offices of Attorney or Solicitor General, and he was appointed by the present Head of the Home Rule Party of the present day. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Do not discredit the Judges who were appointed by those in whom you now place the most absolute confidence. These are the words which I say state the case of Her Majesty's Government, and are entitled to your consideration—

> "You need not be told that there is in existence a form of unseen terrorism that interferes at present with all the relations of social life, penetrating every class and every relation, hampering and checking men in all their daily business and pursuits, and utterly hostile to that freedom and confidence of social life and civil life which are the foundation of all prosperity and all happiness in a country, and, as has so commonly happened in the past in Ireland, criminal means and criminal organizations once in existence are applied to other objects and other ends besides those for which they are brought into existence. It is not the relations connected with land alone, but every relation is affected by it more or less. Men cannot pursue their daily avocations; they cannot buy or sell; they cannot employ or dismiss their servants without being subjected to a species of tyranny so dire that it has become a common marvel—that I have heard expression given to in this and in other countries—that out of the common intelligence of all honest men, and out of the common instincts of natural life, some power has not risen up capable of putting down this dire form of oppression, and its results. Intimidation has produced no benefit to any class in the community; on the contrary, all evil that may be supposed or expected to arise from disturbance and from want of confidence are to be found as a consequence of the state of things. It is not alone that rents are not paid, but debts are not paid of any kind. Tenancies are broken, banks are idle, shopkeepers are straitened in their means, and you, who are in the presence of the evils yourselves, whose fortunes are cast in this country, and who cannot leave it, must become entirely conscious of the fact that as a result of this state of things disorder of every kind has been increased, public burdens have become greater, the poor have become poorer, and poverty and distress are unfortunately creeping over every class."

These are the words of Judge O'Brien. ["Hear, hear!"] Why those cheers? It is true, I believe, that Mr. Judge O'Brien was engaged in the prosecution in the Phœnix Park murders. [*Cries of* "No!"] Why a Judge appointed by the Head of the Home Rule Party should not be listened to I do not know, and I leave hon. Members below the Gangway to settle the point among themselves. That is a true description of the state of things which we wish to remedy —which we are determined to remedy. If that is a true state of things, and if the civilized world is indeed on the side of the Home Rule Party—on the side of those who are not startled by such a state of things—I think the ears of the civilized world must tingle. ["Hear, hear!" *and* "We do not believe it."] An hon. Member opposite says—"We do not believe it." But they take their evidence—that portion of the civilized world—from the Members of the Home Rule Party. But if this is brought home, if statements such as these are brought to the ears of the civilized world, then I believe that they will think that we are not only fighting the battle of the Union between England and Ireland, but for principles which are important to every civilized country, and that we are bound to go forward in the task of dealing with such a question as this. I will not trouble the House at this late hour with any further quotations in reference to this point; but I maintain that I have shown that up to the month of June, and even into the present month of July, terrorism is progressing in Ireland, and resolutions of the National League are being passed with regard to intimidation, and that this system is in full vigour, and is flourishing at the present time. But we are told that, notwithstanding all this, we have to face the verdict of the civilized world on the question. I have been challenged upon this point by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian not only made a great deal of the opinions of the civilized world, not as was pointed out by my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), in the same acceptation in which he treats the verdict of Great Britain and Ireland—namely, the masses —but appealed in foreign countries to the enlightened opinion of literary men, which, he states, condemns us. I think that the right hon. Gentleman got into some little confusion, because, while in one portion of his speech he seemed to think that the civilized world condemned the present action of the Unionist Party, in another portion of it he showed that what it was that the civilized world condemned was the system under which we had governed Ireland in the past. [MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Down to the present time.] But the literature of the civilized world is often six months, and even 12 months, in arrear; and that portion of it with which I have been acquainted has been mainly engaged in denouncing our sins of the past, and not in condemning the present action of the Unionist Party, but were referring, I am sorry to say, to a portion of the time when the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues, of whom I was proud to be one, were engaged in endeavouring to conciliate the people of Ireland. I do not think the civilized world were acquainted with the efforts of the right hon. Gentleman to redress the balance of evils in the past. The interest in the literature of the civilized world will not be less when it is seen that an ex-Prime Minister of England has dissociated himself from all his former traditions. It is untrue that the civilized world condemns the action of England in struggling for unity. I do not think that my right hon. Friend would be able to find one trained statesman in Europe who would not say that we should be committing an act of suicidal policy if we had adopted the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman. I have had an opportunity of communicating with many of the Representatives of our Colonies, who told me that if we had made the surrender the right hon. Gentleman had urged upon us to the avowed enemies of England they would have ceased to believe in the power of England. [*Cries of* "Name?"] Name, indeed! Why, when the hon. Member opposite spoke of the millions of Irish in America, did we cry name? I should like very much to know some of the names in that case. When the hon. Member favours us with the names of those millions, I may be induced to give him the names of those I am referring to. I say that we ought to accept the evidence that has been brought to us from America with the greatest caution. I am not going—and I hope the hon. Member for East Mayo will not think that I would sneer at the great American people — nor shall I, for one moment, deny what he contends for, that the opinion of our cousins in America is of value to us in this country. But I have heard many and many Americans laugh at the idea that we should take seriously the statements made in this country at electioneering meetings which have taken place in America, where the Irish vote is as valuable as it is in this country. I think an hon. Member last night called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to the statement that it was extremely difficult to resist the pressure of Irishmen in constituencies where there were many Irish voters. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear!] I value the cheers of the right hon. Gentleman to a very great extent, because they show me the effect which I have been able to produce. I shall look forward to a similar cheer when I remind him of something else. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) challenged us pointedly with regard to American opinion. It has been said before, and it must be said again, that, with the greatest respect for the opinion of our American cousins, we prefer to look to the example they set us, rather than to the views which they express at no great distance from a Presidential Election. We know that sooner than consent to a secession which would have severed the United States they would not listen to any European advice, even though it came from some of the first statesmen in Europe. They determinedly, doggedly, and unflinchingly went forward with their purpose, and said—"We will not allow anything to stand between the Union of the American Republic." And so we say that we will not allow American opinion, if it were against us, which I deny, to influence us in regard to the maintenance of that Union on which we believe depend the fortunes of this land, and in which we also believe the welfare of the Empire is bound up. My right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) spoke yesterday as if he could not imagine the motives which are inspiring the Unionist Party on this occasion. He said that before now the Conservative Party had opposed measures which he believed they resisted from honourable motives. A good many years afterwards he admits that their opposition may have been honourable, and based on large considerations. But, engaged as we are in this struggle, he with all his imagination fails to be able to grasp that there is a great cause for which we are fighting. It is not for coercion we are fighting. We are fighting against his policy, his policy of Home Rule, which he supposes to be the only alternative. There is one point which has not once been mentioned by right hon. Gentlemen opposite in the course of this debate, and that is our duty to the loyal minority in Ireland. Judging from their utterances during this third-reading debate, there is not a single right hon. Gentleman opposite who remembers that there is a Loyalist population in Ireland to whom we are bound by many ties, and who look with confidence to the English people for protection. If it is for this we are fighting, if we are fighting for these obligations of honour, if we are fighting for maintaining social principles in which we believe all the civilized world is interested, if we believe we are fighting for the Union between England and Ireland, which is in our opinion essential for the safety of the State, if we believe we are struggling against surrender which would be interpreted as a sign of weakness in every corner of this great Empire, I say if this is so, and it is so, no Parliament at any epoch of our history has ever been engaged in a greater cause.

Mr. W. REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) (who was received with loud cries of "Divide, divide!") said: Mr. Speaker, I promise I shall stand between the House and the Division about to take place for a very few seconds. With the Division which will be challenged in a moment, the final death-blow to the liberties of the Irish people will be dealt; and, that being so, I think the generosity which is claimed to be a characteristic of Englishmen might allow one who has taken part with the Irish people in the struggle for their independence to make a few observations. [*Renewed cries of* "Divide!"] The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has referred to the Colonial Dependencies of England. He knows right well that this Government dare not apply the Code of Laws such as are contained in this Bill to any part of the British Empire except Ireland. You know there is not one of the Colonial Dependencies of England which would not, at the very mention of such a Code of Laws, spurn the connection with England. You put this Code of Laws upon the Irish people to-day, not because the Irish people are less deserving of sympathy than the populations of the other parts of the Empire, but simply because, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, it is the object of the Government, not to do justice, but to be cruel to Ireland in order that the power of England may remain intact. He said—"If we give in and do not pass this Bill, it would be taken as a sign of weakness by our Colonies." I ask Englishmen, is the liberty of the Irish people to be voted away simply, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer says, to parade the power of England before the eyes of the people occupying the Dependencies of England in different parts of the world? [*Renewed cries of* "Divide!"] I say, Sir, that the object of this Bill was utterly exposed when the right hon. Gentleman said that he wanted to keep up the loyal minority in Ireland. Now, it is that minority—[*Renewed cries of* "Divide, divide!"] I will only be one minute longer. [*Cries of* "Divide, divide!" *and* "Order, order!"] Now, it is what is called the loyal minority in Ireland which has tyrannized over the Irish people by the aid of your soldiers. To-day you wish to perpetuate the tyrannical ascendancy of that class by a law such as this. All I can say is, that if the Irish people had the means of defending their liberties in other places than in this House they would do so. Hon. Members on this side of the House, much as the Irish people value their sympathy and their support, must not forget that when this Division has taken place, and when this Bill has become law, a stain and a stigma upon the name of England will have been cast; and from the decision of this House to-night we look to the Party upon this side of the House and to the people of England to remove that stigma, and to show the Irish people that if they bear this wrong, as they will, decently, and quietly, and hopefully, their patience and their hopefulness will be rewarded in a day to come—a day which God knows we all hope soon will come—when, instead of the Representatives of this great nation meeting together to pass a Code of coercive laws, they will assemble to pass a law which will give peace and tranquillity to Ireland, and which will restore between England and Ireland those friendly relations which this Bill is destined for some time to destroy.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 349; Noes 262: Majority 87.

AYES.

Addison, J. E. W.
Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Ainslie, W. G.
Allsopp, hon. P.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Colonel R. H. L.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Atkinson, H. J.
Baden-Powell, G. S.
Baggallay, E.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Baird, J. G. A.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Balfour, G. W.
Banes, Major G. E.
Barnes, A.
Barry, A. H. Smith
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.

Bass, H.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Beach, W. W. B.
Beadel, W. J.
Beaumont, H. F.
Beckett, E. W.
Beckett, W.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Bentinck, Lord H. C.
Bentinck, W. G. C.
Beresford, Lord C. W. de la Poer
Bethell, Commander G. R.
Bickford-Smith, W.
Biddulph, M.
Bigwood, J
Birkbeck, Sir E.
Blundell, Col. H. B. H.
Bond, G. H.
Bonsor, H. C. O.
Boord, T. W.
Borthwick, Sir A.
Bridgeman, Col. hon. F. C.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, A. M.
Brooks, Sir W. C.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, Lord H.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Burghley, Lord
Caine, W. S.
Caldwell, J.
Campbell, Sir A.
Campbell, J. A.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chamberlain, R.
Chaplin, right hon. H.
Charrington, S.
Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Cochrane-Baillie, hon. C. W. A. N.
Coddington, W.
Coghill, D. H.
Colomb, Capt. J. C. R.
Commerell, Adml. Sir J. E.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Courtney, L. H.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. S.
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Crossman, Gen. Sir W.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Currie, Sir D.
Curzon, Viscount
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
Dawnay, Colonel hon. L. P.
De Cobain, E. S. W.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon, G.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Donkin, R. S.
Dorington, Sir J. E.
Dugdale, J. S.
Duncan, Colonel F.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, right hon. Sir W. H.
Edwards-Moss, T. C.
Egerton, hon. A. J. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, hon. H. F. H.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Evelyn, W. J.
Ewart, W.
Ewing, Sir A. O.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Farquharson, H. R.
Feilden, Lieut.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, W. H.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Fielden, T.
Finch, G. H.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J. W.
Fitz-Wygram, Gen. Sir F. W.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fraser, General C. C.
Fry, L.
Fulton, J. F.
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. A. E.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Gent-Davis, R.
Gibson, J. G.
Giles, A.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hn. G. J.
Gray, C. W.
Green, Sir E.
Greene, E.
Grimston, Viscount
Grotrian, F. B.
Grove, Sir T. F.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Halsey, T. F.
Hambro, Col. C. J. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord C. J
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hanbury, R. W.
Hankey, F. A.
Hardcastle, E.
Hardcastle, F.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Heath, A. R.
Heathcote, Capt. J. H. Edwards-
Heaton, J. H.
Heneage, right hon. E.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hill, A. S.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holland, rt. hon. Sir H. T.
Holloway, G.
Hornby, W. H.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Howard, J.
Howard, J. M.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hubbard, rt. hn. J. G
Hubbard, E.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hughes-Hallett, Col. F. C.
Hulse, E. H.
Hunt, F. S.
Hunter, Sir W. G.
Isaacs, L. H.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jardine, Sir R.
Jarvis, A. W.
Jennings, L. J.
Kelly, J. R.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenrick, W.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kerans, F. H.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
King-Harman, right hon. Colonel E. R.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, L.
Kynoch, G.
Lafone, A.
Lambert, C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir J. J. T.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lea, T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Lees, E.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewis, Sir C. E.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Low, M.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
Macartney, W. G. E.
Macdonald, right hon. J. H. A.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
M'Calmont, Captain J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Malcolm, Col. J. W.
Mallock, R.
Marriott, right hon. W. T.
Matthews, rt. hon. H.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admiral R. C.
Mildmay, F. B.
Mills, hon. C. W.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morgan, hon. F.
Morrison, W.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, right hon. Sir J. R.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Newark, Viscount
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Parker, hon. F.
Pearce, W.
Pelly, Sir L.
Penton, Captain F. T.
Pitt-Lewis, G.
Plunket, right hon. D. R.
Plunkett, hon. J. W.
Pomfret, W. P.
Powell, F. S.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Quilter, W. C.
Raikes, rt hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rasch, Major F. C.

Reed, H. B.
Richardson, T.
Ritchie, rt. hon. C. T.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Robertson, W. T.
Robinson, B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Ross, A. H.
Rothschild, Baron F. J. de
Round, J.
Russell, Sir G.
Russell, T. W.
Salt, T.
Sandys, Lt.-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Col. E. J.
Sellar, A. C.
Selwin-Ibbetson, rt. hon. Sir H. J.
Selwyn, Capt. C. W.
Seton-Karr, H.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
Sidebotham, J. W.
Sidebottom, T. H.
Sidebottom, W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stewart, M. J.
Sutherland, T.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Tapling, T. K.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Thorburn, W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Trotter, H. J.
Tyler, Sir W. H.
Verdin, R.
Vernon, hon. G. R.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Walsh, hon. A. H. J.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Webster, R. G.
West, Colonel W. C.
Weymouth, Viscount
Wharton, J. L.
White, J. B.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, J. Powell-
Wilson, Sir S.
Winn, hon. R.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wolmer, Viscount
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wright, H. S.
Wroughton, P.
Yerburgh, R. A.
Young, C. E. B.

TELLERS.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

NOES.

Abraham, W. (Glamorgan)
Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
Acland, A. H. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Allison, R. A.
Anderson, C. H.
Asher, A.
Asquith, H. H.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, J.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Barbour, W. B.
Barran, J.
Barry, J.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biggar, J. G.
Blake, T.
Blane, A.
Bolton, J. C.
Bolton, T. D.
Bradlaugh, C.
Bright, Jacob
Bright, W. L.
Brown, A. L.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, S. C.
Byrne, G. M.
Cameron, C.
Cameron, J. M.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, H.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carew, J. L.
Chance, P. A.
Channing, F. A.
Childers, rt. hon. H. C. E.
Clancy, J. J.
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Cobb, H. P.
Cohen, A.
Coleridge, hon. B.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Condon, T. J.
Connolly, L.
Conway, M.
Conybeare, C. A. V.
Corbet, W. J.
Cossham, H.
Cox, J. R.
Cozens-Hardy, H. H.
Craig, J.
Craven, J.
Crawford, D.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Crossley, E.
Davies, W.
Deasy, J.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duff, R. W.
Ellis, J.
Ellis, J. E.
Ellis, T. E.
Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
Esslemont, P.
Evershed, S.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fenwick, C.
Finucane, J.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foley, P. J.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Foster, Sir W. B.
Fowler, rt. hon. H. H.
Fox, Dr. J. F.
Fry, T.
Fuller, G. P.
Gane, J. L.
Gardner, H.
Gaskell, C. G. Milnes-
Gilhooly, J.
Gill, H. J.
Gill, T. P.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Graham, R. C.
Gray, E. D.
Grey, Sir E.
Haldane, R. B.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Harrington, E.
Harrington, T. C.
Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Healy, M.
Holden, I.
Hooper, J.
Howell, G.
Hoyle, I.
Hunter, W. A.
Illingworth, A.
Jacoby, J. A.
James, hon. W. H.
James, C. H.
Jordan, J.
Kay-Shuttleworth, rt. hon. Sir U. J.
Kennedy, E. J.
Kenny, C. S.
Kenny, J. E.
Kenny, M. J.
Kilcoursie, right hon. Viscount
Labouchere, H.
Lacaita, C. C.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lawson, H. L. W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lewis, T. P.
Lockwood, F.
Lyell, L.
Macdonald, W. A.
MacInnes, M.
Mac Neill, J. G. S.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Cartan, M.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Carthy, J. H.
M'Donald, P.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Ewan, W.
M'Kenna, Sir J. N.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, W. S. B.
Mahony, P.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, Sir F. T.
Marum, E. M.
Mason, S.
Mayne, T.
Menzies, R. S.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morgan, O. V.
Morley, rt. hon. J.
Mundella, right hon. A. J.
Murphy, W. M.
Neville, R.
Newnes, G.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J. (Kerry)
O'Connor, J. (Tippry.)
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Doherty, J. E.
O'Hanlon, T.
O'Hea, P.
O'Kelly, J.
Palmer, Sir C. M.
Parnell, C. S.
Paulton, J. M.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A. E.
Pease, H. F.
Pickard, B.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Picton, J. A.
Pinkerton, J.
Playfair, rt. hon. Sir L.
Plowden, Sir W. C.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, T. P.
Priestley, B.
Provand, A. D.
Pugh, D.
Pyne, J. D.
Quinn, T.
Rathbone, W.
Redmond, J. E.
Redmond, W. H. K.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.

Rendel, S.
Reynolds, W. J.
Richard, H.
Roberts, J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Robinson, T.
Roe, T.
Rowlands, J.
Rowlands, W. B.
Rowntree, J.
Russell, Sir C.
Russell, E. R.
Samuelson, Sir B.
Schwann, C. E.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheehan, J. D.
Sheehy, D.
Sheil, E.
Shirley, W. S.
Simon, Sir J.
Smith, S.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stack, J.
Stanhope, hon. P. J.
Stansfeld, right hon. J.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stevenson, J. C.
Stewart, H.
Stuart, J.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tanner, C. K.
Thomas, A.
Tuite, J.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waddy, S. D.
Wallace, R.
Wardle, H.
Warmington, C. M.
Watt, H.
Wayman, T.
Whitbread, S.
Will, J. S.
Williams, A. J.
Williamson, J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, I.
Winterbotham, A. B.
Woodall, W.
Woodhead, J.
Wright, C.
Yeo, F. A.

TELLERS.
Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
Morley, A.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MERCHANDISE MARKS LAW CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 304.]

(*Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 4th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Postponed Clause 4 (Exception of false trade description).

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I beg to move that the consideration of this clause be postponed until the new clause on the Paper is considered.

Motion made, and Question, "That Clause 4 be further postponed until the new Clause is considered," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. CHANCE: I beg now to move the insertion of the new Clause of which I have given Notice—

"Where, at the passing of this Act, a trade description is lawfully and generally applied to goods of a particular class, or manufactured by a particular method, to indicate the particular class or method of manufacture of such goods, the provisions of this Act, with respect to false trade descriptions, shall not apply to such trade description when so applied: Provided, that where such trade description includes the name of a place or country, and is calculated to mislead as to the place or country where the goods to which it is applied were actually made or produced, and the goods are not actually made or produced in that place or country, this section shall not apply unless there is added to the trade description, immediately after the name of that place or country, in an equally conspicuous manner, with the trade description, the name of the place or country in which the goods were actually made or produced, with a statement that they were made or produced there."

New Clause (Provisions of Act as to false description not to apply in certain cases,)—(*Mr. Chance,*)—*brought up*, and read a first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the said Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be added to the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. CHANCE: I beg now to move the omission of Clause 4.

Motion made, and Question, "That Clause 4 be omitted,"—(*Mr. Chance,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Monday* next.

LICENSED PREMISES (EARLIER CLOSING) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. R. T. Reid, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Provand.*)

[BILL 153.] THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Dr. Cameron.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I entertain no hostility to this Bill; but looking at the hour of the morning, and to the fact that there will most likely be a discussion on the Amendment, I trust the hon. Member will postpone the third reading to some day next week.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): If the right hon. Gentleman will move the re-commitment of the Bill, I would move the Speaker out of the Chair, and Progress can be at once reported.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Order for Third Reading *discharged.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be re-committed,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair." —(*Dr. Cameron*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Tuesday* next.

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) [SALARY, ADVANCES, &c.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the salary, remuneration, and allowances of any Commissioners that may be appointed in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to make better provision for the administration of the Acts relating to the relief of the destitute poor in certain parts of Ireland, to authorise the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to make loans, and the Treasury to make a free grant, to the Board of Guardians or Commissioners of any dissolved or altered Union under the provisions of the said Act.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

MOTION.

QUALIFICATION OF GUARDIANS OF THE POOR BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Henry Wilson, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Qualification of Guardians of the Poor, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Henry Wilson, Mr. Stuart, Mr. M'Laren, and Mr. James Rowlands.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 315.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 11*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) (164).

Third Reading—Land Transfer (161), *debate adjourned;* Trusts (Scotland) Act, 1867, Amendment * (117); Quarries (160), and *passed.*

Provisional Order Bills — *First Reading* — Local Government (No. 7) * (166); Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * (167).

Committee—Report—Local Government (No. 6) * (147); Local Government (No. 8) * (148); Local Government (Ireland) (Killiney and Ballybrack) * (149).

Third Reading—Gas * (123), and *passed.*

NEW PEERS.

Claude, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, having been created Baron Bowes, of Streatlam Castle in the county of Durham, and of Lunedale in the county of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Henry William Eaton, Esquire, having been created Baron Cheylesmore, of Cheylesmore in the city of Coventry and county of Warwick—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

EGYPT—THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION — RATIFICATION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: I wish to ask the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, Whether he can give us any information with regard to the ratification or non-ratification by the Sultan of the Egyptian Convention?

The PRIME MINISTER and SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Salisbury): I am afraid that at present I have little to add to that which I have already stated upon this matter; but I felt that I had no right to keep back the Correspondence any longer, and, therefore, a few days ago I gave instructions that it should be laid on the Table of the House.

The Earl of ROSEBERY: May I ask another Question with regard to the movements of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, in which the public take very considerable interest? We understood, rightly or wrongly, that he was under orders to leave Constantinople last Monday unless the Convention was ratified. The noble Marquess has told us that he was under orders to leave Constantinople in the course of last week. The Convention does not appear to have been ratified, nor does Sir H. Drummond Wolff appear to have left Constantinople. Can the noble Marquess give us any information on the subject?

The Marquess of SALISBURY: Most undoubtedly, Sir H. Drummond Wolff's instructions were to leave Constantinople last week; but I never communicated them to the noble Earl in the nature of a pledge or promise of any kind, that the Convention should be ratified by that time. On Friday I received advices which induced me to think it would be to the public advantage that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should remain there a few days longer, and in consequence I gave him permission to do so.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Are we to understand that the question of ratification is still in abeyance?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I think that is rather a contingent question, and I would prefer to reserve it, like all other contingent questions, till the contingency actually arises.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: We foresaw last week that the Convention might not be ratified, as Sir H. Drummond Wolff's movements are closely connected with the ratification or non-ratification of the Convention. We are anxious to press the matter; and, therefore, as there is considerable anxiety felt in the present state of things, I have addressed the Question to the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The Queen has given full powers to Sir H. Drummond Wolff to ratify the Convention, and the Sultan had promised to ratify on a certain day; but he has not done so. I presume the noble Earl's Question to me is—"What will happen supposing the Sultan were to propose to ratify now?" Well, I think that is a contingent question, and it would be necessary for me to know the precise circumstances under which that contingency might take place before I could answer the Question of the noble Earl.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: Then are we to understand that the British Plenipotentiary at Constantinople is in a state of suspended animation?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I will inquire of Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 164.)

(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

FIRST READING.

Bill read 1ª, and to be *printed.*

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE): I beg to give Notice that I propose to ask your Lordships to read it a second time to-morrow (Tuesday).

LORD HERSCHELL: When shall we have the Bill in our hands?

LORD ASHBOURNE: I believe at 4 o'clock to-morrow.

EARL GRANVILLE: I think this is a very unusual course to pursue. We have not got the Bill in our hands, and yet the noble and learned Lord proposes to take the second reading to-morrow. I do not see why there should be such haste in proceeding with so important a measure, and I protest against it.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): I am sorry to have to contradict the noble Earl. I never recommend any speed in dealing with Coercion Bills. As a matter of fact, I believe, without attaching the name "Coercion Bill" to this useful measure, that all Bills dealing with crime in Ireland—and I am told that there have been as many as 87 of them—have always been discussed and proceeded with in this House with as much rapidity as the Forms of the House would permit.

EARL GRANVILLE: Then, why does not the noble Marquess suspend the Standing Orders and pass the Bill through all its stages at one Sitting?

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I would point out the novel position in which we are placed at this time. This Bill has occupied the House of Commons for a very considerable time—in fact, an unusually long time; but this is not an ordinary Coercion Bill. This is a permanent addition to the law of the land, and I do think that it is a strong measure to have this Bill, when it has only just been introduced, read a first time to-night, to distribute it, possibly, to-morrow morning, and then to ask us to read it a second time to-morrow evening. I have, as you know, peculiar views as to the position in which your Lordships' House stand to the country, and I ask what will be thought of this House if you show this extraordinary precipitation? We are not giving the measure the time we expend on Private Bills. I do not wish to urge this in any Party sense; but I do appeal to the fair feeling of the noble Marquess and of noble Lords opposite to give, at any rate, a decent interval between the circulation of this Bill and the second reading for its consideration.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he did not know whether he rightly understood the noble Earl to say that the

Bill should have the same intervals as were assigned to Private Bills.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, the noble Marquess had misunderstood him. They thought there should be the usual period of intervention between the printing of the Bill and its discussion in the House.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I do not wish unduly to press noble Lords in the consideration of this measure; but I must say that it is pressing a technicality rather far for noble Lords opposite to try and persuade us that they do not know what is in this Bill. I presume that they have not quite lived hermit's lives, and also that they have not refused entrance to, but that they have had a newspaper in their houses for the last six months. However, as the Front Opposition Bench takes so earnest a tone, I do not think it would be becoming in us to press the matter. I propose, therefore, to take the second reading on Thursday.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Marquess must be aware that although only five clauses were discussed the changes have been immense. You have omitted the Whiteboy Clauses; you have also abandoned the change of venue to this country; and with regard to the 2nd clause, you have extended about three lines to three pages. To say that, without the Bill in our hands, we should know exactly the state in which it has come up to us, is presuming that we are endowed with an amount of wisdom which I think is hardly fair for the noble Marquess to attribute to us.

Bill to be read 2^a on *Thursday* next.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE AND THE PUBLIC—ARREST OF WOMEN.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in rising to ask, Whether the police are, as has been stated "elsewhere," in the habit of arresting women in the streets of the Metropolis on the charge of unlawfully soliciting without formal complaint made by the persons alleged to have been so solicited; whether such arrest is not illegal; and, if so, whether the Home Secretary will take steps to put a stop to the practice? said, he would point out to their Lordships that when the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was before their Lordships' House, it contained a provision empowering the police to arrest any woman soliciting in the streets on their own initiation without complaint made. At the time he (the Earl of Milltown) protested against that power being given to the police, but was not successful in preventing it, although he twice divided the House in two successive years, and had the support of the late Lord Shaftesbury and the present Prime Minister. The clause, however, was, on a change of Government taking place in 1885, struck out of the Bill in the House of Commons by the Government of his noble Friend. Late occurrences had shown that he was justified in his action. It was, therefore, with some surprise that he read the statement made by the Home Secretary in "another place" that the police were in the habit of making these charges of their own motion, uncorroborated by other evidence, and that the magistrates were accustomed to convict on such testimony. It also appeared from the public prints that great complaints were still made as to the condition of Regent Street and other thoroughfares. If those complaints were well-founded, it showed that the action of the police had not been successful in freeing the streets from the nuisance; but, even if their action had had that effect, he did not think it possible that the people of this country would be satisfied that an innocent tradesman's daughter or workwoman should be liable to be arrested and dragged through the streets and her character ruined at the will of every policeman. Political capital had, he regretted to say, been attempted to be made in a Party sense out of the recent transaction; but he would remind their Lordships that provisions which would have rendered this outrage both probable and legal were introduced into the Criminal Law Amendment Bill by Mr. Gladstone's Government in the other House of Parliament. However, they were struck out by the Conservative Government which succeeded him and took up the charge of that measure.

EARL BROWNLOW: The police are in the habit of arresting common prostitutes in the Metropolis on the charge of unlawfully soliciting, without formal complaint made by the persons alleged to have been solicited, and without a warrant. I am advised that under the

2 & 3 *Vict.* c. 47, s. 54, such arrest is not illegal if, within view of the constable, the person solicited, by his conduct or language, manifests that he is annoyed by the prostitute. It is a question of evidence, the sufficiency of which has to be determined by the magistrate who hears the case.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): I think it is very desirable that it should not go forth on the authority of the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) that what has been done in these matters is illegal; because the form of the Question rather suggests illegality. Neither the Home Secretary nor anybody else has a right to interfere with an Act of Parliament, and I think it a very undesirable thing that an impression should be set abroad that any person can treat an Act of Parliament as he likes. If the state of the law is unsatisfactory—on which point I am not in disaccord with the noble Earl—then that law ought to be repealed. Now, the Act of Parliament expressly provides that if a policeman sees what the noble Earl (Earl Brownlow) has said, he has a right to arrest without warrant. I am not stating whether it is right or prudent in all cases to put that power in force; but the noble Earl asks whether it is illegal, and it clearly is not. I am not aware whether there is any peculiar force in the person against whom the annoyance is practised being the person to complain; but where any criminal offence is committed, any one of Her Majesty's subjects, whether a policeman or anybody else, may, unless the power is limited by Statute, put the law in force. In this particular case, the Act specially provides that a policeman may arrest without a warrant whenever he sees the offence committed. In saying what I have said, I trust it will not be supposed I am referring in any degree to the case to which the noble Earl has referred. I am speaking wholly in the abstract with reference to the state of the law, and without reference to the facts which have brought this condition of the law into prominence.

LAND TRANSFER BILL.—(No. 161.)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

LORD DENMAN, who had on the Paper a Motion to move that the Bill be read a third time that day six months, said, that, after what had passed on Friday, he might expect, at least, a Teller for his Motion; but having for 33 years addressed the House without a single cheer, and having probably brought on himself ill-will by opposing both the Front Benches of Ministers and Leaders of the Opposition, he did not look for encouragement. He wished he might, without conceit, apply to himself the words of the first Lord Houghton—

> "Yet there are some to whom a strength is given,
> A will, a self-constraining energy,
> A faith that feeds upon no earthly hope,
> That never thinks of victory—but content,
> Rejoicing fights, and, still rejoicing, falls."

He must ask leave to withdraw his Motion, and only say "Not-Content."

On Question? *Resolved* in the *affirmative;* Bill read 3ª accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he wished to call the attention of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack (Lord Halsbury) to an Amendment which stood in his name. Section 39 provided, subject to certain exceptions in favour of husband and wife, that on the death of any person intestate real estate should be divisible among the same persons as if it were personal estate. The 4th subsection was to the effect that the section should not apply to the real estate of persons who were infant or lunatic at the passing of the Act, and thenceforward until their death, nor to the estates to which persons who died under age, or who became lunatic before attaining 21, were entitled under will or settlement executed before the commencement of the Act. He desired to amend the clause by excepting the real estate of infants and lunatics altogether from its operation; but he would be glad to hear from the noble and learned Lord upon the Woolsack what he proposed to do before he (Earl Beauchamp) formally moved it.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that he had had suggestions made to him from various quarters as to the amendment of this Bill. He had every desire to meet the views which had been expressed on this subject in various quarters of the House, but it was not an easy matter. Having done his best to consider it, he had come to the conclusion that the best way to meet the difficulty was to empower the High Court (Chancery Division) to deal with the matter of the devolution of the real property of intestate lunatics and minors in such way as, in its opinion, would meet the justice of the case. He would, therefore, move an Amendment to effect that object.

Amendment *moved*,

In page 20, line 32, add ("Provided that in any case where but for this provision the real estate of any infant or lunatic would be dealt with in accordance with this section, it shall be lawful for the court, on the application of any member of such infant or lunatic's family, to make such order respecting the devolution of the real estate as the court may think just, having regard to the settlement or will under which the infant or lunatic became entitled and the circumstances of the family and estate."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

Lord HERSCHELL said, he did not like expressing a decided opinion at a moment's notice; but he must confess that he viewed with some apprehension the suggestion that the Court of Chancery should make a will for a man. He preferred some modification of the proposal of the noble Earl opposite.

Lord BRAMWELL said, that the whole difficulty might be overcome if, instead of abolishing estates in tail and turning them into estates in fee simple, the tenant in tail were to be empowered to make such a grant or devise as he might make if he had an estate in fee simple.

The PRIME MINISTER and SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Salisbury) said, that, as the matter was of some importance, it would probably be more satisfactory to the House if further time were given for the consideration of the point. He, therefore, moved the adjournment of the debate.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Earl BEAUCHAMP suggested that it would be better that the Motion for the passing of the Bill should be withdrawn.

Lord Halsbury

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, he would withdraw his Motion for the adjournment of the debate.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Further debate on the said Amendment *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

QUARRIES BILL.—(No. 160.)

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

The Earl of WEMYSS asked for some information with regard to the sentence in the Bill—"Close on a highway or place of public resort dedicated to the public." In "another place" there was a Bill called "Access to Mountains (Scotland) Bill." Assuming that that Bill were to come to their Lordships' House, and were to pass, which he hoped would not be the case, would a place of public resort include a Scotch mountain, such as Ben Nevis, and would it be dedicated to the public?

Lord THRING, in reply, said, he thought it would not apply to mountains in any case. A mountain itself would not be dedicated to the public, though they might have resort to it. Those words were put in the Bill in order to mark the difference between highways and other places of public resort, such as markets, and a mountain could not be such a place.

The Earl of WEMYSS said, it only showed the difficulties their Lordships were in from this sort of legislation.

Motion *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Bill read 3ª, with the Amendments, and *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter past
Five o'clock, till To-morrow,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 11*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—New Members Sworn—John Aird, esquire, *for* Borough of Paddington (North Division); William Henry Walter Ballantine, esquire, *for* Borough of Coventry.
Select Committee — Sunday Postal Labour, Mr. Baggallay *disch.*; Mr. Maclure *added.*
Public Bills — *First Reading* — Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) * [317]; Lunacy Districts (Scotland) * [318].
Second Reading—Irish Land Law [308] [*First Night*], *debate adjourned;* Law of Evidence Amendment [316], *debate adjourned;* Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Acts Amendment * [252].
Select Committee — Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) * [136], Mr. Baggallay *disch.*; Mr. Whitmore *added.*
Committee—Distressed Unions (Ireland) [307], *debate adjourned.*
Considered as amended—*Third Reading* — Merchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment [304]; Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) [309], and *passed.*
Provisional Order Bill — *Third Reading* — Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * [288], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

BARBADOES — THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—RAILWAY AND WATER COMPANIES.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If his attention has been drawn to the debate in the Legislative Council of Barbadoes on 29th December, 1886, wherein, according to *The Barbadoes Agricultural Reporter* of 7th January, 1887, it was admitted by Members on both sides that the credit of the Colony was being pledged in support of a Water Company which had issued a prospectus containing statements not in accordance with facts; that the Railway and Water Companies are principally supported by the same Directors; whether he will point out to that Government that no portion of the subsidy of £6,000 per annum granted to the Barbadoes Railway, of only 21¼ miles in length, now reaches the British investor, although in the prospectus it is "specially appropriated" to the preference shareholders; and, whether, as the consulting engineer and certain Directors have protested against the management as being extravagant and incompetent, and against the consequent injury to the credit of the Colony, he will recommend, should it appear that the engineering departments, &c. are entrusted to an official who is not a qualified engineer, and who has no previous experience as a manager, that the said subsidy be withheld pending further instructions and reform?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir Henry Holland) (Hampstead): With regard to the first part of the hon. Member's Question, I would refer to the reply given by me on the 4th instant to the Question of the hon. Member for Wandsworth (Mr. Kimber) on this subject. I am informed that none of the Directors of the Water Company are Directors of the Railway Company. It does not appear that the Government of Barbadoes has any concern with the manner in which the subsidy payable by it to the Barbadoes Railway Company is applied. If there has been any improper application of the subsidy it would seem to be a question for a Court of Law. The Government of Barbadoes has no power to withhold the subsidy, which is payable under an Act of the Colonial Legislature, so long as the conditions on which it is payable are shown to exist.

POST OFFICE—THE LORD LIEUTENANT'S LETTERS—"DUBLIN OFFICIAL PAID."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether letters from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, dated from Vice Regal Lodge, Dublin, relating solely to his Lordship's private business as a trader, have passed through the Post Office, during the month of June, marked "Dublin Official Paid;" whether there is more than one account of postage kept by the Dublin Office with the Lord Lieutenant; and, in either case, whether he will state how, on the Post Office accounts, actually official Correspondence is distinguished from correspondence confined to his Lordship's commercial business as a coal merchant; and, whether he will state against whom the postage is debited, and by whom actually paid, for letters so sent out by the Lord Lieutenant, and solely relating to his business as a trader?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I have not any facilities for knowing the contents of the letters in question; but, if the hon. Member will place any specific information in my hands, I will make inquiry.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he had placed the Question on the Paper a week ago, in order that the right hon. Gentleman might have an opportunity of ascertaining the facts. He would venture to ask whether a letter dated 29th June, signed by the Secretary to the Marquess of Londonderry, was sent by him to his Lordship's coal agent in London, and whether that was one of a series of letters?

MR. RAIKES said, perhaps the hon. Member would place that letter in his hands, and he would take care to ascertain whether the statement was correct.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he would do so.

Subsequently,

MR. BRADLAUGH gave Notice that, owing to the unsatisfactory answer of the Postmaster General, he would call attention to the matter in Supply on the Vote for the Lord Lieutenant's salary.

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What was the total cost to the country, up to the 30th June last, of the Mission of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to the East of Europe?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Up to the 31st of December the accounts for the cost of the Mission amounted to £22,537 3*s*. 6*d*. Those for the last half-year have not yet been received; but we have reason to believe that the cost will not exceed £800 a-month, including telegrams and all other charges, making a total amount from the commencement of a little over £27,000. I must not be understood to state this sum as actual; but I believe that it is approximate.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—STATISTICS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the number of evictions and of the persons evicted from their holdings in Ireland during the quarter ending 30th June?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the Returns which would answer this Question were laid upon the Table on Thursday, the same day on which the hon. Member gave Notice of this Question.

POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPH CABLES IN THE WESTERN ISLES (ISLAY).

COLONEL MALCOLM (Argyllshire) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, whenever the telegraph cable to Islay requires to be renewed, he will consider the advantages offered by the alternative line through the Island of Gigha, and thus afford the advantages of telegraphic communication to the fishermen of that Island?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have much pleasure in stating that the alternative route for the Islay telegraph cable suggested in his Question shall receive full consideration, with a view to its possible adoption when the time arrives for renewing the cable.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—PRIVATE RIGHTS IN MUSSEL BEDS.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Secretary for Scotland has communicated with the Scotch Fishery Board for the purpose of carrying out the assurance given by the Government that inquiries should be instituted by the Board as to private rights in mussel beds in the tidal waters of Scotland; what inquiries, if any, have the Scotch Fishery Board been directed to make; what inquiries, if any, have been made by the Board; and, pending the inquiries, will the Government suspend any further grants of fishing rights in tidal waters to private individuals or Corporations?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The Secretary for Scotland has communicated with the Fishery Board as to this matter, and has directed them to inquire—(1) Where the principal mussel beds on the Coast of Scotland are; (2) to whom they belong; (3) on what terms fishermen can obtain mussels from them. The Board have issued instructions to their officers to make these inquiries and report. With regard to the last Question, it is a matter within the sole jurisdiction of the Board of Trade; but, on inquiry there, it has been ascertained that no such grant has been made during the last 15 years; and though it is very improbable that any grant will be made, it would be improper to give any such undertaking as is asked for by the hon. Member.

THE JUBILEE NIGHT — PUBLICANS AND BEERHOUSE KEEPERS—EXTENSION OF HOURS OF OPENING.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can state to the House the terms of the notification made by the Metropolitan Police authorities, authorising the publicans and beerhouse keepers within their jurisdiction to keep their houses open for the sale of drink until 2 a.m. on Jubilee night; and, whether he can state what means were taken to bring such notice to the knowledge of the publicans and beerhouse keepers concerned therein?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): A Circular was issued by the Chief Commissioner to Superintendents of Divisions, from whom the publicans would, in the ordinary course, make inquiry. The Circular was to the effect that the police were not to take proceedings against publicans or other licensed persons for keeping open their houses up till 2 a.m. on the 22nd of June, unless there was disorder, and the law was infringed.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Could that Circular be regarded as having been legally issued?

MR. MATTHEWS: Without Notice I ought not to be called upon to answer questions of law. It is not for me to give a decision; but, as far as I know the law, it seems to me to be an irregular mode of granting licences. The Chief Commissioner had determined to grant occasional licences in connection with this special event; but the time had been found insufficient.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMISTRESS OF ANNYALLA, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the appointment (pro tem.) of Mrs. Maria Clark as postmistress of the Annyalla, County Monaghan, Post Office, has yet been confirmed; and, if not, whether, considering that the duties of the office have been discharged to the entire satisfaction of the people of the locality by that lady since the 24th of May last, he will see that the appointment is confirmed without further delay?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): No appointment, temporary or permanent, has at present been made to the sub-post office at Annyalla, County Monaghan. The nomination to the appointment rests with the Lords of the Treasury. If Mrs. Maria Clark should be nominated, and should be found in all respects a suitable person, I shall be glad to confirm the appointment.

HER MAJESTY'S OFFICE OF WORKS AND BUILDINGS — EXAMINATION FOR CLERK OF THE WORKS.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the candidates at the Examination held last April for Clerk of Works to Her Majesty's Office of Works and Buildings have complained of the too theoretical character of the examination, and if it will be reformed and rendered more practical in the future; if the clause, which stipulates that a candidate "shall have been employed five years superintending buildings," shall be read as fixing the time to be wholly devoted to such duties; and, if a healthy, noiseless, and comfortable room, suited to the purposes of an examination, will be provided for conducting the examinations in future?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): There were some complaints from candidates examined last April for Clerk of Works in the Office of Works and Buildings as to the too theoretical character of the examination; but, on inquiry into the matter, those complaints proved to be groundless under the existing Regulations. The Civil Service Commissioners are not aware whether the Office of Works consider that the Regulations require to be reformed; but it is understood that the matter is under consideration. The Civil Service ommissioners do not consider that the clause, which stipulates that "a candidate shall have been employed at least five years in the superintendence of buildings," should be read as fixing the time to be wholly devoted to such duties. The candidates on the occasion in question were examined in a healthy, noiseless, and comfortable room in the Office of the Civil Service Commission in Cannon Row.

THE JUBILEE WEEK—THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE AND POLICE.

MR. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Home Secretary a Question which on the Paper was addressed to the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire (Mr. Tatton Egerton), as representing the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether the men in the Metropolitan Fire Brigade will, as in the case of the Metropolitan Police, receive any special gratuity for their extraordinary services during the Jubilee week?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he had no knowledge on the subject.

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford) believed that the Home Secretary was the official Representative of the Board in that House, and was unable to give any information.

WAR OFFICE — ARMY CONTRACTS— THE CONTRACT FOR HIDES.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, How many hides sold by Messieurs Ross, of Bermondsey, to the Government, in 1886, and passed at the time as sound and good by the Viewer, who was formerly in the employment of Messieurs Ross, but since condemned as "worthless," have been returned to Messieurs Ross; and, whether the Government have recovered from that firm the money paid for those hides?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter): Nine hundred collar hides were supplied by Messrs. Ross in the early part of 1886; and after they had been in store for several months some of them were found to have lost colour, and to have become hard and dry. All these were re-dressed by Messrs. Ross without charge, though they had been passed and out of their custody for many mouths, and the Commissary General now reports the leather to be quite satisfactory.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE MAYO CONSPIRACY PRISONERS.

MR. J. F. X. O'BRIEN (Mayo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has received a copy of a Resolution lately passed by the Board of Guardians of the Claremorris Union, County Mayo, setting forth—

> "That, when the Earl of Carnarvon was Viceroy, a Memorial, or statement, was presented to him respecting certain persons then undergoing penal servitude, and known as the Mayo Conspiracy Prisoners; that, on the occasion referred to, the Earl of Carnarvon promised that a judicial investigation should be held into the trial and conviction of those prisoners; that the promised investigation has not been held; that it was proved on the trial that one of the prisoners, Patrick Nally, used his influence to suppress crime and to prevent agrarian outrage, even to the risk of his life;"

and, whether he will now hold out hope of a speedy termination of the imprisonment of those prisoners, which has now lasted nearly five years, in addition to about a year before conviction?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Lord Lieutenant has had before him a Resolution from the Guardians of the Swinford Union in the terms mentioned in the Question. His Excellency has informed the Guardians that, on a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case, he has decided that the law must take its course. He was also authorized by the Earl of Carnarvon to add that the statement that he had promised a judicial investigation was erroneous.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS—PURCHASES OF SCHOOL REQUISITES.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether the teachers of elementary schools in England are required to purchase their supplies of school requisites from any particular firm; whether there is any Rule obliging them to advance in bulk sum the full price at which the requisites are to be retailed to their pupils; and, whether he will mention what facilities are afforded to these teachers in the selection and purchase of books and stationery for use in their schools?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford) in reply, said, that teachers of elementary schools in England had nothing to do with purchasing of school requisites. This was the business of the managers, who enjoyed full liberty of action in respect of it.

VACCINATION ACTS—IMPRISONMENT OF ROBERT ESSAM, OF KETTERING.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reference to the case of Robert Essam, of Kettering, who was imprisoned on the 8th of June for non-payment of a fine under the Vaccination Acts, Whether it is a fact that Robert Essam protested against being compelled to pick oakum, and was threatened with punishment if he persisted in refusing to pick the oakum; whether it is in strict accordance with the existing law and existing Prison Regulations that prisoners, in such cases as Essam's, should be ordered to pick oakum or to perform other tasks imposed on prisoners sentenced to hard labour, and that they should be threatened with punishment in case of refusal; and, whether he will state to the House what exactly are the present Regulations as to tasks and other discipline which may be legally imposed on prisoners under the Vaccination Acts?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Prison Commissioners that Robert Essam made no complaint to anyone connected with the prison with reference to his treatment. It is in accordance with the existing law and Prison Rules that prisoners in such cases should be ordered to pick oakum; but prisoners sentenced to simple imprisonment without hard labour cannot be placed on the tread-wheel, and can only be employed on labour of the lightest description. There are no special Rules for prisoners under the Vaccination Acts. It is the sentence which governs the treatment, and the same sentence involves the same treatment whatever may be the Act authorizing it.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE VACANT SEAT.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any steps have been taken to fill the vacant seat at the Board of National Education in Ireland?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The vacancy will be filled by the appointment of Mr. J. Malcolm Inglis, J.P.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the forthcoming Naval Review at Spithead, he will cause notices to be issued to all masters and owners of steam vessels employed between Portsmouth, Gosport, Southampton, and Isle of Wight, licensed to carry passengers, warning them against any infringement of the law by carrying more than the specified number of persons mentioned in their licences respectively; and, whether he will also, as a further necessary precaution, arrange for officers of the Board of Trade to attend at the various piers and landing places at the afore-mentioned towns on the day of the Review, to ensure due observance of the law against overloading, seeing that the Local Authorities have no jurisdiction over such vessels, nor over the steam launches, and that such overloading, which commonly happens on these occasions, is a very serious risk and danger to life, especially in the event of even a slight collision, in a crowded roadstead?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have issued the following caution to owners and masters, as suggested by the hon. and gallant Member, with regard to overcrowding of passenger steamers on the occasion of the Review at Spithead:—

"The Board of Trade desire to call the attention of owners and masters of passenger steamships to the danger of overcrowding their vessels on the occasion of the Naval Review at Spithead, and to warn them of the penalties to which they will render themselves liable if they infringe the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854 (Section 319), which are as follows." (Here follows a quotation of Section 319 of the "Merchant Shipping Act, 1854.")

The Board have, however, no staff to count passengers on board these steamers, nor have they authority under any Statute to appoint or pay officers to undertake such a duty. It is entirely for the local Police Authorities to take such steps as they may deem necessary to prevent overcrowding.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY—CLOSING OF REFINERIES.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that three more sugar refineries have recently closed their doors, throwing about 2,000 men out of employment; and, whether he will consent to the Returns relating to Sugar Refineries and to Sugar Bounties, of which Notice has been given?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have no information as to the closing of the three refineries referred to by the hon. Member, except what has appeared in the Press; but they have no reason to doubt the correctness of the general statement, though as to the exact number of persons thrown out of employment they have no knowledge. It would be impossible to give the return of which the hon. Member has given Notice. As to the main part of it—namely, the number and names of sugar refineries closed in the United Kingdom, the capital represented by them, &c., the Board have no official information, except what was given before the Sugar Bounties Committee of 1879-80, which was most incomplete, and not in a form that could be adapted to a Return; and it would be impossible to obtain the necessary information, if it could be procured at all, without inquiries of a most inquisitorial character. As to the bounties given by Foreign Governments, the amount of such bounties is also a matter which it is impossible to ascertain with any approach to accuracy, and it would be undesirable to give a merely estimated figure; but the consumption and wholesale prices could be given. I regret, therefore, that I cannot grant the Return asked for by the hon. Member.

DISTRESS IN THE METROPOLIS—THE RETURNS.

MR. CYRIL FLOWER (Bedford, Luton) asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, When the information promised in April last with reference to the distress in the Metropolis, and which was then said to be nearly complete, would be ready and laid before the House; and, whether any additional powers have been, or can be, conferred upon Boards of Guardians to deal with exceptional distress?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes): I am informed by the Registrar General that the work of tabulation has proved to be more difficult than was anticipated, owing to the very unsatisfactory answers received, which do not admit of simple mechanical tabulation. He cannot hold out any hope of the Return being completed before the end of next month. Boards of Guardians have already full powers of dealing with exceptional distress, and additional powers for this purpose are not contemplated.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is any truth in the report, which is current in Natal, that certain Boers are pasturing in the Native districts of British Zululand, and that they are also claiming to levy taxes on, and to exact labour from, the Zulus; and, if this statement be true, what steps have been taken to protect the Natives?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): According to the information I have received, the Boers have completely left Zululand, except those settled in the Entonganeni, or Proviso B District, where their right to settle has been recognized. The reports mentioned as to levying taxes and exacting labour probably refer to a brief period of uncertainty, now terminated, during which a field cornet of the New Republic, named Van Rooyen, was under the mistaken impression that his authority over the Entonganeni District was not yet ended. The misunderstanding has now been set right by the action of the Boer authorities, and by the appointment of a British Sub-Commissioner and magistrate, who will be supported by some of the Zululand Carbineer Police Force.

SOUTH AFRICA—THE ZULU CHIEF USIBEPU.

Mr. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is any truth in the report current in Natal, that it is the intention of the Government to return the Zulu Chief Usibepu to the district which he formerly governed; and, whether, if such a step is contemplated, he will, before effect is given to it, take steps to ascertain the wishes of the people on the subject?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Sir Henry Holland) (Hampstead): There is no intention of restoring Usibepu; but, in common with other dispossessed Chiefs, he will be granted a small pension for life, subject, of course, to his good behaviour, from the Revenues of Zululand, and a location will be found for himself and his followers.

POST OFFICE—SUNDAY SERVICE IN THE SORTING DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether *employés* doing duty on Sunday in the sorting departments of the General Post Office receive any special rate or extra pay; whether some extra allowance was directed to be paid for such Sunday service by Treasury Minute of April, 1881; whether Memorials have been received by him from sorters of long service on this subject; and, whether any, and what, answer has been given to the Memorialists?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that on Sunday officers employed in the sorting office of the General Post Office receive an exceptional rate of pay, a rate much higher than that which they receive on other days. Memorials have been received from the sorters, asking that this exceptional rate may be made still higher, and I am now in communication with the Treasury on the subject. There is no Treasury Minute of 1881, or, so far as I am aware, of any other date that deals with the question.

SPAIN—DETENTION OF THE STEAMER "CARN BREA."

Mr. DONKIN (Tynemouth) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What action Her Majesty's Government propose taking with regard to the English steamer *Carn Brea*, now arrested at Pasagus by the Spanish authorities for a sum of £5,000, owing to an alleged clerical error of the ship's manifest in reducing her cargo from bushels to kilos, whereby two 00 had inadvertently been omitted, making the Spanish kilos 20,992 instead of 20,992,00; if it be correct that the Spanish authorities have refused the bail of respectable London bankers; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take steps to recover the great loss incurred by the ship's detention?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid has actively interested himself in this case, which I believe is such as is described in my hon. Friend's Question. We have received a telegram to-day that the Spanish Government have decided the case, remitting the fine imposed on the ship, and that it will be released immediately. With regard to the last Question, inasmuch as the detention was owing to an error in the ship's manifest, there would be no grounds on which Her Majesty's Government could ask for compensation for her detention pending the decision in the case.

WAR OFFICE—SUBSCRIPTIONS TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the fact that the War Office paid to a clergyman named MacAlister an annual subscription of £20 for two schools in his parish, up to and including the year 1885; whether one of these schools was abandoned in 1876, and the other passed out of this clergyman's control in 1878 and was taken over by the London School Board; how it happened that no sufficient inquiry took place in any year during which these payments were made; and, what particular official should have made such inquiry, and who held that position in the years in which this alleged negligence occurred?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I cannot refer to the Papers on the subject, as they are in the hands of counsel; but I believe the facts are as stated. The War Office, as large owners of property, have been in the habit, like other landowners, of giving small subscriptions to parochial schools on the application of the rectors of the parishes concerned, which they require to be renewed each year. It did not occur to those dealing with these issues, amounting in the whole to about £200 a-year, to doubt the perfect *bona fides* of a clergyman like Mr. MacAlister, and no further evidence was considered necessary to justify the grant. It is now the custom to call for a statement of the expenditure of the school before any grant is renewed.

ADMIRALTY — RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table of the House a Return setting forth full particulars as to retirements and fresh appointments of officers and clerks in the Secretary's Dapartment of the Admiralty, in consequence of re-organization or re-arrangement of duties, between the year 1854 and the present date, on the plan adopted in the Return already laid before Parliament, relating to the Accountant General's Department of the Admiralty?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I have no objection to giving the Return; but its preparation will take a great deal of time. Perhaps my hon. Friend will confer with me as to the dates to which the Return should relate.

POOR LAW (IRELAND) — THE DISTRESSED UNIONS ON THE WEST COAST.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the embarrassed condition of six of the Unions on the West Coast of Ireland, to relieve which the Distressed Unions Bill has been introduced, he will give an assurance that careful inquiry will be made into each case before any assistance to evict tenants from their holdings is granted, with a view to ascertain whether the result of such eviction would be a fresh burden on the rates?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Government have already stated to the House, on more than one occasion, that it is their duty to afford protection to Sheriffs engaged in the execution of processes of Courts of Law.

BRITISH COLUMBIA—DISPUTES WITH THE NATIVES.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the difficulties with regard to the Native land question which have arisen between the Natives of Metlakaptla and the Government of British Columbia; whether he is aware that these Indians have applied to the United States Government for permission to settle in Alaska; and, whether he is in the position to recommend the adoption of any policy by which the expatriation of the highly civilized community of Indians at Metlakaptla may be averted?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I am aware that difficulties of the nature indicated have arisen with the Indians at Metlakaptla, and the matter has formed the subject of correspondence between the Governor General of Canada and the Colonial Office. It appears to be true that the Indians, or Mr. Duncan, acting on their behalf, made some sort of overtures to the United States Government; but the Governor General has reported in a recent despatch that the Government of the Dominion has not been advised of any encouragement having been given to Mr. Duncan by the Government of the United States with regard to his project for a location for an Indian reserve for his Indian adherents within United States territory. As regards the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, the Dominion Government are entirely responsible for dealing with Indian affairs; and, as at present advised, I think that I should hardly be justified in pressing any particular line of policy with reference to this case.

COAL MINES—THE UDSTON COLLIERY EXPLOSION, LANARKSHIRE — THE INQUIRY.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been directed to the evidence given by the Chief Inspector at the Udston inquiry; whether he is aware of the widespread dissatisfaction existing in the West of Scotland regarding it; and, whether he intends taking any action thereanent?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My attention has been directed to the evidence given by the District Inspector at the Udston inquiry; and I have received from the Secretary to the Lanarkshire miners a complaint that on the first occasion of the Inspector appearing as a witness his evidence was not given in a manner respectful to the Court. So far as I can judge, there was no complaint of his evidence on the second occasion on which he was called; and I have had no complaint from the Commissioners themselves. I await their Report before deciding whether it will be necessary to take any action.

WAR OFFICE — PROMOTION — SENIOR QUARTERMASTERS.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Secretary of State for War, Why in the recent promotion of Quartermasters to Majors, so many Senior Quartermasters were passed over, two of those thus promoted only ranking at the time as Lieutenant, whilst those thus passed over held the rank of Captain, and were performing duties of greater importance and responsibility?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): It was not considered desirable to grant the rank of Major to more than six Quartermasters, and it was decided that the rank should be given to the officers holding the six appointments carrying the greatest responsibility. The Quartermasters holding these appointments were specially selected for their positions on account of their qualifications for the duties involved.

STREET CASUALTIES (METROPOLIS)—DEATH BY A POST OFFICE PARCELS POST VAN.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Sidney Thomas Howell, son of Mr. Thomas Betterton Howell, butcher, Paddington, who lost his life on Saturday, 2nd July, through being run down by a parcels post van; whether it is true, as stated in the London *Echo* on 8th July, that the driver of the van "worked 19 hours a day;" if so, whether it is the general practice for the drivers of parcels vans to be so long upon duty; and, whether, in the interests of the public safety, he will take such steps as will bring the working hours of those men within more reasonable limits?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The case has not been brought to my attention; but I will cause inquiries to be made into it. I hope it is not true that any parcels post van driver works 19 hours a day. With regard to the hours of labour of the drivers of mail carts, I may explain to the hon. Member that they are not in the employment of the Post Office, but of the contractors for the mail cart services, with whom I have no power to interfere.

MR. FENWICK: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to make inquiries as to whether this is true or not?

MR. RAIKES: I have no power to interfere with the contractor in whose employ the men are.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): But supposing the statement to be true, will the right hon. Gentleman give us an assurance that when the present contract expires he will consider the propriety of giving it to a contractor who does not work his men 19 hours a day?

MR. RAIKES: I cannot give any assurance as to a contract which will only lapse after a considerable period of time. I appreciate the importance of the matter.

MALTA—CASE OF DR. GRECH.

MR. M'EWAN (Edinburgh, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of his despatch to the Governor of Malta, condemning the proceedings taken against Dr. Grech, the purport of which has been already stated?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I am afraid I must refer the hon. Member to my answer to his former Question, which applied to the whole Correspondence, including this despatch. It would not, in my opinion, be desirable to give this despatch without giving the despatches of the Governor, with their enclosures, and I have stated my objections to that course. The purport of my despatch, as the hon. Member is aware, has been made known.

MR. M'EWAN gave Notice that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the answer, he would call attention to the subject in Supply.

POST OFFICE — MAIL CONTRACTS — THE EAST INDIA AND CHINA MAIL CONTRACT.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence which has taken place between the different Government Departments, also between the Government and those who sent in tenders, and with the different authorities interested in India, Ceylon, The Straits, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and other places, relating to the recently concluded East India and China Mail Contract?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) in reply, said, that he saw no public advantage which could be served by publishing the Papers referred to; but if the hon. Member desired any information on any particular point, if he would apply to him, he would show him any Correspondence or get him any information.

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS (WALES)—NOTICES.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, In which Welsh newspapers, or newspapers published in Wales, are notices and announcements relating to Civil Service Examinations inserted?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): All competitions by the Civil Service Commissioners are advertised in the principal London papers on Thursdays, and the Commissioners take every possible opportunity of making this fact widely known. In addition, advertisements are inserted in Provincial papers circulating in the neighbourhood of any local centre at which a competition is to be held. Thus, advertisements of certain examinations appear in *The Cambrian*, *The Cardiff Times*, *The Swansea Herald*, and *The Swansea Journal.*

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—CONSTABLE'S DEFAULTER SHEET.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will state to the House the particulars of the case which immediately led to the issue by Sir Charles Warren of his Police Order, dated 24th May, 1885, forbidding superior officers to make remarks on a constable's "defaulter sheet?"

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Chief Commissioner informs me that he is unable to say at this distance of time whether any particular case or cases led to the issue of the Order in question. His impression is that the absence of such an Order was one of the first points which struck him on taking over the duties of Chief Commissioner.

EGYPT—SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Sir H. Drummond Wolff has now left Constantinople for England?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Advices received by the Secretary of State on Friday appeared, in his opinion, to make it desirable that Sir H. Drummond Wolff's stay should be prolonged for a few days.

MR. BRYCE: I would ask, whether we may expect any further postponements of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's departure, or whether this is positively the last?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I am not able to give the House any further information to-day. I may mention that Papers upon the subject have been laid on the Table.

LAW AND POLICE—CASE OF MARY WILLIAMS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following Report in *The Globe* newspaper of a case heard at the Westminster Police Court yesterday:—

> "Mary Williams, 24, a well-dressed and well-spoken young woman, described as of no occupation, and living at 307, Old Street, St. Luke's, was charged with being drunk and disorderly at Holden Terrace, Pimlico, outside the Victoria Station of the District Railway. Constable Wire, 243, said that last night about half-past 9 o'clock he was called to the District Railway Station, when he found the prisoner drunk and interfering with passengers. She had a crowd of people around her, and he was obliged to take her into custody. The accused said she was not intoxicated. She felt so faint in the station that she went to the refreshment-room for a little pale brandy, but this she could not drink, and a gentleman seeing that she was so ill offered her some sal volatile. She was taken to the attendant, and went in a fit. When she came round . . . . two constables came to her side, and said, 'Why you're drunk.' She felt much upset at this, and told them that she was faint, and had nothing to eat. Mr. D'Eyncourt: Do you live in Old Street? The accused: That is my uncle. I am going to be his manageress. Vince, the assistant gaoler, said the accused had a fit that morning. He did not know whether she was subject to them. Mr. D'Eyncourt: Have you any friend with you? The defendant, crying bitterly, said she had never been in a court before. Last night she came from Baron's Court to Victoria, intending to go to Brixton. It was the first time she had been out for a fortnight. The constable said the Railway Station Inspector, Mr. Shenton, was in court, and had signed the charge sheet. Mr. D'Eyncourt did not call this witness, and discharged the accused without comment;"

and, if this Report is correct, whether, in the interest alike of the police and the public, he will direct a Departmental inquiry into the conduct of the constable and of the officer who took the charge at the station?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) Birmingham, E.): I have already inquired into this case, and I have received a Report from the magistrate to the Chief Commissioner, which I shall be happy to show the hon. Member; and I think he would then see that no further inquiry is necessary to be made into the conduct of the constable. The woman had already been turned out of the railway refreshment-room by the Station Inspector; and, on being ordered by the police constable, she refused to go away, and he was obliged to take her into custody.

MR. PICKERSGILL asked, whether the Station Inspector went to the police station immediately afterwards?

MR. MATTHEWS said, the Inspector was called before the charge was taken.

LOCAL TAXATION RETURNS (SCOTLAND).

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will extend his promised inquiries into the delays in preparing the Scottish Local Taxation Returns so as to find out why the Returns which were ordered by the House of Commons to be printed in June, 1886, were kept back for a year, being only placed in the hands of Members in June, 1887; if he will ascertain when the long overdue Returns for 1885-6 will be in the hands of Members; and, if the Treasury will fix a date on which the Returns due in each year will in future be available?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am anxious to satisfy the anxiety of the House and the hon. and gallant Member, and to have these Returns presented as rapidly as possible. The delay has occurred owing to the transference of the duties involved in the preparation of these Returns from the Home Office to the Scotch Office, which, as the House is aware, is a newly-constituted Office. I hope that delay will be speedily overcome, and that the Returns will be in the hands of Members in the course of a few weeks. I am not, however, able to state positively, on the part of the Treasury, when these Returns will be laid on the Table; but I will endeavour to arrange with my noble Friend at the head of the Scotch Office that there shall be no avoidable delay.

A MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government will consider the expediency of meeting a widespread feeling in this country by appointing a Minister for Agriculture?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The

Government are well aware that a widespread feeling exists in favour of the creation of a Minister for Agriculture; and, with a view to meet that desire as far as it is possible to do so, without adding unnecessarily to the cost of the Public Service, a Committee of the Privy Council on Agriculture has been constituted, of which the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has been appointed Vice-President, and a Department has been created to which has been transferred the duty of preventing, as far as it is possible to do so, the importation of disease into this country. Steps have been taken to collect and diffuse information on questions of importance relating to agricultural interests. The Government will not lose sight of the matter, which they regard as one of serious importance.

Mr. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked, whose duty it would be to answer Questions?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: The duty will be undertaken by the President of the Local Government Board.

PARLIAMENT—HOURS OF SITTING AND RISING.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the average hour (exclusive of holidays) at which the House of Commons has risen during the working part of the present Session is 25 minutes past 2 o'clock in the morning; and, whether he can hold out any prospect of an early change in a practice so detrimental to the Public Service and so injurious to the health of those directly affected thereby?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I am very well aware of the great strain which has been thrown upon hon. Members who have taken an active part in the Business of the House during the course of the present Session. It has been due to causes which, I hope, are abnormal, and which, I hope, will not recur. I am not in a position to recommend any immediate change in the Orders and Rules of the House, with the view, by Rule, to prevent the continuance of such a strain; but I hope that it will be possible for hon. Members to place some restraint on their own predilections and privileges. [*Opposition laughter, and cries of* "Clôture!" *and* "Order."] No, Sir; I am most anxious to avoid the imposition of any new Rules as far as it is possible. I quite sympathize with the spirit in which the right hon. and learned Member has addressed this Question to me. I again say I hope it will be possible for hon. Members to have some regard to the hours within which it is possible to conduct Business, and thereby to bring the course of Business to an earlier close than has been the practice on past occasions.

Mr. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) inquired, whether the Rules of Procedure which were placed on the Paper by the Government early in the Session were now abandoned, or if the right hon. Gentleman had any intention of proceeding with them?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have every intention of proceeding further with the Rules of Procedure; but the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that they would take, of necessity, some time for their consideration. At present I am not in a position to afford that time, or to ask the House to afford that time.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—THE GLEBE PURCHASERS.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, he wished to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Government intended to give Notice of the Amendments they propose to introduce in the Irish Land Law Bill in favour of the glebe land purchasers in Ireland, as it would be a great convenience to Irish Members to have those Amendments sent to Ireland, in order to get the opinion of people interested before they came on for consideration?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, these Amendments were Treasury Amendments, and did not come under the charge of the Irish Office; but he would endeavour to get them printed as soon as possible. In the few remarks he intended to make on the Irish Land Law Bill that evening he would indicate the steps the Government intended to take in the matter.

TRUCK BILL.

In reply to Mr. Bradlaugh (Northampton), THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he should take care that some arrangement was made whereby hon. Gentlemen interested in the Truck Bill should not have to wait night after night in expectation of its coming on.

NOTICE OF MOTION.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) gave Notice that on Friday, the 15th, he would ask leave to introduce a Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire and report as to the Boundaries of certain areas of Local Government in England.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, whether the Government proposed to introduce a Bill for the appointment of Commissioners in regard to areas before they introduced the Local Government Bill itself?

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked, what steps the right hon. Gentleman intended to take with regard to Scotland, as he understood from the First Lord of the Treasury that the Government would proceed simultaneously with regard to England and Scotland? Was there any reason why that should not be done?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have not entered into any engagement with the House of that character. It will be necessary, with regard to Scotland, to proceed by a separate Bill; but it is not thought necessary to proceed this year with the appointment of Commissioners.

MR. RITCHIE: Ireland will have to be dealt with in a separate Bill and by separate Commissioners. As the hon. Gentleman will find when the Bill is introduced, it is only now proposed to ask Parliament to empower the Commissioners to inquire and report as to areas which overlap counties. The House will have the opportunity of considering the areas.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport) asked, whether separate action would be taken with regard to Wales?

MR. RITCHIE: I have not yet begun to separate Wales from England in my own mind.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked, whether there was any reason why a similar Bill should not be introduced this year for Scotland?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I can give no details; but it does not appear to the Government to be necessary that that Bill should be brought in this year.

MR. ANDERSON: Why?

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): You separate Scotland in your own mind.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes; I separate it in my own mind.

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) gave Notice that on the Committee of the Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill he should move that it be an Instruction to the Committtee to provide for loans being granted at a low rate of interest, as recommended by the Report of the Inquiry Commission.

MR. SPEAKER said, the Bill was on the Paper for that evening, and the Resolution of the hon. Member would require one day's clear Notice.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACTS (IRELAND) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

[BILL 176.]

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Lords' Amendments to be considered *forthwith.*

Lords' Amendments *considered.*

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) moved to disagree with one of the Amendments, to omit the word "commencement," in order to insert the word "passing." The Lords had inserted the word "commencement" with the intention of naming a specific date on which the Act should come into force; but it was necessary that the Act should come into force on its passing; and he, therefore, moved to disagree with the Lords.

Lords' Amendment *disagreed to.*

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid) moved to add after clause providing for the appointment of additional assessors the words—

"The remuneration to be paid by the borough rate of the said borough."

MR. SEXTON said, that he, for his part, did not think that the additional assessors would be required; but he did not object to the Amendment of the hon. Baronet, because when the Town Council popularly elected had to pay for this assistance they would be more likely to inquire into the necessity for maintaining it.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill:"—Sir James Corry, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Chance, Mr. De Cobain, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. William Johnston:—To withdraw immediately; Three to be the quorum.

PRIVILEGE.

——o——

PARLIAMENT — SESSIONAL ORDERS — INTERFERENCE OF PEERS AT ELECTIONS — THE NORTH PADDINGTON ELECTION.—RESOLUTION.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I wish to call attention to a matter in which I think the rights and Privileges of this House have been interfered with, and to move a Resolution thereupon. Last week I asked the First Lord of the Treasury, whether a certain Peer had not interfered with a certain election of a Member of Parliament, in having promised to provide a candidate in South Wilts? The right hon. Gentleman told me that the Sessional Order prohibits any interference by Peers in an election, and he added that he was not aware that any election in South Wilts was now in progress. That was all right, no doubt; but on Friday last there was an election in progress in North Paddington, and it is in connection with that election that I think a breach of the Privileges of this House has taken place. I have only to state my evidence, and I am sure that hon. Members opposite will admit that it is indisputable and undeniable, as it is the evidence of *The Times* newspaper. *The Times* stated on Saturday—

> "There seems to be a plentiful supply of carriages on either side, though the Conservatives had the preponderance, and among them it was stated were several lent to Mr. Aird, by Lord Salisbury, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord Rothschild, and other noblemen and gentlemen connected with the Conservative and Unionist Party."

That is my evidence, and I find also the same statement in *The Daily News* and *The Globe* newspapers. And now let me read the Resolution of this House. The Sessional Order declares it to be an infringement of the liberty, and a breach of the Privileges of this House, if any Lord of Parliament or other Peer should concern himself in the election of a Member to serve in the Commons House of Parliament. Now, I think it is quite clear that lending carriages to take voters to the poll must be concerning themselves in an election, if it is possible to concern themselves in it in any way at all. Now, to make this quite clear I will remind the House that at the beginning of this Parliament the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had moved that that Sessional Order be repealed, and I myself had the honour to second the hon. Member. We were opposed by a majority of the House. We contended that the whole thing was a sham—that it was an Order that was never enforced—and we said we thought that it was not the best way to maintain the honour and dignity of the House to have a sham Resolution upon the Books of the House, and that, therefore, it would be more for the honour of the House if it were got rid of. That, however, was not the opinion of the majority of this House, but it was decided by a majority of 294 to 126 to keep the Sessional Order. That shows that in the opinion of the House it is of some importance, as I do not suppose that they wished to pass a Resolution which would be a dead letter. I, therefore, call upon the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House to take steps now to put this Resolution in force which he and Friends decided to keep on the Books of the House. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will be glad to do so, because I know how anxious the right hon. Gentleman is for law and order. On this occasion I am sure he will put the law in force against any Peer of the Realm who may have broken it. I am glad that I have not been called upon to move the Resolution I am about to move until after the new Member for North Paddington (Mr. Aird) has been able to take his seat, because I think we may have a few words from him upon the question, and a statement as to what really took place. Without further preface I beg to move that—

> "In the opinion of this House the employment of the carriages of Peers of the Realm for conveying voters to the poll at the North

Paddington Election, on July 8th, was an infringement of the Sessional Order of this House."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): I rise to Order. I wish, Sir, to submit a point of Order which occurred to me on hearing the paragraph read by the hon. Baronet from *The Times* newspaper. That point of Order is whether the House can entertain any Motion for breach of the Privileges of this House founded upon facts the sole evidence of which is contained in a newspaper statement? [*Laughter from the Irish Members.*] When hon. Members opposite have sufficiently gratified themselves and have ceased their laughter I will support my point of Order by proving to the House that the newspaper evidence on which the hon. Baronet has brought forward his Motion is on the face of it of a very tainted and suspicious character. [*Cries of* "*The Times.*"] What I want to point out is that the newspaper paragraph which professes to give an account of this interference by Peers in the election of Members of this House —[*Cries of* "Order!"]

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I understood——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! We must decide one point of Order first.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In order to support my point of Order as to the impossibility of the House proceeding merely on the evidence laid before it by the hon. Baronet, I will mention that the statement that I sent my carriage to assist the hon. Member for North Paddington in his election is absolutely untrue.

MR. SPEAKER: I understood the hon. Baronet to state that Lord Rothschild sent his carriage.

An hon. MEMBER: And Lord Salisbury.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: My point is a different one.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Baronet said that Lord Rothschild and other noble Lords sent their carriages. Of course, that is a question of evidence which it is for the House to decide. The House will decide whether the evidence is sufficient to found a conclusion that a breach of Privilege has been committed.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: My point only is this—that as the evidence is thoroughly false in one particular, it is probably false in another. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): In seconding the Motion of the hon. Baronet, I only desire to call attention to the fact that, at the beginning of this Session, a Select Committee was appointed to inquire whether or not this Sessional Order should be abrogated, or whether any amendment should be made in it. I myself proposed to the Committee—a Report of whose proceedings has been laid on the Table of the House—that it was not wise or in accordance with the dignity of the House to keep on its Books from year to year a Sessional Order which has never been enforced, and which the evidence taken before the Committee showed to have never been enforced since the Reign of Queen Anne. I therefore proposed a Resolution hostile to the continuance of that Order on the books of the House, but I was supported only by the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread). The noble Lord (Lord Claud Hamilton) and other Members of the Committee, voted against the proposal, and decided that the Order ought to be retained and enforced. In the course of the discussion I pointed to the use of the carriages of Peers at elections as a matter constantly occurring, and as constituting a clear interference with the conduct of elections. If my information is complete—and I do not think it is very defective—it is not alone on the Conservative side that such interference has taken place. I have reason to believe that a Peer of considerable eminence on the Liberal side of the House has also broken the Sessional Order, and I believe there are others in the same dilemma. I do not desire that this should be treated as a Party question; but I do desire that this House should not have upon its Books an Order which has become a complete farce whenever a desire is expressed to test it, and which we are afraid to enforce. The great Party opposite which decided that the Sessional Order was one which ought to be kept on the Books of this House, now that a question has been raised about its infringement, ought certainly to take steps to enforce it. I cannot appreciate the subtle mind of the noble

Lord the Member for South Paddington, which induces him to regard this as a question of Order; but I quite agree with him that the evidence, as at present stated, is of the very loosest description—really that kind of evidence which is only good enough to be used against hon. Members who sit around me, but not good enough nor the sort of evidence wherewith to proceed against a Member of the House of Lords. The matter, however, is one that is susceptible of very easy proof. I do not think there is any doubt whatever as to the facts; and I ask the House, in the vote it gives, should the Motion be pressed to a Division, to say whether it means that the Sessional Order should be strictly adhered to, even to the actual letter, or to make a clear and unmistakable admission that it was never intended to enforce it, notwithstanding the fact that a Committee of the House decided on retaining it on the Books of the House. If it is meant to be a sham, like too many things we do, let us say so; but if it is intended to treat the interference of Peers at Parliamentary elections as a breach of the Privileges of this House, then let us enforce the Sessional Order.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will the hon. Baronet bring up the term of his Resolution.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON having done so.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the employment of the carriages of Peers of the Realm for conveying voters to the poll at the North Paddington Election, on July 8th, was an infringement of the Sessional Order of this House."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): Mr. Speaker, I cannot help regretting that the hon. Baronet has thought it necessary to make this Motion. I cannot complain of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), because, in seconding it, he told the House frankly that in this way he desires to revive a question which has already been entertained and decided by the House. [*Cries of* "No!"] I am not putting a strained interpretation upon the remarks of the hon. Member, when I say that he revives by this Motion, a question already decided by the House. [*Cries of* "No!"]

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I am sure the right hon. Gentleman has no desire to misinterpret what I said. Although it is perfectly true that in point of form I revive the question, yet I only revive it by asking the House to give effect to what it has twice decided already.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: All I can say is, that my objection to the Motion is that it proceeds upon evidence which is perfectly insufficient—[*Cries of* "*The Times!*"]—to justify the House declaring formally that certain events have occurred of which our only information is obtained from the newspapers. I do not think the House ought at any time to have regard to mere hearsay information in coming to a formal resolution, and, then, Sir, I am not prepared to lay down a Rule suddenly and without Notice, that under no circumstances is the carriage of a Peer to be made use of for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll. To lay down such a rule in this House, absolutely and without Notice, would, I think, be rather a strong course to take. It is true that we have preserved the Sessional Order which declares that in the judgment of the House it is an infringement of its privileges that a Peer should concern himself with the election of a Member of Parliament. That has been deliberately maintained, but concurrently with that it has been known, as the hon. Member for Northampton has stated, that we on both sides have allowed carriages to be used for the purpose of conveying voters to the poll. It has not been done in any underhand way; it has not been suggested that the course taken has influenced voters in the slightest degree; it has only afforded facilities to voters, and under all the circumstances, whether it is desirable that the House should consider the question or not, I protest against the House being suddenly called to lay down a rule upon evidence which is, at all events, insufficient for the House to act upon. If it is the view of hon. Gentlemen that the Rule should be laid down, it appears to me that notice should be given in order that hon. Members may have time to consider the question. Under these circumstances, I beg to move as an Amendment that this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): May I ask, as a matter of Order, whether, in accordance with the Rules of the House, the House would be justified in taking any action, seeing that there is no evidence, such as is usually submitted to this House, that Peers' carriages were employed in the North Paddington Election?

MR. SPEAKER: That is a matter entirely without my knowledge, and is for the consideration of the House. The hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) has brought forward a question of Privilege, and it is not for me to interfere. It is a matter entirely for the judgment of the House.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: In reply to the statement of the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Staveley Hill) I may say that I have evidence in regard to one of the Peers. At all events, I have founded myself upon *The Times* in regard to Lord Salisbury, and I understand that evidence to be accepted. [*Cries of* "No!"] I should be sorry to infringe the accuracy of *The Times.* But I may state that with regard to Lord Rothschild, I have had a note from the agent of one of the candidates in the election to say that he was certain that Lord Rothschild's waggonette was conveying voters to the poll on Friday last for Mr. Aird. That, I think, is pretty good evidence.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I would venture to state to the House that when a charge of this kind has been brought, when it has been alleged, on the responsibility of more than one hon. Member, that the Standing Order has been violated, it would not be proper for the House to disregard the matter. The statement has been made formally. The noble Lord has said that there must be an inaccuracy in *The Times* report, because he did not lend his carriage. That, no doubt, is true; the noble Lord would not say so unless it was literally true; but the contradiction does not touch the question of the two Peers, and, as far as we are aware, the hon. Baronet the Member for Cockermouth (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) has distinctly given evidence with reference to the case of Lord Rothschild which is of an unanswerable character. [*Cries of* "No!"] I beg pardon for using the word "unanswerable;" but, at all events, it is evidence of a solid character. The First Lord of the Treasury, in the first part of his speech, in which I agree with him, although I differed from the latter part of it, stated that the House ought not to proceed upon hearsay evidence of that kind; but he did not say that the House ought not to satisfy itself whether the facts have been correctly stated; and the common course which is taken in these matters, and which I think the House ought to follow in this case, is to inquire whether the statements are correct or not, and whether the authority for them is sufficient. Undoubtedly the statements constitute *primâ facie* evidence, and that being so, unless the House is indifferent to its own Rules and Privileges, the matter should be inquired into. I would, therefore, suggest that a Committee should be appointed to inquire whether carriages of Peers were lent by those Peers at the election at North Paddington on Friday last; and whether that act is a breach of the Rules and Regulations of this House? That would open both questions. The Committee should be of that character which will investigate the subject judicially, and with as little party feeling as possible, and on the Report of that Committee the House would be in a position to decide finally, first, the question of fact; and, secondly, whether there has been a breach of the Privileges of the House. It is not in my power to move an Amendment, because one Amendment has already been moved. But it will be for the consideration of the House, when the Amendment now before it is disposed of, whether the course I suggest ought not to be taken. I ask the hon. Member for Northampton whether he will agree to that proposal?

MR. BRADLAUGH: On a question of Order, I wish to ask whether on a matter of Privilege, any Notice is ever given beforehand, according to the forms of the House, and whether by giving Notice the question of Privilege would not be waived?

MR. SPEAKER: A Committee could not be moved for without Notice.

MR. BRADLAUGH: The question raised is that this is a Motion without Notice.

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not understand that that question is raised. A question of Privilege is raised without Notice.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I am quite willing to accept the suggestion which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) has thrown out.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have often been present when discussions on questions of Privileges have been raised, and no doubt they are of great interest. I think, however, on almost every occasion, I have ventured to ask the House not to deal too rapidly with a question of Privilege, and not to extend too widely the limits of Privilege which allow debates of this kind to be sprung on the House. I venture to make a confident appeal to the right hon. Gentleman who last spoke, whether he thinks the course he has suggested is consistent with the dignity of the House. Hon. Members opposite have within their own discretion, and for reasons which seem good to themselves, charged the Party on this side of the House with degrading the House of Commons by their legislative action. But I ask whether you are not really proposing to make a ridiculous spectacle of the House of Commons altogether by bringing it into public disrepute, when you propose to employ this great weapon of Privilege in all its forms, and by means of a Committee taking evidence at a time when the House is overburdened with work, to find out whether or not the statements of *The Times* reporter are correct, or whether or not the hon. Baronet is correct in saying that Lord Rothschild sent a wagonette and Lord Salisbury sent a carriage. Is it really within the limits of common-sense, to say nothing of dignity, to take action of that kind? But there are two other considerations which I should like to bring before the House. I speak with immense diffidence because I feel that this is a Motion which ought not to be brought forward to-night in view of the extremely important and interesting discussion which is to follow. In the first place, the House could easily, if it had wished, have prohibited the use of carriages by Peers at elections. The whole question of carriages and their use at elections was most carefully considered by the House in 1884, when the Corrupt Practices Bill was under discussion. It is certain that if the House had then been of opinion that the use of Peers' carriages at elections was a Breach of the Privileges of the House, and was altogether an objectionable thing, it would have been easy for the House to insert a clause in the Corrupt Practices Bill absolutely prohibiting their use, and making an election at which they were used invalid. You cannot answer that this matter did not come before the House at that time. With regard to the rule which the hon. Member brings up, and which prohibits Peers concerning themselves in elections, I wish to ask what was the action of the Peers which the House protested against? It was not small, petty, and paltry matters which the hon. Members for Cockermouth and Northampton seem to think are worthy of the notice of the House of Commons. It was the action of Peers in forcing their nominees on the House of Commons, and before the days of the ballot, in using their territorial influence to force people dependent on them to vote for their nominees. That was the action of the Peers against which the House of Commons had always protested, and I feel confident that the hon. Members for Northampton and Cockermouth will not seriously argue for a moment that for all legitimate electoral purposes, such as taking an interest in Parliamentary elections, and in supporting, within reasonable bounds, one side or the other, Peers are or ought to be prohibited from showing such public interest. While saying this, I am prepared to say distinctly, that the Rule is valuable and I think ought to be kept; but it is not meant to apply to cases of this kind where a Peer may have sent a carriage to convey voters to the poll.

Mr. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury): I fail to see that the noble Lord has given any reason why the House should neglect its duty with regard to sustaining this Sessional Order. The noble Lord has given us an interesting essay on the Corrupt Practices Act. He has told us that this question of the interference of Peers in elections should have been, if necessary, dealt with amongst the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act. Now, I venture to think that that was a matter already dealt with by the Sessional Order which existed at the time when the Corrupt Practices words, we are invited to introduce the principle, that without giving the accused Act was passed, as it does now, and which prevents Peers taking any active part in the business of an election, and, as the noble Lord says, forcing their nominees upon the constituencies. It is true that the important object which the House had very properly in view was to prevent Peers forcing their nominees on the House. But I have no reason to suppose that in this case the noble Lords who lent their carriages were not also attempting to force their nominee on the House. The hon. Member for North Paddington (Mr. Aird), who has just taken his seat, is, as far as I know, just as much the nominee of Lord Salisbury as many other Members on the Ministerial side of the House. In this case, however, we find a Nobleman, of very recent creation, Lord Rothschild, and who used to enjoy the distinction of being one of the Liberal Members of this House, supporting, by the use of his carriage, a Tory candidate for North Paddington. I think it is a case in which the House should express its opinion on the Sessional Order, and should say that it is an Order which ought to be respected in the letter. I hope the House will adopt the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers), and grant an inquiry into the circumstances of the case. With some personal knowledge of the action of the Conservative Party at the election in North Paddington, I think such an inquiry would produce some interesting facts as to the employment of carriages by Lord Salisbury and Lord Rothschild.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne): If the hon. Baronet who brought this question forward intended to treat the question seriously, he ought to have done so with a little fairness. *The Times* newspaper of this morning—[Sir WILFRID LAWSON: No, of Saturday.]—well, of Saturday, makes charges against Noblemen whom we all respect on this side of the House. The hon. Member has not taken the trouble to do that which ordinary propriety would dictate to any Gentleman who makes a charge against another person—ask him, in a couple of lines, whether there was any truth or not in the charge he intended to bring forward.

MR. P. STANHOPE: I should like to say that I personally saw the carriage of Lord Salisbury.

MR. ADDISON: I did not refer to the hon. Gentleman. I was addressing myself to the speech of the hon. Baronet who brought forward the Motion, and who stated that he was founding it on the authority of *The Times* of Saturday—a charge against two Noblemen respected on that side of the House. Although the hon. Member had two clear days to make inquiry as to the truth or not of the statement, he abstained from taking any steps of the kind; and now he comes forward and states that he has no evidence except that of a loose paragraph in *The Times.* Is this a becoming way in which to bring forward such a Motion? I myself reside in South Paddington, and know something of this election. On Thursday night Mr. Routledge, the Liberal candidate, boasted that he intended to bring a chimneysweep to the poll next day in the carriage of a countess—a countess who was known to some hon. Members on the other side of the House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I hope the House will now be allowed to proceed to a Division. In regard to the Sessional Order, it was retained after full inquiry, and on the Report of the Select Committee of February last. The Report stated—

> "That the Sessional Order appears to be a declaration by the House of Commons of its Privilege, as well as of that which is, in the opinion of that House, the common law of the land; that such declaration was first made in 1641, and since 1700 has been renewed annually in almost identical terms; that as far as the Committee have ascertained, this declaration of the common law has never been controverted by the House of Lords or by any judicial tribunal; that the Sessional Order has been recognized by the Courts as a declaration of the law; that although a rescission of the Order would not alter the common law, it would be calculated to give rise to a mistaken idea either that the law had been incorrectly stated, or that it was obsolete."

I must remind the House that in several Election Petitions judgment has been given with reference to the interference of Peers, showing that if there had been any substantial interference, the matter would have been brought before the notice of an Election Commission. But according to the terms of the Motion moved by the hon. Baronet, the House is asked to declare that some act done on Friday last was an infringement of the Privileges of this House. In other persons a chance of saying a word, either by themselves or their Representatives, without their being asked a single question whether the facts are as had been stated, and without hearing those persons, the House is to pass judgment against them.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: May I be allowed to say that I am quite willing to accept a Committee?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: The Motion which has been made by the hon. Baronet distinctly is, that the House shall declare that what has been done is a Breach of Privilege. If I were myself allowed to deal with the matter, I could tell the House of serious interferences of Peers at elections which I should be prepared to prove, not by newspaper paragraphs; but I do not suppose that hon. Members on this side of the House are so very anxious to expose the conduct of Peers who do not take their views. It is perfectly true that the use of carriages at elections was well known long before the Corrupt Practices Act, and it is a strange thing now to suggest that the casual use of a carriage is an interference with an election in the sense of the Sessional Order. I do not for one moment deny that there might be interferences in regard to carriages so gross that the House or the Election Judges would deal with them. But to suggest that on the mere statement of a newspaper the House is to assume that there has been a breach of Privilege, and an infringement of the Sessional Order, is going beyond precedent. The Sessional Order is undoubtedly of use, and I trust that the House will not accede to its abrogation; I believe that it is recognized substantially by the Peers of the Realm; but to say that because a Peer may have sent his carriage for his friends, or allowed his carriage to be used for people whom he knew, or in the same way as Peers on the other side used theirs, and to treat the case seriously as a matter to be inquired into without a scrap of evidence, would, I submit, be hardly consistent with the dignity and gravity of the House. I therefore trust that the House will now pass to something of real importance, and allow the Public Business to be proceeded with.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 167; Noes 196: Majority 29.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put.

Resolved, That this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—[*Lords*].

[BILL 308.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SECOND READING. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Second Reading read.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): In proposing the second reading of this measure—the second of those Bills which, in the opinion of the Government, are immediately necessary for the better management of Irish affairs—I confess I am conscious that I am approaching a task which the House will be somewhat reluctant to undertake, not merely on account of the enormous labour which has been thrown on our shoulders this Session, but because the very words "Irish Land Bill" carry with them something ominous and of evil augury. There have been within the memory of every man who hears me, and within the Parliamentary experience of many of us, no less than two Bills brought forward which purported to be a final settlement of the Irish Land Question. Those two Bills were fully discussed, and, though passed by great majorities, the great problem which they were finally to settle remains at this moment more unsettled than at any previous period in the history of Ireland. I do not think there need be much doubt as to the causes which produced the previous failure of land legislation. To most of us on this side of the House it appears that the principles on which the Act of 1881 was based were in themselves fundamentally erroneous; but, without dwelling on that which is more or less a matter of controversy, it is clear that other causes have been at work which would have made even a better Bill than the Land Bill of 1881 rather difficult to carry into successful effect. Unfortunately for the fair discussion of the Irish problem, the Land Question raises two very different political issues. We have at the same time to deal with an economic revolution and a political revolution, and the economic revolution and the political revolution act and re-act upon one another. A large number of persons who desire to see the separation of the English and Irish Government think that the best way to obtain that political end is to destroy the Irish landlords, and a large number of persons who see their advantage in destroying the Irish landlords supposed that the best way to obtain that object is to destroy the political connection between England and Ireland. And these two cross-currents have been so acting and re-acting that it is scarcely possible to attempt in a fair and impartial spirit to discuss the question without finding ourselves at once plunged in endless controversy with regard to the merits and the demerits of Irish landlords. The Bill which I propose very shortly to describe to the House does not profess to be a rival to the other two great measures I have mentioned—the Acts of 1870 and 1881. We do not profess by this Bill to attempt to settle the Irish Land Question. This is an amending Bill, not a Bill for altering the whole system with which it deals. We take that system as we find it, amended by the Act of 1870 and again by the Act of 1881, and we fix our attention upon what we conceive to be the grievances, and in some cases the injustices, in the practical working of these measures, and we have set ourselves to the best of our ability to remedy these grievances and put an end to these injustices. It will be convenient if I divide the very short description which I propose to give of the Bill under two or three heads. In the first place, there are a certain number of what I may describe as miscellaneous provisions amending the existing Irish Land Act. The first of these miscellaneous provisions is that which relates to the date from which judicial rents shall run. Under the existing Irish Land Law a tenant may apply in 1886 to have a fair rent fixed, and his application may not be adjudicated upon until 1887, and from the date of that adjudication the rent fixed by the Court runs. We think that an injustice.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): It was carried by Mr. Gibson.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We propose, therefore, that henceforward the fair rent shall run, not from the date of the adjudication, but from the date of the application by landlord or tenant. The second of these miscellaneous provisions refers to the grievances of middlemen. Under the existing law the middleman may find himself in this position—that his sub-tenants may go into Court to have a fair rent fixed, and may have them reduced to such a point that the middleman may find that he has to pay a larger rent to the head landlord than he receives from the sub-tenants. The Cowper Commission proposed that this grievance should be met by allowing the middleman to treat that part of the land sub-let as a separate entity and hand it back to the head landlord. We do not think that this is fair. We have therefore laid it down that in those cases where the rent from the sub-tenants is less than the rent which he gives to the head landlord he shall have power to surrender his interest, but that he shall only exercise that right in respect of his interest taken as a whole, and not of any part of it arbitrarily selected. We consider that a fair and equitable arrangement for dealing with the grievances of which the middleman complains. The third of these miscellaneous provisions is that which deals with town parks. We do not propose to alter the principle on which the Land Act of 1881 was framed. We recognize, as the Act of 1881 recognizes, that certain allotments near towns ought not to be treated as agricultural holdings but rather as accommodation land. In the practical working of the Act of 1881 there arose a certain number of cases intermediate between agricultural holdings on the one side and the accommodation land on the other. It is difficult to say to which class they ought to belong, and it is alleged that in the Land Court considerable injustice has arisen. This case cannot, in our opinion, be met by mere definition, and we therefore propose to deal with it by giving to the Court greater discretion in deciding whether any particular parcel of land is or is not to be described as a town park. We hope by this means to get rid of the difficulty and avoid a substantial grievance. Then, Sir, the fourth of these miscellaneous clauses deals with the rates paid by the landlords upon holdings under £4 valuation. Both in England and in Ireland the landlord is expected to pay the rates upon holdings of this kind. This was simply on the ground of public convenience. It was simpler to levy the rates on a single individual than to go round to all the small tenants and collect from them separately the small amount of their rates. There could be no possible objection to the system as far as the landlords were concerned so long as the landlord gets the rent on which those rates are to be paid. But when we are dealing with a state of society in which a landlord often finds that he does not get the rents, you evidently commit a very great injustice in compelling him to pay the rates due in respect of those rents. Therefore, we propose in Clause 51 to remedy this grievance, and to relieve landlords from paying rates in those cases where they have not received their rents.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Does that refer only to the case of the £4 valuation?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think so. I do not think in the other cases the landlord has to pay the whole rate. Our object is to deal with the cases under £4. These may be regarded as the minor miscellaneous provisions of the Bill. I now come to the more important ones, with which I shall deal briefly. Clause 1 deals with the question of leaseholders. As the House is probably aware, the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) has several times brought in a Bill by which he proposed that the leaseholders should be given the full advantage of the Act of 1881. We have adopted, broadly speaking, the principle which the hon. Member for Cork adopted in his Bill—that is to say, we have given the advantages of the Act of 1881 to those leaseholders who at the expiration of their leases would come under the operation of the Act of 1881. We have said to them, "Your tenancies shall now be treated on exactly the same terms as if your lease had expired when this act was passed." I am aware that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), in his speeches, if not in his land legislation, appears to consider that there is one class of contracts specially sacred — namely, those entered into by the leaseholders. But I may point out that he had already broken them in one important point. The essence of a lease is that, during its currency, the land should be let to the tenant on terms specified by it; and that when the lease comes to an end, the land reverts to the landlord free of all charge. The second half of the leases so described were already destroyed by the right hon. Gentleman in his Land Act of 1881; because, under that Act, when the lease finished, the tenant became a tenant from year to year, and he had all the privileges of a tenant under that Act—namely, fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale. When, therefore, we included in the provision of this Act, these leases, we were merely completing the work began by the right hon. Gentleman, and we conceive that, on the whole, it would be for the advantage of all classes in Ireland that that work should be completed as soon as possible. With regard to the number of persons affected by our proposals, I am sorry that we have not got more reliable figures to offer to the House. There can be no doubt that the figures of the Cowper Commission are entirely erroneous. So far as I know, the only trustworthy statements that have been made on this subject are those which were compiled by Sir John Ball Green 12 years ago, and laid on the Table of this House. No doubt, the number of leaseholders have diminished considerably since then; but that only increases the discrepancy which exists between Sir John Ball Green's figures and those given by the Cowper Commission. My recollection of the Cowper Commission is that the number of leaseholders stated in their Report was about 150,000 in all. According to Sir John Ball Green's estimate, made 12 years ago, and subject to large diminution by lapse of time, the number was 113,000, of which the number of terminable leases which, I presume, were practically the same as those which would be covered by Clause 1 of this Bill—were 101,000, leaving, therefore, a little over 12,000 leases only which would not come under the operation of the clause as we propose it, and as was proposed before by the hon. Member for Cork in this House. These figures are important, because they correct a misapprehension which I believe is rather widespread. Then we propose clauses to strengthen the Court of Appeal on the Land Question in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) in the speech which he delivered on Friday night made a violent attack through the House of Lords on the Sub-Commissioners and on the decisions they came to soon after the Land Act was passed. He said that the Sub-Commissioners had been coerced by a Report of the House of Lords into fixing rents too high. On authority not less excellent than that of the right hon. Gentleman I have been informed that rents have been fixed in certain parts of Ireland far too low. I give no opinion on either of these statements, I am not called upon to form an opinion, and if I were I do not think I should be required to state it to the House. But the fact that the right hon. Member for Derby and others are of opinion that the Sub-Commissioners are not to be trusted forms a strong argument for strengthening the Court of Appeal and rendering it as efficient as possible. I now come to the fourth head, which may be described roughly as intended to give relief to purchasers under the Acts already passed to facilitate the purchase of land in Ireland. A certain number of the clauses under this head—Clauses 7 to 18—refer exclusively to what is known as Lord Ashbourne's Act. They are amending clauses of the Act of 1885. To describe them in detail would be unnecessary, but roughly speaking, their chief object is to facilitate the furnishing of that deposit without which a sale under the Act of 1885 cannot take place, and to apportion all charges upon estates so as not to press with undue and inequitable severity upon any farm so purchased. As lawyers in the House are aware it constantly happens when an estate is charged either with mortgage, a Government loan, or a family charge, not only is the whole estate liable, but each portion of the estate is liable, and if the persons in whom such a charge is vested and who are the beneficiaries refuse to come to an equitable arrangement and divide the charge upon the whole estate the operation of purchase is seriously interfered with. Such refusal would be very rare; but under this Bill we have provided against the possibility of its happening. I do not think it will be necessary to go into more detail upon these clauses, which I believe meet with general approval, and which Lord Spencer in the House of Lords said would be likely to meet with no resistance from those in this House who shared his opinions. Then I come to the clauses about which a question was asked to-night. The clauses, I believe, are already drafted; but, at all events, they will be seen by hon. Members as soon as possible. I shall shortly say that we propose to deal with what are known as the purchasers under the Bright Clauses, the Land Act of 1870 and purchasers under the Glebe Land Act of 1869. Both those classes of persons have laid their grievances before us, and though we cannot go the whole length which they ask we can give some substantial relief, and the relief we propose is to place them on an equality with the purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Purchasers in the Bright Clauses are not precisely in the same position as purchasers under the Glebe Land Act. Purchasers under the Glebe Land Act are already put in the same position as purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act provided they pay all their arrears.

MR. DILLON said, that that was not so, because the purchasers under the Glebe Land Act were obliged to borrow a large sum of money.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is so; but with regard to their relations to the Government they are put precisely in the same position, if they pay up their arrears. Purchasers under the Bright Clauses have no such advantage. We propose, in the first place, to put the purchasers under the Bright Clauses in the same position as the purchasers under the Glebe Land Act—that is to say, they are to be put in the same position as the purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act, or the Glebe Land Act, if they have paid up their arrears. Having thus put the Glebe Land purchasers and the Bright purchasers on the same footing, we propose to try a further provision to afford relief to those members of both classes who are debarred from taking advantage of the more liberal terms offered by the Treasury through the fact that they are in arrears. To these persons we propose the same relief—provided the tenants have paid up half their arrears the Board of Works may capitalize the debt as if the tenants had bought under Lord Ashbourne's Act. By these clauses we do afford very substantial relief to those who purchased under the Acts to which I have referred. There are certain subsidiary provisions for those who are described as purchasers of residues of glebe lands, which, I think, will be adequate, though they do not give the same thorough amount of relief.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): May I ask whether anything is done for purchasers under the Land Act of 1881?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The clauses hitherto drafted do not propose to do anything; but that is an omission which, I think, we ought to remedy.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): Does the right hon. Gentleman know how many purchasers there were under the Bright Clauses?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Seven hundred and two tenants purchased under the Act of 1870, and 731 under the Act of 1881. The loans to the latter amount only to some £240,000 and to the former about £700,000. Under the more favourable terms of the Act of 1885, the amount lent by the State and the number of purchasers are far in excess of the figures I have given to the House.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington): Will the right hon. Gentleman state what charge would be likely to be imposed upon the Treasury in consequence of these provisions?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I believe that in the case of the glebe purchasers the arrears amount to between £4,000 and £5,000. The relief consists substantially in diminishing the rate of interest by increasing the time during which the repayments are to be made. I pass from the head of purchase to the last head, to which I shall have to draw the attention of the House, which is also the most controversial—namely, that which deals with evictions. Clause 4, to begin with, substitutes a written notice for an execution of ejectment. The Cowper Commission, if my memory serves me rightly, recommended that the time of redemption during which a tenant should have power to resume his holding, after eviction had been declared against him, should run from the decision of the Court, and should not run from the time when he was evicted. The effect of that would be to shorten the time during which an arrangement could be come to between landlord and tenant. For that reason we have not accepted the recommendation of the Cowper Commission, The arrangement which we have proposed to the House is one which does not diminish by an hour the length of time during which an arrangement is possible. The House is probably aware, or those who have directed any attention towards Irish land legislation are aware, that after a landlord has got a writ of ejectment against the tenant he proceeds, within a certain time, to serve that writ and to eject the tenant out of his holding, and that very often circumstances arise of a very painful kind which do not reflect very great credit upon the tenants concerned. I think the House will bear me out when I say that if these scenes are, I will not say wholly avoided, but materially diminished, a great thing will be done for the peace and prosperity of Ireland. [*Cries of* "No!"] There may be hon. Gentlemen who take a different view. Our clause will operate in this way. If a landlord wants to turn a tenant out of his holding at any time during the currency of the six months during which redemption is possible, he has, of course, to evict him under similar circumstances to those which attend evictions in the present state of the law. Some hon. Gentlemen will, therefore ask me—"What do you gain by putting off this period from the day on which the notice is now served to the end of the six months period of redemption?" and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who is to move an Amendment on the Motion which I shall have to make, repeats that question to me in an emphatic form across the Table. What we gain is this. If hon. Gentlemen will look at the Return of evictions now before the House they will see that now more than half the tenants who are evicted are immediately put back as caretakers. From investigations made, not by myself, but by previous Chief Secretaries, the conclusion has been arrived at, that of the total number of persons evicted at the beginning of the six months only about one-fourth are finally driven from their holdings at the end of the six months. Now, that calculation does not rest upon official statistics in the same manner as some of the other figures which I have quoted. But I think it is probably not far from the mark. A fourth is the lowest of two or three estimates, one of which goes so high as a seventh; so that if Clause No. 4 be carried, as I hope it will be, the result will be that only one-fourth of the people would be finally expelled, under the circumstances to which I have briefly alluded, from their holdings, and an immense saving of suffering would thereby result to every single person concerned—landlords or tenants, sheriffs, or policemen—connected actively or passively with the process of eviction.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether in the Return with reference to evictions the number of caretakers who have been evicted is included?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. The persons referred to are persons who have been reinstated as caretakers or tenants; that is the phrase used. That is to say, these people have been made caretakers or tenants immediately after the evictions. The official Returns take no notice of the arrangements between landlord and tenant during the currency of the six months, the upshot of which is, as I have said, that only one-fourth of the evicted are finally expelled.

MR. PARNELL: May I ask whether any Returns are given of persons who after being evicted have been returned to their holdings as caretakers, and who have subsequently been evicted as caretakers?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir, I cannot give any information upon that point. The official Returns deal only with what occurred on the days of the evictions, with the persons evicted, and with those who afterwards were readmitted as caretakers. I now come to the clauses about which great controversy exists—that is to say, those which relate to equitable jurisdiction. They are Clauses 22, 23, 24, and so on. It is impossible to approach this question of eviction without saying something of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland. I am sorry that I have got to do so, because the matter has been involved by frequent conflict both in and out of this House in so much Party heat that it is hardly possible to induce any hon. Gentleman to look at it in a perfectly candid and impartial spirit. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, for instance, who loves to trample on the weak, and who regards a failing cause or an unpopular class as his natural prey, whenever he is dealing with any stage of the Irish Question, makes a vehement and violent attack upon the whole conduct of Irish landlords, judging them, as far as I can make out, from one or two exceptional cases which can be conclusively proved to be entirely exceptional—such as the O'Callaghans. I am not going to make a defence of Irish landlords; but I do want to call the attention of the House to certain particulars which are too often forgotten when we are considering this class, so easy to abuse. The worst charge ever brought against an Irish landlord is that he exacts to the uttermost the legal obligation which you have sanctioned, and even the very worst landlords whom you have picked out as typically bad landlords have given some reductions on the judicial rents, the payment of which you have authorized. Now, why is it that this complaint which you make with regard to Irish landlords has not been made with regard to English landlords? The reason is this—the English landlord has relations other than those of a pecuniary character with his tenants. He has got other relations of a very different character, and, therefore, he naturally takes into account something more than the letter of his pecuniary bargain. You do not expect mortgagees, out of kindness of heart, to diminish the amount of liability to them, nor do you expect a money-lender to diminish the amount of the debts which are due to him. Ought you, therefore, to be so very harsh in your judgment upon the Irish landlord, when you have done your very best to put him into the position of a mere rent-charger or mortgagee? If you have insisted that he should simply be a mortgagee upon his own land, ought you to be so very severe upon him if he did what, as far as I can make out, he never does—namely, deal with his tenants as a money-lender, who replies to any request made to him that "business is business?" And observe what you have done to these unfortunate men. You have emphasized the difficulty of their position by leaving untouched all the debts which the landlord has to pay to his creditors, while you have cut down and diminished the debts which other people have to pay to the landlord. You make him pay the obligations which you relieve others from paying to him. Under these circumstances, I think the Irish landlord deserves some consideration at the hands of his critics, and I ask no more. He does not deserve to be treated as a robber simply because he does that which you allow all the people to whom he owes money to do. No one will suspect me of encouraging Irish landlords to act harshly or unreasonably. Nothing I have ever said is capable of being interpreted in that manner. I have invariably held the language I now hold, that if Irish landlords act not merely according to principles of generosity, but according to their highest interests, they will not exact to the utmost farthing the rights which you have deliberately given them. As far as my observation has gone the very worst landlords who have been attacked in this House have not been unwilling to make abatement in the legal debts owing to them by their tenants. Those abatements may not have been such as would have been given by English landlords; but you have deliberately put the Irish landlord in a different position from the English landlord, and you ought not to be too severe in your criticism if, under temptation, the Irish landlord sometimes acts in a different manner. Our scheme, roughly speaking, is comprised under two different heads—one requires a tenant to go through bankruptcy to obtain the benefit of the Act, and the other does not require him to do so. Any tenant who, from any cause whatever, provided it be not his own act or default, cannot pay his rent, may go before a County Court Judge and obtain a stay of eviction; and, if the Judge thinks fit, he may have his debts to the landlord spread over such a length of time as may seem fitting and equitable to the Judge.

An hon. MEMBER: What good would that do him?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It will stay eviction. Hon. Gentlemen opposite have always expressed horror of eviction. In every case in which the failure of a tenant to pay rent is due to something other than his own act or default, he can obtain a stay of eviction, and have his payment spread over an indefinite period. But we are of opinion that that is not sufficient, and one reason why we think so is that this provision deals only with the debts of the tenant to his landlord, and not with his debts to the money-lender and other creditors. We therefore provide that if the tenant desires that his debts as a whole shall be dealt with, he shall have power to apply to his landlord to go into bankruptcy and practically he shall have his debts liquidated. He may remain in bankruptcy for 18 months and at the end of that period he may be restored to his holding and relieved of the burden of debt which has hung round his neck. Some are of opinion, apparently, that the species of relief by bankruptcy ought to be given without bankruptcy. I do not mean to argue that point now; but I could not advise the House to adopt a course which, so far as I know, has not been adopted with regard to persons unable to fulfil their legal obligations in any country in the world. [An hon. MEMBER: India.] Well, any country in Europe. I have never been anxious to assimilate the Irish tenant to any race existing outside Europe. In no European country, so far as I know, has it ever been possible for a man to go into liquidation without also going into bankruptcy. We have, therefore, applied to Irish tenants a rule that is universal in all civilized countries. In one respect, as far as I know, our clause is far more favourable to the Irish tenants than is any bankruptcy law, because in ordinary bankruptcy all assets of the debtor are thrown into a common fund and treated alike. That is not the case under our Bankruptcy Clauses. The tenant is not only allowed to keep enough stock necessary to work his holding, for which there is an analogy in the Bankruptcy Act passed by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain); but would also preserve his tenant right, that which was put forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian as the security of the landlord for punctual payment of rent. While we have followed the universal practice of civilized countries, so far as I know, with regard to bankruptcy before liquidation, we have treated this particular class of bankrupts with a degree of consideration which, as far as I know, is not to be found in the bankruptcy law of any other country.

An hon. MEMBER: The Homestead Law of America.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, we shall be able to deal with that when the hon. Member comes to speak upon the question. I desire to call special attention to the pressure that is to be put upon the landlord to come to an arrangement with his tenant. If the landlord declines to come to an arrangement and insists upon keeping the rent too high, the tenant may drag him before the County Court Judge. The landlord then, when his debt is wiped out and he refuses to diminish a rent considered too high, will again have to go before the same Judge. The penalty on the landlord for pursuing that course is, in my opinion, so heavy, that when the landlord sees what is the opinion of a competent tribunal he will make haste to come to an arrangement and free himself from all difficulty. If we are to conceive a landlord so unreasonable that he refused to diminish the rent which the tenant pays under the Act of 1881, even then the clause will be entirely adequate to stop unreasonable eviction. These clauses may not come up to the desires of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but they certainly do carry out the object we have in view—namely, to stop harsh evictions. [*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Not one!"] Hon. Members will be hard put to it to substantiate so extravagant a denial. Hon. Members put forward as a remedy for the state of things existing in Ireland a rival scheme by which judicial rents would be lowered. That plan was put forward to meet difficulties caused by the fall in prices by the hon. Member for Cork, and it was supported by the whole strength of the Home Rule and Radical Opposition. But if there was no other objection to that scheme it did not cover the ground. The number of persons to be relieved by it was comparatively small, and in my opinion it is wholly unequal to meet the difficulties which have arisen now. The hon. Member for Cork only dealt with rents which had been fixed by the Court. In 1884 these numbered only 180,000 tenants. The total number of tenants is about 500,000, so that only one-third of the tenants would have been dealt with by the scheme, which last year was deemed adequate.

MR. PARNELL: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say that the words of the Bill covered the leaseholders as well as the tenants. I have not the Bill with me; but I am speaking from memory, and that was my intention. At this distance of time I cannot remember how the intention was carried out.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If you deal only with the judicial rents fixed before 1885, which is the date named by the Cowper Commission as that at which prices so far fell as to make the Act of 1881 difficult to work, then the Bill of the hon. Member would have covered a very small proportion of the tenants of Ireland, and the hon. Gentleman's proposal would only have dealt with cases of inability to pay rent arising from the rent being too high. Our clause covers every instance in which, from any cause whatever other than the fault of the tenant, he is unable to pay his rent. The man who from other causes than the fall of prices was unable to pay his rent and ran the risk of being turned out of his holding and losing his tenant right would have received no relief from the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork; but he has relief under our Bill. We may, therefore, favourably compare our plan with the plan of the hon. Member for Cork, which the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian supported last year. [MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: No, no!] Did not the right hon. Gentleman speak in favour of it? I thought he hurried back from Germany to support it. His Colleagues do not deny that they supported the hon. Member for Cork on the ground that it was necessary to deal with difficulties that had arisen owing to the fact that prices had fallen. I think their proposal was totally inadequate, because it did not cover the ground; and our proposal does cover the ground. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite have accepted the proposal of the Cowper Commission for a quinquennial valuation of rents; but I am puzzled to reconcile that with the contention that the strain has been so great since 1885 that the case must be met without delay. Then, what becomes of your quinquennial system? If you propose that system it must be on the theory that for five years the tenant would be able to bear any variation in prices occurring during that period. Yet at the end of two years you come and say that the fall in prices is so great that there must be a revision. That disposes of the quinquennial system; or, at least, it shows that hon. Gentlemen do not believe in it. They are prepared to recognize that tenants who have only had their rents fixed two or two and a-half years ago are already so hard hit by the fall in prices that Parliament must intervene without a moment's delay. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman a question of a somewhat personal character. When did he become a convert to the system of revising judicial rents? In 1883 the hon. Member for Cork brought forward a Bill providing for a revision of judicial rents, which he described at that time as rack-rents, and he was resisted by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian in a speech of considerable eloquence and admirable sense, in which the right hon. Gentleman expressed his fixed determination not to revise those rents.

Mr. PARNELL: There was no provision for the revision of judicial tenancies in that Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I confess I referred to the reply of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian rather than the speech of the hon. Gentleman himself.

Mr. PARNELL: The first time we made such a proposal was in the Bill of last year.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: As I say, my remarks referred entirely to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and not to that of the hon. Member for Cork. I suspect the hon. Member for Cork had volunteered an attack on the rents fixed by the Sub-Commission, and hinted that he would like to have the rents revised, and that the right hon. Gentleman replied to him.

Mr. PARNELL: I never made any such suggestion.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not alluding to the hon. Gentleman. 1883 is not the last date with which we have to deal. The question of Irish land has come under the purview of hon. Gentlemen opposite long subsequently to that date. They tried to bring in a Land Bill in the spring of last year. Upon what rents did they base the purchase? They based them, not as I think they ought to have done on a valuation of the land as it stands, but on the judicial rents which had been fixed. They therefore again endorsed, and doubly endorsed, the decision of the Land Commissioners. I should like to know when the right hon. Gentleman opposite came to the conclusion that these contracts made in 1881, endorsed by themselves in 1883, re-endorsed in 1886, ought to be instantly broken without further delay? I have hinted to the House certain objections which we feel strongly to any plan for revising judicial rents. But the strongest ground yet remains to be indicated to the House. If you are now going to tear up the settlement of 1881 by the roots, can you ever again expect to attain any finality in Irish land legislation? I am one of those who hold that the condition of the Irish tenants will shortly again require the attention of Parliament. I have never concealed from the House that this scheme is a mere interim arrangement, and that in the immediate future a measure will be called for of greater finality. If the land purchase scheme be based upon the value of the holdings taken at the time when the scheme comes into operation, it is quite clear that the relief so afforded will be given in a far more adequate manner than by any system of the revision of judicial rents proposed from any quarter of the House; and if it is by that means and in that spirit that we approach the question, I am convinced we shall do more for the interests of the tenants themselves, for the finality and permanence of any scheme we may contrive, than if we were now to leave it to be understood that the fact that a certain proportion, comparatively inconsiderable, being hard hit, as I recognize they are, by the arrangements entered into since 1881, were, by such influences as they can bring to bear in this House, to upset an arrangement entered into with every circumstance of solemnity only six years ago. If that is to be our accepted policy, then I confess I should look forward to the future of the Irish Land Question with absolute despair, for I do not see how any Government, however strong, how any Bill, however ingenious, any scheme, however carefully surrounded by safeguards, will be able to stand the stress of time and those inevitable variations in price which have in so short a time, after the lapse of so few months, so utterly destroyed the Bill of 1881. I have now given in broad outline the plan of the Government. Let me repeat that we offer, and pretend to offer, no solution of the great Irish Land Question. That remains as the crux and difficulty for those who will have the responsibility of governing the country next Session. What we claim for this Bill is something more modest than that final settlement. We say that the evils it cures are real evils, and that the cure it offers is an adequate cure—that it offers substantial relief to the tenants who have come into Court since 1885—and that we have done all this without, so far as I know, doing any injustice to any class of the community. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, I gather from their tone, regard this Bill with considerable contempt. They regard it as a small and inadequate instalment to the demands which the Irish tenants make. [An hon. Member: Nothing at all.] Well, Sir, the instalment may, in their opinion, be very small—it may be nothing at all. But every man who has followed the course of legislation in this House—every man who cares to make himself acquainted with the laws which affect persons unable to fulfil their obligations in other parts of the United Kingdom—will admit that no larger or more generous offer has ever been made by any Government, and no Government has ever contemplated the possibility of making an offer so large and so generous. It is in the hope that this Bill, if it does nothing more, will enable us to tide over the social and economical difficulties which unfortunately assail Irish society until that larger measure is brought in to which we may look for a complete, or nearly complete, settlement of the agrarian question in Ireland—it is in that hope that I confidently recommend this Bill for a second reading to the favourable consideration of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.): I rise, Sir, to move, as an Amendment, the following Resolution:—

> "That this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for affording such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act."

It cannot fail to be with some feeling of relief that the House finds itself called upon to approach the consideration of the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. A. J. Balfour) has just explained. Hitherto this Session has been devoted mainly to a measure of which, I hope, it is not too much to say that, while exciting the deepest aversion in those who opposed it as unnecessary, unwise, and in some of its provisions iniquitous, it was, at the same time, regarded with dislike by the great majority even of those who were constrained by what they regarded as their duty to give it their support. The Bill which is now before us has this great advantage over that with which we have just parted—that there is a common agreement in all quarters of the House in approval of its general scope and purpose. May I go a little further, and say that I hope that in another respect there may be, in our discussion of this Bill, an improvement over our recent experience? I hope that there may not be so much opportunity for personal recrimination, and that we may have got for a time out of an atmosphere in which the very poor instrument of a *tu quoque*—often a *tu quoque* wholly unfounded and misapplied—may be made by the advocates of the Government measure to stand in the room of argument. It will be our duty to give this Bill a candid and fair consideration. If our criticism is frank and unsparing, it will, at least, be honest and fair; let the Government and their Friends endeavour, by serious defence and justification, to answer it. I have said that we agree generally with the main purpose of the Bill. By that I mean that we are all anxious that something should be done to modify such anomalies or inconsistencies as may be found in the present Irish Land Laws, and to remove any grievances arising from them. But a somewhat narrower and more definite description of the object of the Government has recently been given by the Prime Minister. Answering an allegation that they had shown some degree of vacillation in their conduct of the Bill through the other House of Parliament, Lord Salisbury said that they had been ready to receive criticisms and suggestions on minor points; but he said—

> "We pointed out clearly what was the one object we had in view in the production of the Bill, the object from which we would not tur

aside—namely, the preventing of the harsh and unreasonable evictions which, in a certain number of cases, were unhappily taking place."

Now, Sir, I am perfectly willing to accept that definition of one, at least, of the principal objects of the Bill; but I regret to say that, after a close examination of the clauses, I can see nothing in them which is likely to secure the accomplishment of that object. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, the other night, in a speech which took the form—not unusual with him—of a prolonged catechism, triumphantly asked us whether the remedial measure of the Government would not stop harsh evictions? Unfortunately for the rhetorical effect of the right hon. Gentleman's question, some hon. Members on this side of the House had had time to read the Bill, and they promptly replied "No;" and in that opinion I entirely concur. The truth is, Sir, that, as I greatly fear, Her Majesty's Government have fallen in respect of this matter into an error precisely analogous to that which we allege against the Crimes Bill. Apart from our objections to the principal proposals of that Bill, it is our contention that it is not addressed to the real evil. We declare ourselves to be as strong friends of the cause of law and order as any hon. Member of the House; but we assert that the true course is to restore order by removing the springs of disorder, and to win back the sympathy of the people to the law by a scrupulously impartial administration of the law; and that a resort to forcible repression or to cunning legal devices will merely aggravate the mischief you intend to cure. It appears to me that a precisely similar observation is largely applicable to the present Bill. No doubt the public conscience has been deeply wounded by the spectacle offered in recent evictions. No doubt the scandal has been great when aged men, and sickly women, and starving children have been turned out on the hillside, to see the wretched cabin which was their home committed to the flames; when violence has been used in the attack and defence of houses; and when riot has only been prevented by the presence of brigades of constabulary and soldiers. But, desirable as it is to put a stop to the cruelty, the cost, and the danger to public safety involved in these scenes, I venture to say that it is not a sense of their inhumanity, or of their danger, that has so deeply moved the public mind, as indignation that the law should enable such things to be done for the recovery of unfair, and even impossible, rents. You may avoid or postpone—which is all this Bill will do—the open brutality of a forcible eviction; you may huddle up in legal procedure the act of dispossessing a tenant; you may, in fact, deal with the consequence and not with the cause; with the accident and not with the essence; but if you do not do more, you will not advance one step nearer to a cure of the real cause of disturbance, or to giving satisfaction and relief to the sentiment, not only of Ireland, but of England and Scotland as well. Now, Sir, I shall have much to say, if the patience of the House will permit me, on the mode in which this Bill deals with the landlord's remedy against his tenant; but it will be convenient if, in the first place, I make some comments upon the subsidiary clauses of the Bill. The 1st clause deals with the case of the leaseholders, and the Amendment which I am about to submit to the House lays down as the first condition of any reform in the law that leaseholders should be admitted to the benefits of the Act of 1881. There is now substantial agreement on this question, at least among all practical men, and men with legislative or executive responsibility; although only six years ago Parliament declined to interfere so largely with the sacred right of contract. This shows how rapidly opinion now advances with the revolving years. But, although we are all agreed as to this, I must at once say that the manner in which it is proposed in this Bill to make the change is most unsatisfactory. What we all desire to do is to remove from the leaseholders the restriction which prevents them from being treated as "present tenants" under the Act, and from having the right of application for judicial rents and the other advantages open to a present tenant. What could be easier, therefore, and simpler than to enact, as the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) proposes in his Bill, that a leaseholder, if he shall so elect, shall be deemed to be a tenant of a present tenancy? But what is now proposed is that all such lessees, whether they desire it or not, shall, on this Bill becoming law, be deemed *ipso facto* to be in the same position as if their leases had expired. Now, there are many of the existing leases which are most advantageous to the tenant. They constitute a valuable property; they are treated by banks as a sound security, money is lent upon them, and settlements have been made on the faith of them, and the rent payable under them may be less than the average of the judicial rents that have been fixed in the neighbourhood. Yet this Bill, in a clause which, if it has any intention, is meant to benefit the tenant, proposes that the lessee should be stripped of these advantages, and left naked and alone in the face of his landlord and the Court, which may proceed to fasten a higher rent upon him than that which he now pays. The House will perceive how utterly inequitable this would be, and remonstrances against such a proposal have been urged by some of the stoutest sticklers for the sanctity of contract. The right hon. Gentleman in his speech alluded to the fact that provisions which would have had the same effect were contained in the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), under whose authority he actually shelters himself. I could not have believed it if I had not heard it with my own ears. Is this to be the reward of the Liberal Unionists for all their close and even passionate attachment to the Government? The hon. Member for South Tyrone is a genuine Irish Representative, and he has the advantage enjoyed by few, if any, of the Irish supporters of the Government, of having no connection with the landlord class—[Mr. T. M. HEALY: Or with Ireland; he is a Scotchman.]—At all events he is a genuine Irish Representative, and a firm supporter of the present Government in its present Irish policy. Yet when the hon. Member makes a most intelligible and reasonable proposal it is scouted and set aside, while the Government rush eagerly to copy the Bill and adopt the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork, whom and all his works it has been their principal business for many months to renounce. There is another part of this clause to which the right hon. Gentleman did not allude, but which deserves notice. I refer to the Proviso which excludes the tenant from certain advantages if there is an exhausted improvement on his farm. It runs as follows:—

"Provided that when, under the provisions of this section (Section 1), an application is made to the Court to fix a judicial rent for a holding held under a lease, the Court shall disallow such application if the Court is satisfied that the landlord or his predecessors in title has or have made permanent improvements on the holding, the unexhausted value of which improvements is at the time of the making of such application not less than four times the yearly rent of the holding."

Let the House observe what the effect of that would be. I will take a case in which the landlord some years ago expended a sum of money in building a house in pursuance of a covenant on account of which the tenant pays £30 instead of £20 a-year. If at the moment when this Bill becomes law the house is valued at four times the whole rent, he will not get a farthing of abatement in respect of house or land. Is the fact of this additional £10 being payable in respect of the house any reason why the agricultural rent of £20 should not be revised? But what will happen? Not that the tenant will remain under his lease, with such advantages as it might possess; nor, on the other hand, that the Court in fixing a new rent will take into account, as it naturally would, the circumstances of this unexhausted improvement. His lease is to be taken from the tenant, but he must go on with the old rent, because when he comes into Court to have a fair rent fixed the Court "shall disallow" his application. He is placed, as it were, like Mahomet's coffin, between Heaven and earth, and may be said to be in the position of the animal which dies on land and cannot live in water. He is a leaseholder without a lease—a present tenant without a present tenant's rights. Why on earth, then, is he made a present tenant? I cannot believe that this provision can continue, in its present shape, to remain in the Bill, and I point this out not only as a matter important in itself, but also because, as I am informed, this Proviso would exclude a very large number of leaseholders who would otherwise get the benefit, such as it is, of this measure. A large portion of the Bill, as the right hon. Gentleman has pointed out, is concerned with the amendment of the procedure under the Purchase Act of 1885. I will not say anything of these proposals; but, speaking for myself, I objected to the Act of 1885 at the time it passed, and I should now be very strongly opposed to any further extension of it, for this reason—that any extension of the purchase system in a partial and sporadic and haphazard fashion could only have the effect of introducing confusion into confusion, heaping anomaly upon anomaly, and laying up future difficulties against the time when the whole question will have to be finally and generally dealt with. I will pass by the clauses relating to the enlargement of the Court of Appeal and the remission of rates, merely remarking that both these clauses will be strongly contested in Committee, and I come to the last of the subsidiary clauses which I shall notice—that, namely, which deals directly with evictions. I have already said that even if we could find some means of avoiding the physical hardships and moral cruelty to which tenants are often subjected in cases of actual physical eviction, we should not have advanced very far towards removing the causes of disorder and discontent in Ireland. But let us examine the proposals of the Government, and see whether they really make any substantial improvement in the law. Let me recount shortly what occurs when a landlord obtains a decree in ejectment for non-payment of rent. Formal possession of the holding is taken by the Sheriff, and then the tenant may terminate the proceedings by paying the rent and costs. If he does not do so, the Sheriff turns out the tenant—and this is what we know as eviction—and gives up the holding to the landlord, who thereupon either retains actual possession or reinstates the tenant as a caretaker. From that moment the tenant, whether he is re-admitted as caretaker or not, has six months to redeem his tenancy by paying the arrears, rent, and costs, and so regain possession of his holding by obtaining from the Court what is called a "writ of restitution." That is the present practice. The Bill proposes that the six months during which an application for restitution may be made shall date, not from the moment of eviction, but from the serving of a certain notice in prescribed form, after which notice the tenant will become *ipso facto* a caretaker, precisely as if he had been evicted and reinstated. Now, Sir, this change may, at first sight, seem beneficial in the interests of humanity; but if the tenant may thus lose his status and rights as a tenant, and be converted into a caretaker by the mere receipt of a legal notice, instead of by the form of open eviction as at present, what will be the effect? No one can doubt that at present a large number of landlords are deterred from exercising their extreme rights owing to the publicity and odium and scandal which eviction often involves. The quiet delivery of a legal notice is now to have the same effect, and the consequence must inevitably be that thousands of tenants will find themselves converted into caretakers without possibly realizing fully what has happened; and, after all, however desirable it may be, and undoubtedly is, to avoid the cruelty of actual eviction, it will only be postponed, and at the end of six months the same scenes, the same cruelties, the same scandals, as those we now condemn will be enacted. I venture to predict that if this Bill passes into law, so soon as the necessary legal formalities can be gone through, a shower of these notices will fall on the tenants of Ireland. Then there will follow a period of most remarkable and unexampled tranquillity, and I can imagine that some sanguine and unwary supporter of the Government will point to the quiet condition of Ireland as a proof of the success of their legislation and their government of the country. But the six months will elapse, and then it will appear that this quiet was only like the smooth water which precedes the cataract, and there will burst upon Ireland a tumult of simultaneous evictions such as we have never witnessed. I, therefore, say — and I think it can hardly be contradicted—that there is here no remedy for harsh evictions, but merely, at the best, a temporary postponement, and in the long run, I am afraid, an actual increase. But, Sir, the Prime Minister claims, in the words I have quoted, to prevent unreasonable as well as harsh evictions; and this is, I presume, what is attempted in the more important part of the Bill. Hitherto I have been dealing with matters of great importance indeed, but still with matters of detail on which I have made my comments; but now I have arrived at a point at which there arises a broad divergence between the course which my friends and myself should be disposed to recommend to Parliament and that followed by Her Majesty's Government. Our averment, founded not on any mere opinion of our own, but upon recorded fact, upon the Report of the Royal Commission, upon deductions easily drawn from the action of the Land Courts, and from the notorious fact that landlords in many cases have spontaneously and generously given abatements even from official rents—our averment is that there has been, during the last two or three years, such an unexpected fall in the value of agricultural produce that rents which were reasonable a few years ago are no longer reasonable. I did not understand the right hon. Gentleman to dispute that contention. The right hon. Gentleman, in many things that he said, even admitted this fall in prices. I rather expected that it would have been disputed, because I observe that the other day the Prime Minister—who is always courageous—accounted for the present state of circumstances in Ireland by a theory of his own, which I hope was satisfactory to him. He said that there had been a fall in the value of agricultural produce; but he denied that there had been in Ireland anything beyond what could reasonably have been foreseen; and he added that if it were not for the phenomenal fall in the price of wheat and barley in England, which had affected all values, he thought we should have heard very little of the fall in agricultural prices in Ireland. The theory of the Prime Minister appears, therefore, to be that if the tenant in Kerry or Donegal finds that he receives for his stock and produce less than he did two or three years ago he is under a delusion, founded on the fact that the price of wheat and barley had fallen in England. I do not think that the facts before the country deserve to be treated in so light a manner. Our case is that this reduction in prices has occurred; and we assert that if you wish to do justice, if you wish to alleviate the condition of the Irish occupier of land, if you wish to avoid in future scandal and cruelty and disorder, you must adopt some means of revising the scale of rents, even of judicial rents; and that no clever legal manœuvres, no alteration of the machinery by which the payment of rent is exacted by provisions of the kind that are elaborated in this Bill, even if such alteration can be shown to be in itself expedient and desirable, can help you in any degree in this matter. The House, no doubt, remembers what occurred last autumn. It then came to be freely alleged in the House that there existed this depression in price and consequent inability to pay rent. The Government denied, or at least questioned, the allegation; but they appointed a Royal Commission of their own choice to report how far the non-payment of rent was due to combination, and how far to inability due to a fall in prices. I have not the slightest desire to say anything that would seem to impugn the competence or the fairness of the Members of the Royal Commission; but it is important that the House should bear in mind, especially as the Commission reported strongly in favour of the tenants' contention, that there was on that Commission not a single Member in sympathy with the Nationalist Party, who undoubtedly have the confidence of the great majority of the tenants of Ireland, that there was only one Irish agriculturist on the Commission, and that he signed a separate Report, going still further in favour of the tenants than his Colleagues. The two matters indicated to the Commissioners as probably affecting the working of the Act of 1881 were, as I have said, combination and prices. I am not sure that it would be a usual, or a very accurate, criterion of the relative importance of different parts of a Report if we applied to them the gauge of lineal measure—if we measured them by the foot or the inch; but it is a fact not without some significance of the impression, at least, made by the evidence on the Commissioners, that to the question of a fall in prices, and the mode of meeting its effect, they devote no fewer than 16 paragraphs, while to combination they give but four. Probably that was not exactly what the Government expected when they appointed the Commission. The Commissioners recognized to the full extent the fall in prices during the last three years. They estimate the fall, due to this and to subsidiary causes, in the agricultural capital of Irish occupiers at 18½ per cent in two years; while Mr. Knipe, in his separate Report, puts it as high as 23 per cent. They also report that between the end of 1885 and the date of the Report the Sub-Commissioners had been making reductions in the rent on a scale exceeding that upon which they first reduced them by 10 to 14 per cent; but these reductions are greatly exceeded by what is going on now. I find that in the most recent

Returns we have received—namely, those for March and April of this year—the difference is something startling between the earlier reductions and those which are made now. In Leinster the Return now in our hands shows a reduction of 25 per cent below the tenement valuation; whereas in the beginning of the operations of the Commissioners their valuation was 15 per cent above, thus showing a difference of actually 40 per cent. In Munster they fixed the average at first 25 per cent above the tenement value; now it is fixed 6 per cent below it, or a difference of 31 per cent. The difference is still more startling when you look over the lists of individual rents. There is always a fallacy in dealing with averages, which may be brought down by some very excellent cases where the rents do not require any reduction whatever, and hence it is always instructive to look to particular cases. Here are some cases of individual rents. In one case the Poor Law valuation was £17 15*s*., the former rent £22 18*s*., and the judicial rent is £9; in another case the Poor Law valuation is £20, the former rent £32, and the judicial rent £17 10*s*.; while in another the valuation is £37, the old rent £62 12*s*., and the present £29. In another case the rent was reduced from £107 to £50, and in a smaller holding from £2 10*s*. to £1 1*s*., the Poor Law valuation being £2. Therefore, the Commissioners are now going even further than they had felt themselves obliged to do when the Royal Commission was sitting. These are the facts. They can hardly be gainsaid, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has not attempted to gainsay them. But, accepting these facts of a fall in prices and the consequent loss of capital which has been proved to have occurred, and that rents are now excessive, the question we have to face is what we have to do. Let me say that among those who agree that, owing to these circumstances, the condition of the Irish occupier demands relief, there may be different grounds for that opinion. There are some who regard it as a matter of compassion, and who think that on the mere ground of pity and to prevent distress relief should be given. I admit that, even on this limited ground, the case is unanswerable; but I confess that for my part I go further, and I found my opinion not on compassion alone, but upon the principle of justice as between the two partners in the ownership of the soil in Ireland. It would, I hold, be nothing short of monstrous that when an unexpected calamity befalls the common property of two men, the whole loss should be borne by one partner, and that he should be the partner to whose labour and exertions the whole productive value of the property is due. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland tried to make out that there was merely some shadowy difference between England and Ireland, and he spoke of the mutual relations of landlord and tenant as having been different in the two countries. But the whole of this legislation is founded upon the fact that the circumstances and the conditions of ownership are absolutely different in the two countries. Well, Sir, the Royal Commission recommend an immediate revision of rents, and that the periodical term of revision should be shortened from 15 years to five. They do not propose that the revision should take place by the re-valuation of each individual case; but that the original rent should remain as the normal rent, and be re-adjusted periodically, according to the fluctuation in the average of prices. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland asked when we were converted to the idea that rents should be revised every five years? It is not we who say that they should be; we say that this is the proposal of your own Commission. We say that there are, no doubt, difficulties in any solution of the question; but this is, at all events, a definite and intelligible proposal on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman said that our action was inconsistent with the Land Bill of last year, because that Bill was based upon judicial rents. So it was; but the right hon. Gentleman perhaps forgot that the Court was given the fullest possible power to take every circumstance into consideration, and that there was thus a power of revision. With regard to the proposal of the Commission, I am about to make an observation which comes appositely from me as a Scotch Member. I cannot help thinking that the Royal Commission had in their minds, when they made this proposal, what we call in Scotland fiars' prices. Ministers' stipends and some other payments are made in Scotland according to the value of agricultural produce, and every year in each county a committee is set up, composed of farmers and landlords, who strike the average prices of produce in the district. That system gives great satisfaction in Scotland, and I do not see why it should not be applicable in Ireland. But, besides the proposal of the Royal Commission, another suggestion has been made which deserves consideration, and which is that, if it is feared it might have a disturbing effect to alter the amount of rent every five years, power might be given to some authority, upon application made and cause shown, to allow an abatement on account of the temporary circumstances of the day. This would carry out, in a legal and formal manner in Ireland, that which is the ordinary practice in England. At any rate, all we say is, that in some way or another rents ought to be open to revision, and relief thus given to both the present and prospective necessities of the Irish occupier. It is because the Bill contains no provision whatever for mitigating the pressure of excessive rents, because it does not lift a finger to help the honest and struggling tenant, that we regard it, in this main branch of its subject, as wholly inadequate and unacceptable. But, Mr. Speaker, although the Government will do nothing to mitigate the burden of rents which, with impaired means, the Irish occupier is still held bound to pay — although they reject the main recommendation of their own Royal Commission, they are not without a plan. Clause 22 and the subsequent clauses of the Bill are devoted to it, and contain provisions which the Government imagine to be for the relief and benefit of the tenant. I will briefly, and in outline, state their nature. These provisions apply only to the case of a tenant whose holding is, or the aggregate of whose holdings are, rated under £50 a-year. Where proceedings are taken to recover such holding on the ground of non-payment of rent, if the Court is satisfied that the tenant cannot pay the rent and arrears, that such inability is not due to his own fault, and that a reasonable time should be allowed, it can stay execution, and order that the arrears and costs, or such sum as may be agreed upon between the parties, shall be paid by instalments. If default is made in paying any one of the instalments, the stay of execution is removed and execution follows. Section 23 provides that when the Court is of opinion that the order to stay execution should be made it shall so state; and thereupon the tenant may call upon the landlord to make a joint application to the Court for the purpose of having the tenant adjudicated bankrupt. The tenant, who has now been transformed, even in the language of the Bill, into a "debtor," may then be permitted to remain on his farm, working it under the orders and supervision of the Court, for a period of 18 months. If within that time he fails to obtain a certificate of conformity the Court shall sell his tenancy, and the purchase-money, after satisfying the rent and costs which have accrued while he has been permitted by the Court to remain on his farm, shall be applied as assets. If the tenancy does not fetch a sufficient amount to satisfy the rent and costs, the Court shall put the landlord into possession of the holding. Those are the main outlines of what is called a remedial measure. I make bold to condemn it upon four separate and distinct grounds. In the first place, it is unjust as between tenant and tenant. In the second place, it is demoralizing, degrading, and insulting to the tenantry of Ireland. Thirdly, it is in its principal details unworkable, and even, I venture to say, ludicrous. And in the fourth place—and perhaps this is the strongest argument of all — if it were as just and honourable and practicable as I maintain it to be unjust, dishonouring, and impracticable, it would be absolutely ineffectual for the purpose which it is intended to achieve, because it can be easily and at once avoided. I say, in the first place, that these provisions mean injustice in the treatment of one tenant as compared with another, because while the benefits—dismal benefits at the best—are reserved for the impoverished and ruined tenant, there is nothing whatever done for the industrious and frugal tenant, who is struggling under a hard fate to save his little capital from destruction. If rents are unreasonable they are unreasonable for the richer as well as for the poorer tenant; and I should have thought that in the public interest, in the interest of the moral tone of the community as well as of its material prosperity, it was even more necessary to help a struggling tenant who is on his legs than the man who has already fallen. But no mercy is to be shown to him. He is to go on having his pound of flesh extorted from him every half-year; his capital is to dwindle away pound after pound and shilling after shilling, so long as he can pay anything to the landlord in respect of the rent which his holding cannot afford to pay; and at the last, when he is thoroughly exhausted, emptied, and ruined, then it is that the beneficent legislation of the Government will take him up. It seems to me that this one objection is fatal to the very conception of this part of the Bill; and it is so plain, palpable, and intelligible, that I content myself with the mere statement of it to the House. My second objection is that these proposals are demoralizing and degrading to those to whom they are applied. What can be more lowering to the tone of an industrial community, what can be more subversive of their independence and self-respect, than that they should be told on the high authority of Government and Parliament that they cannot enjoy the benefits conferred by legislation unless they pass through insolvency into legal bankruptcy? It is the very road which they should be taught to avoid. Can the Government point to any single instance in which a whole class of the community has been in this way by Statute tempted and coaxed into bankruptcy? Of course, these are only Irish tenants—and they are most of them, I dare say, Nationalists. I can well believe there are persons in Ireland so impecunious, so burdened with debt, so hampered with family settlements, that they are scarcely masters of their actions, and that it would be for their own interests, for the interest of their families, of all who have pecuniary relations with them, of the public generally, and of the cause of social order in Ireland that they should in some way be relieved; that they should be able to shake off, even by means of bankruptcy, the paralyzing trammels which prevent them from fully doing their duty, and that they should be enabled to start with fresh life on a new career. I believe there are such cases; but when I look for them, I find them more among the landlords than among the tenants. Will the Government propose, as a condition precedent of giving any relief to landlords, that they should be made bankrupts? Would that enter into their heads for a moment? When the Encumbered Estates Act was passed, and a whole machinery set up to relieve Irish landlords, was it ever suggested that they should be made individually bankrupt? Of course not, because bankruptcy carries with it a stigma, because it degrades, because it has been held so disreputable as to debar from the service of the Queen. It can never, of course, be applied to landlords; but to tenants well and good, I suppose. Sir, I cannot imagine how the Government can have come to accept, and how they could have yielded to the evil genius which tempted them to embody such a proposal in the Bill. It is a scheme saturated with the spirit of exclusiveness; it reeks of the worst spirit of landlordism; and when I speak of landlordism, I do not mean only the system which sets up one man as owner and another as cultivator, but I mean the system which enables the landlord to exact his extreme rights from the tenant, and which treats the cultivator of the soil as a mere rent-creating instrument. But now let us turn to the particulars, and let us accompany the tenant through the gloomy portals into that *città dolente*—that city of dolour through which he is to be made to pass—and see how he fares. In the first place, will it be believed, when we see opposite a Party who had no words too strong to condemn the Plan of Campaign, that as the first condition for a man receiving any benefit from this Bill he must refuse to pay his rent? An action of ejectment having been brought, the tenant comes before the Court, and then a clause comes into play which has a very imposing title—the "Equitable Jurisdiction" Clause. I find in it a great deal of jurisdiction, but very little equity. The Court has no power whatever, except as to the amount of the instalments and the time when they are to be paid. Nay, more, an Amendment was moved by a noble and learned Lord (Lord Fitzgerald) in "another place," to the effect that the Court should have power to settle a composition—"a sum in satisfaction of the whole amount due." That was moved by a Liberal Unionist Peer, but it was rejected by the Government. On the day, then, that the tenant fails to pay to the very hour his instalment the stay upon execution is at once removed. The Bill provides, not that the Court may remove, but that the Court shall remove, the stay, and the landlord is then at full liberty to swoop down upon the tenant. But the tenant, having come into Court, and finding little benefit from this Equitable Jurisdiction Clause, goes further; he applies, with consent of his landlord, to be made bankrupt. Now, here is a strange circumstance to which I wish to refer. There is a provision that "if the landlord refuses unreasonably to join in making such application"—that is, that the tenant should be adjudicated a bankrupt, the Court may order such sum in satisfaction as it thinks fit. In the other House an Amendment was moved upon this giving the Court the power, not only to settle the sum in satisfaction of the outstanding debt, but also to fix a reasonable rent for the remainder of the judicial term. That Amendment was accepted by the Government, and was placed in the Bill in Committee in "another place," but was afterwards struck out. I want to know, not only why it was struck out, but why it was put in, because it is a complete concession of all that we assert. It admits that these rents are unreasonable, and that they ought in many cases to be re-adjusted —it concedes, in fact, the whole question. A little information, therefore, is necessary on that point. The tenant, let us now suppose, has become a bankrupt. Let me say this. Everyone acquainted with Ireland knows that the Irish Bankruptcy Law is as bad, and costly, and cumbrous as it can be; and even if it were good and efficient, its procedure would be designed and adapted to the cases of traders and shopkeepers and others, with a going business, with some tangible assets, with books and accounts, and all the appurtenances of business. But now this cumbrous system is to be applied to all the tenants in this position in Ireland, so that you will have the County Courts in some of the poorer districts administering the assets of 100 or 1,000 wretched hand-to-mouth men, whose whole assets are a bit of bog land and a few pieces of what by courtesy may be called furniture, perhaps a pig, and two or three hens, and the whole of this complex and cumbrous machinery is to be set up in order to manage such farm. And for this a whole host of official persons are to be appointed. We are told that this is only a provisional measure, to tide over the interval until a great Land Purchase system is applied. Yet a swarm of new Judges, Official Assignees, and other officers are to be appointed, at the public expense. Then let the House picture to itself a little farm. The Court is to permit the tenant "to remain in possession of such of his property" —his pig and his poultry—

> "As may be necessary for the profitable working of the holding so long as may appear likely to result in the realization of money available for the payment of his debts, or of such a proportion thereof, or composition thereon, as shall appear to the Court to be just and equitable; and in every such case the Court may make such orders as may appear just and necessary for fixing the rate and for securing the payment of the accruing rent so long as such permission continues, and for securing the due working of the holding and accounting for the proceeds thereof by the debtor."

I leave it there, without adding to the words. A more ridiculous proceeding I never knew going on during 18 months on a holding of small size. Multiply those cases by thousands, and imagine what condition the country will be in. Then, again, the Court is to have the power during those 18 months of fixing the rent which the tenant is to pay during that time. I put to the Government the usual difficulty of a dilemma—Was the tenant's original rent unreasonable, and is this why a reasonable rent is to be fixed? If it is reasonable, why not continue to pay it? You, therefore, admit that the original rent is unreasonable, because you give power to the Court to fix a reasonable rent. The other horn of the dilemma is this—If the original rent was reasonable, and if there is no equitable claim that it should be interfered with, why do you take part of the landlord's rent to furnish assets for the other creditors? If, on the other hand, you reduce the rent because it is unreasonable, then that is a confession that it is owing to the unreasonable rent that the tenant is bankrupt. Well, Sir, the Official Assignee and the tenant—in the intervals between his frequent visits to the county town to consult his attorney—for all this time the legal proceedings are going on and must be watched—continue working the farm for 18 months, in the attempt to make a composition of 10*s.* in the pound for creditors. The capital and credit of the tenant have gone; the rent is constantly accruing; the costs are running up. The tenant, therefore, appears to have a lively prospect of making 10*s.* in the pound, and unless he can do so he cannot get his certificate of conformity. But there is an alteration of the law to be noted. The landlord, under the Bill, is to have a preferential claim for a whole year's rent; whereas, according to the existing law, his right is only for half-a-year. This makes the case even worse. Is the tenant to get his certificate or not? If he cannot obtain his certificate what happens? Short work is made of him. The Court sells his tenancy in the holding, and if a sale cannot be effected the Court is to put the landlord in possession of the holding, so that it ends in eviction after all. But let us take the other alternative; supposing the tenant obtains his certificate, what is the condition of affairs? He is left with an impossible rent to pay; the old rent continues; it is admitted to be impossible because the Court has reduced it while he was under its control. He has no capital; his stock is gone, and he has no credit remaining. What prospect, I ask, is before the tenant? The only prospect of relief to a man in that condition is to become bankrupt again, and so on *da capo.* The Government, seeing the absurdity of that, however, have said that he shall not be bankrupt again within three years; so that now that by the operation of this Bill you have made him in reality as well as in name a bankrupt you deny him further help; and as he cannot obtain any of the relief you provide he must be finally evicted. In any case the landlord is ultimately in possession; the same result is arrived at after all those months of suspense and torture to the tenant. He entered Court a tenant; he became under the auspices of the Bill a debtor; he is turned out at the end, a beggar. The only satisfaction which the Government, in putting this proposal before the House, have to console themselves with is that they have at least filled, or done their best to fulfil, the Scriptural maxim —"From him who hath not shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." I think the House will have seen that a candid examination of these detailed provisions leads inevitably to the conclusion that they are perfectly unworkable, and one even doubts whether they can have been expected to work at all. They will not prevent evictions. They will do a sore wrong, both morally and materially, to the tenants of Ireland, and bring nothing but confusion, loss, and worry to the landlord. Can we be surprised, then, that that estimate has been formed of the Bill even by the Conservative Press in Ireland? I see the leading Conservative journal in Ireland winds up its opinion in these words—

> "This bankruptcy business seems a sort of bottomless gulf into which all Irish interests are to be rolled pell-mell."

I have seen an account of a meeting, held at the end of last week, presided over by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). The noble Lord advised his followers, as I expected he would, to vote against my Amendment; but he said of the bankruptcy provisions, being open to grave objection, they ought to amend them. I wish my noble Friend joy of the task he has set himself to amend these provisions. If he begins to pour the strong wine of his good sense into those curious bottles, the bottles will burst and the wine will be wasted. But I have yet to justify the last of my four objections to these clauses, which is one of the most important of all. My last argument against this plan is that even if all I have said against it were rejected or disproved, it would remain ineffectual for the plain reason that a landlord seeking the exaction of his rent could proceed by another method altogether. It is not necessary for him to use the rights which the law gives him as a landlord. He may treat the rent as a debt and bring a money action, known as a process of *fieri facias,* without claiming the land; but, the land being an asset of the tenant, it can be seized. When it is seized it is put up for sale and the landlord buys it in. The tenant, thereupon, becomes a mere trespasser on his own farm. He loses all his rights, and again he is evicted with the connivance of this Bill, which is to stop evictions. Here is again an eviction, it may be a harsh and unreasonable eviction, and how much comfort will it be to the evicted tenant that if this fate befel him it was not by ejectment but by *fi. fa.!* Hon. Members will all remember the story of Sir Isaac Newton, who made a large hole in his door for the cat and a small one for the kitten. The Irish landlord has a small hole through which he may obtain possession of his land and get rid of his tenant—a small hole sacred to himself as a landlord; he has also a larger means of access to the same end, common to himself and all the world. Here is a Bill which laboriously and elaborately nails and boards up against him the small opening, yet leaves him free to go in and out as he pleases by the larger. I have now stated my case against this elaborate scheme for ruin, costs, and confusion, professing to be a scheme of relief. It may be summed up in language, not perhaps very logical, but perfectly intelligible—"You are doing the wrong thing; and you do not do it; and it is of no use when you have done it." There I leave it; and with confidence I set in contrast with it the plain and straightforward proposal of my Amendment. The attempt to extract excessive rents from the soil in Ireland is the cardinal agrarian mischief of the day in that country. Rents which a few years ago were reasonable, or not unreasonable at all events, are now either unreasonable, or even impossible. Rearrange the rent, then, in accordance with the altered circumstances of the day as your own Royal Commission recommends; and if this Bill is not based on the Report of your Commission, on what, in the name of wonder, is it based? One of the commonest of commonplaces at your meetings, and in your speeches, is that the agrarian question is at the bottom of the Irish difficulty. Here you have an opportunity of dealing with the agrarian question. Deal with it directly and manfully; face the question of excessive rents, and abandon once for all the foolish hope that by such idle devices as disfigure this Bill you can win for yourselves or for your cause any part of the gratitude and confidence of the Irish people. I beg, Sir, to move the Resolution which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to Land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for affording such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell - Bannerman) had put on the colours very thick, and with a very big brush, and the result was one of those flashy pictures which were now so much admired. He had spoken at first of the Bill with general approval; but, instead of condemning it and trying to kill it altogether, surely it was his duty to try to amend it. He took it that the Government had brought forward this Bill as a stopgap. They were pledged as deeply as any Government could be pledged to introduce a large measure dealing with the whole question of land purchase in Ireland. They had, almost more than Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, pledged themselves to endeavour to find a solution of the Irish Question by means of a large measure of land purchase, and he took it for granted that they intended to introduce such a measure next Session. In the meanwhile they offered to the House the present Bill, as being in many respects an amending Bill to the legislation of 1881, as being in many respects founded on the recommendations of Lord Cowper's Commission, and as being in many respects one the end of which would be to stop, for a time at all events, if not altogether, evictions in Ireland. He did not, therefore, understand the principle upon which the right hon. Gentleman opposite practically moved the rejection of the Bill, unless he wished to assume the position of a statesman of whom it was said at the beginning of the century—

> "—The Nation knows,
> My maxim ever is 'Oppose;'
> For be the measure what it will
> My maxim is 'Oppose it' still."

The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman, if accepted, would be the most severe condemnation of the Act of 1881 that the House could possibly pass. The right hon. Gentleman was somewhat in the position of a spoiled child who could not get all he wanted, and who, therefore, would not take anything at all. The House might very well accept the second reading of this Bill, and endeavour in its passage through Committee to make reasonable and proper Amendments to the clauses with which hon. Members opposite could not agree. With regard to the admission of leaseholders within the provisions of the Act of 1881, all the Bill did was to hasten the time at which leaseholders were to be admitted. The Purchase Clauses, in the main, carried out the recommendations of the Cowper Commission. The right hon. Gentleman said he was going to offer decided opposition to all the Purchase Clauses. Surely that was a somewhat peculiar attitude for the right hon. Gentleman to take, when his general complaint was that the Bill did not give effect to the recommendations of the Commission. With regard to the equitable jurisdiction, he confessed it seemed to him impossible for any hon. Gentleman opposite to hold that it did not afford a relief of some sort to the tenant. As he understood the Irish Question, what the tenantry were suffering from was a depression in prices, which had arisen mainly during the last two years. When the Land Commission first got to work the rents, as fixed by them, were fair and reasonable; but during the last two years the fall in agricultural value had been so great that the rents then fixed ought now to be somewhat reduced. That was not sufficient ground for revising all the rents over again; but it was sufficient ground for allowing a County Court Judge or some other official to give an abatement which would last over a short period. It rested upon hon. Members opposite to prove that this fall in agricultural produce was likely to be permanent, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Stirling had entirely failed to substantiate a case for a general revision. Why should a period of five years be fixed for a revision? That period was simply suggested at haphazard. Both Mr. Justice O'Hagan and Mr. Litton were opposed to a quinquennial revision. The former in his evidence contended that 15 years was short enough, and Mr. Litton said that if there was to be a re-arrangement every five years he did not see where there was to be an end. What would be the work of the Land Commission? They had already fixed 91,000 fair rents, and 90,600 cases had been settled out of Court; so that it might be expected that there would be some 200,000 cases to settle every five years; and, seeing that during the six years they had been at work the Commission had only got through some 271,000 cases, it was simply hopeless to expect that the Court could deal with such a gigantic revision. This Bill was meant by the Government to amend some of the most glaring defects in the Act of 1881. He did not suppose the Government were particularly enamoured of their own measure. They were in the position of an architect called in to prop up a falling building. They were not free either to choose the material, or the style, or the decoration; but they had to build a retaining wall and bring it into harmony with the original building. The Government had always objected to the principles contained in the Act of 1881; but they brought in this Bill with a view, if possible, to stopping evictions under that Act, by amending it in several important particulars. For the reasons he had given he desired to give his hearty support to the second reading of the measure.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, that although he was one of those who saw some objections to the Bill, he did not think it was, in all respects, a bad Bill. It was a Bill which nobody liked, but which nobody wished to reject; and he would therefore be content, after they had threshed it out and made the best of it, that it should be passed in some shape or other. He sympathized with a great deal that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said with regard to Irish landlords. Their case was doubtless a very hard one, and since Parliament had placed them in the position of mere rent-chargers, if not mortgagees, it could not be expected that they would show their tenants the same consideration as English and Scottish landlords. The great motive that induced English and Scottish landlords not to be hard on their tenants was the fear that they would have their farms on their hands; whereas in Ireland the landlords looked with horror and dislike on the Land Act of 1881. He regretted that denunciations of that Act were still heard. But although they recognized the difficult position of the Irish landlords, and the fact that many of them were reduced to great straits, yet justice must be done. He was fully in favour of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), although he did not wish to support it to the extent of carrying it. Probably the right hon. Gentleman himself only put it forward because he knew he had no chance of carrying it. Although the Bill was far from perfect, it was better than nothing at all, and he hoped that in some form it would be carried. He was free to confess that he looked upon the provisions of the measure with regard to leaseholders with considerable favour. As regarded the Bankruptcy Clauses, to his mind they contained the best part of the Bill—the germ of what he hoped to see introduced into the laws of this and other countries—a homestead law. In the United States implements of trade were protected, including small farms, and could not be sold for debt, and the Bankruptcy Clauses contained the germ of such a principle. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had remarked that there was no other country where the Law of Bankruptcy was so favourable to the bankrupt. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman that the law of the United States was much more favourable, and that in India they were accustomed to have occasional revisions of settlements. He thoroughly believed in the justice and truth of the Amendment, and he could not understand why the Government did not adopt the course recommended by their own Commission, and create some general power for revising judicial rents in cases where these, from extraordinary change in circumstances, pressed cruelly upon the tenant. It would be better to accept the situation and meet it directly than by the complicated mode which the Government proposed in this Bill. The fact must be admitted that landlord and tenant in Ireland were not now under contract with each other, but that their relations were the result of judicial arrangements. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had contended that there were no other countries where engagements had been nullified in the manner now proposed. But the same was done in India, and the right hon. Gentleman had narrowed his argument down to declaring that it had not been done in Europe. But the laws of the Aryans were common both to Europe and Asia, and in India, where the system of land revenue was very civilized, precisely the same course had been pursued as in Ireland under the Act of 1881. Changes in the condition of the tenants had been brought about in India, as it had in Ireland, by the act of God, and the Government of India had found it absolutely necessary to take notice of extraordinary changes in the circumstances of the tenants, and to set aside settlements which they had themselves made and to revise the rents; and in the same way the present Government ought to set aside the settlement which had been made in the case of the Irish land when they found that, owing to the unprecedented fall in prices, the tenants could not pay the judicial rents. He had urged this matter upon the Government of the day in 1881, during the discussions upon the Land Bill of that year, but without success; but he trusted that Her Majesty's present Government would give the subject their most serious attention. In his opinion the fall in prices might be permanent, and due to the change in the value of gold; and, therefore, any revision of Irish rents must be based upon the present value of produce. The Bankruptcy Clauses of the Bill contained much that was good; but they did not go far enough and protect the thrifty and honest tenant from a bad landlord. The clauses relating to leaseholders gave them almost all they could reasonably ask; but they went too far in giving a landlord the power of breaking a lease which was favourable to his tenant. It appeared to him that the Bill empowered a landlord to evict his tenant at the end of six months after he had been made caretaker by having a notice served upon him. The result of the clause would be to enable landlords to turn their tenants wholesale into caretakers, and then to get rid of them without the noisy and troublesome process of ejectment. He believed that that clause would more than counterbalance all the other advantages to be derived from the Bill. The Purchase Clauses, so far as they went, were good; but he was glad they did not go further. As a British taxpayer, he looked with alarm to the larger measure which the Government promised for next year, because he believed there was no magic by which they could benefit the Irish tenant by a large purchase scheme without either reducing the claims of the landlord or throwing the burden upon the taxpayers of this country. He was glad to see the purchase money to be advanced to any one borrower was restricted to £5,000. If British credit was to be available it ought to be for the benefit of the small not the large owner; and, therefore, he thought the sum ought to be reduced to £2,000. He admitted that there was something good in the Bill; but he held that there was a great deal bad in it which counterbalanced its advantages.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I think the criticism which we have just heard is a good specimen of the kind of assault to which the Bill is likely to be subjected. The hon. Gentleman speaks with great authority on the question of land tenure. There are few who speak with greater authority on that question; but it is characteristic of the attitude he assumes that, while he believes there is much good in the Bill, he intends to vote for the Amendment, though he does not wish to see it carried. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland was exactly that kind of speech which cultured Scotsmen are capable of making. It was remarkable for the numerous quotations, and for the accuracy of those quotations, from Scripture. I have always understood that the accurate knowledge of Scripture is inculcated by the tawse, and is a feature of Scottish education; and I am perfectly convinced, if that weapon had been so handled as to infuse into the right hon. Gentleman an accurate knowledge of the Bill he was studying, many of the observations he has addressed to the House to-night never would have been made. No one knows better than the right hon. Gentleman the difficulties of the Irish Land Question; and, therefore, I am somewhat disappointed to find that the whole of his able speech exhausted itself in minute and almost microscopic criticism of the details of the Bill. While the right hon. Gentleman admitted that there was a real evil to be grappled with, he never intimated how that evil was to be successfully overcome. He never formulated any alternative proposals which would in any way meet the difficulties under which he admitted the tenants were labouring. All the right hon. Gentleman did was to bring the whole of the resources of an acute intellect to bear for the purpose of depreciating and heaping ridicule and abuse upon proposals which, I believe, I shall be able to show are more likely to meet the evils under which the tenants labour than any others I have heard made. But, first of all, I should like to say a word or two with reference to some small and subsidiary provisions. The right hon. Gentleman was of opinion that our clause relating to leaseholders is most unsatisfactory. But, so far as we know, we believe we have embodied in the Bill the proposals of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), and for these proposals the right hon. Gentleman voted. Therefore, for the sake of embarrassing the Government last year, the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends voted for proposals which he knew to be unsatisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that under these proposals the rents might be increased, and that that was unfair. But our object is to do justice between man and man; and if you allow the tenant to go into Court that his rent may be reduced if it is too high, why should you take from the landlord the power of having his rents increased where they are too low? Another part of the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman has a special objection is that in which the landlord has effected improvements. Those improvements are not to be made use of for reducing the rent. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that there is a great distinction between the system of land tenure which exists in England and that which exists in Ireland, because in England the landlord does the great bulk of the improvements, and in Ireland they are done by the tenant. The object of the clause is that where in Ireland any farm may be found held by a leaseholder upon which the landlord has made the improvements, as is customary in England, he should be able to plead in his behalf the sum which he expended, and thus prevent the improvements he made being used in reducing the rent.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that he had no objection to that, so far as the improvements which the landlord had made were unexhausted. What he did object to was that the fact that such unexhausted improvements exist should be a bar to any consideration of a new rent.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Well, it is a small point, and I will not dwell upon it. The right hon. Gentleman attacked very violently Clause 4. Now, the object of that clause is to diminish the number of evictions that may take place. Surely that is an object which all sections of the House ought to combine to secure. The more you can reduce the number of evictions in Ireland, the greater will be the quietude and the security there. Therefore, I arrive at this conclusion—that those who are opposed to all proposals which tend to reduce the number of evictions, take that course because they know that evictions endanger the establishment of security in that country. What my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland pointed out was, that if the proposal of the Bill was accepted, it would diminish by three-fourths the number of evictions that now take place. But the great objection which I take to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite is that he did not really grapple with the facts of the case with which we have to deal. What is the position in which the Government finds itself? Undoubtedly there has been a great fall in prices in Ireland, and it has had a very prejudicial effect on the tenants' power to pay the rents which were judicially fixed. The number of agricultural tenants in Ireland is, roughly speaking, about 500,000. Of that number about 100,000 are leaseholders, who are outside the operation of the Land Act of 1881. We propose to bring them in, leaving 400,000 to be accounted for. Of that 400,000, about 200,000 or less have had their rents judicially fixed; therefore, there remains a number almost equivalent to 200,000 which have never yet gone into the Courts to have a judicial rent fixed. It is, I think, very important to have these facts plainly before us, because it is generally assumed that all tenants have gone before the Courts for a reduction of rents. That is not so. The total number of tenants up to the present who have had their rents reduced amounts only to 200,000. Now, the difficulty which we have to deal with is that a large proportion of these tenants who have had their rents fixed are upon the brink of insolvency, not always because the rent is beyond their means, but because they have other debts. No proposal which any Government can make can set up these persons again, unless means are taken, not only to free them from the arrears that may be due to their landlords, but also to free them from the debts that may be due to other individuals. Although the right hon. Gentleman opposite used a great deal of violent language—[MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No!]—for a Scotchman, he made no alternative proposal. The right hon. Gentleman said—"By some means or other we must revise judicial rents, so as to avert certain evils;" and again—"In some way or other rents must be revised to meet the interests of the tenants." So far as I can see, the right hon. Gentleman's views are in favour of the proposals of Lord Cowper's Commission. I do not know whether I am right in assuming that he has authority to put forward as an alternative proposal the recommendations of that Commission. [MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No.] Then practically he has no alternative to put forward; but the whole of his speech was so ingeniously framed that those who did not follow him closely would think that the proposals of the Commission were to be substituted in his plan for the proposals of the Government. Now he does not make any proposals, and why does he not make some alternative proposal? [MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: It is not his business to do so.] I quite admit that it is not for the right hon. Gentleman, who is not in Office, to initiate any proposals; but when proposals are brought forward by the Government, and the right hon. Gentleman takes upon himself to move an Amendment such as that which he now proposes, he is bound to indicate the manner in which he would deal with this question. But we have this satisfactory position, that right hon. Gentlemen opposite have no proposal to make as an alternative to that of the Government. If, therefore, we were to-morrow to withdraw this Bill, the tenants in Ireland would remain exactly as they are now. The proposals of Lord Cowper's Commission are not adopted by the Government, for this simple reason, that they are not practicable. Anybody who reads the Report of the Commission with thought and care will see that in that part of the proposals which relates to the revision of rents two ideas are associated together which are entirely antagonistic and unworkable. The Commissioners point out in the early part of their Report that there has been a large fall in the value of products; and in paragraph 16 they suggest that the terms for the remission of rent, instead of being 15 years, should be five. That is practically an intelligible proposition; but it will not give that relief to the tenants which they need, because it establishes this principle that the 15 years settled by the Act of 1881 is to be substituted by a more limited period of five years, but it assumes that during that period the landlord is to be as much entitled to his rent as in the period of 15 years, and it is for the purpose of giving landlords greater security, so far as the fixture of rent is concerned for that limited period, that in one sense the proposal is made. In the next paragraph the Commissioners point out that if the present fall in prices continues it will, in their judgment, be necessary to revise rents which have been fixed prior to the beginning of 1886. Now, the Commissioners' Report was written at the commencement of 1887, so that almost in the same breath they associate the proposal of the term of five years with the recommendation that rents that have only been fixed 15 months shall be revised. It is practically clear that the idea uppermost there is not that rents shall be fixed for any given period, but that they are to be regulated by any casual or ephemeral variation which may take place within a less period than five years. If the Government had brought in a Bill to revise rents on the lines of the Commissioners' Report they would have practically only given relief to an infinitesimal portion of Irish tenants. The number of rents fixed up to December, 1882, was only 43,000 out of 500,000. Assuming, therefore, that this principle were adopted, and all the tenants whose rents were fixed five years ago were to come to Court, you would have 8 per cent receiving relief. Therefore, the proposal which the right hon. Gentleman opposite constantly alluded to is practically illusory and would not give the relief which we wish to give, and which a considerable portion of the tenants in Ireland I believe deserve to have. Then, again, it would not be possible to revise the rents of 500,000 tenants within five years unless we adopted some automatic process. The Commissioners suggest that in substitution of the present scheme a sliding scale of the value of agricultural produce should be framed. No one who had read the evidence taken by the Commission could seriously entertain the idea of carrying out this suggestion. During 1879 the prices of Irish produce were higher than they were for several years before, or than they had been since. Therefore, to associate a quinquennial revision of rents with a sliding scale which would increase a tenant's rent in a year of famine and reduce it with exuberant plenty was unjust and untenable, and no responsible Government could entertain the suggestion. If this proposal were adopted, there would be no means of dealing with arrears; and one of the great difficulties to be dealt with is that a considerable proportion of the tenants are in arrear. Did the right hon. Gentleman take this difficulty into consideration; and how does he propose to deal with it? If you fix a rent every five years, it must be payable for five years. There is a still further objection. When the Land Act of 1881 was passed, that which had more effect upon the House of Commons than anything else was that the system of valuation by Sub-Commissioners was associated with appeal to the Chief Commissioners. Although in seven years only a limited number of persons have availed themselves of the privilege of appeal, the Commissioners have not yet disposed of all the appeals which have been made. If you largely increase the number of those who are to have their rents fixed under this Act, and limit the period during which they are to be revised, it is perfectly clear that the right of appeal will be rendered absolutely nugatory. If the suggestion had been adopted, we should practically have turned topsy-turvy the Act of 1881, and not for the benefit of the great mass of the tenants, but, so far as the present year is concerned, for the benefit of only 8 per cent of the occupying tenants. Our proposals will compare favourably with any alternative suggestion which the right hon. Gentleman ventured to make. He said our proposals were unjust; but what is meant by justice? Every Irish Bill introduced by a Liberal Government has been brought forward under the plea of justice. Are right hon. Gentlemen opposite prepared to extend the same justice to landlords that they claim for tenants? There is no response to that question. Supposing that prices had risen considerably in Ireland, and suppose it had been moved that landlords should be freed from their contracts because prices had risen, would right hon. Gentlemen have assented to such a proposition? No; for this reason. Tenants are 30 times as numerous as landlords; and that which unfortunately regulates the dealings of Parliament with the Irish Land Question is the amount of support and popularity to be gained. The right hon. Gentleman said it was demoralizing and insulting to tenants that they could not get free from their contracts except by means of bankruptcy. But every English and Scotch workman has to go through that process if he enters into a contract relating to commodities the prices of which fluctuate, and in consequence is unable to fulfil the obligations into which he has entered. Is the Bankruptcy Law of England and Scotland demoralizing to the English and Scotch people? Then the right hon. Gentleman said we had not interfered with the alternative process of *fieri facias* by which a creditor can obtain payment of his debt. That is the law under which creditors obtain payment from debtors. You wish only for justice. Landlords are on the same footing as other creditors. Will some hon. Gentleman, on the part of the Irish Party, come forward and propose to repeal the law not only as regards landlords, but also as regards all creditors?

MR. T. M. HEALY: We made the proposal in 1881, and you rejected it. It was called the Parnell Clause.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Let him have the courage of his opinions, and do it now.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Certainly, certainly.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: We shall then be able to see how far the proposition can be supported. There are still more serious objections in principle to the only attempt at suggested alternative. It will be admitted that in many parts of Ireland there is no social or moral influence in favour of maintaining contracts. No doubt the reason is that in purely agricultural districts the great mass of contracts are between tenants and landlords. Therefore, if a tenant repudiates his obligation, even although he is able to fulfil it, he is not regarded as a defaulter, but rather as a hero, because tenants are identified in their interests. There is a tendency in Ireland in all sections of society, from the highest down to the lowest, if they become involved in difficulties, to expect the Government to extricate them, and not to reply upon individual exertions. If that be so, to assent to the principle that in Ireland tenants or other persons are to be relieved of their obligations simply on account of unwillingness, and not from inability to fulfil them, will be to give an impetus and sanction to these unhappy tendencies. It so happens that the Bankruptcy Clauses are those that are most denounced by landlords; and it seems almost impossible for any Government to attempt to maintain an even course between the conflicting interests of landlords and tenants without being attacked by both. I have great sympathy with Irish tenants. They have had the most powerful influences which animate human nature remorselessly brought against them—namely, cupidity and terrorism, and I must say that, on the whole, I think they have well responded to their obligations. The difficulty experienced by every Government dealing with the Irish Land Question is this—that this question, knotty and complicated as it is, is surrounded by a number of political and economical difficulties which make it at times almost insoluble. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), in passing the Land Act of 1881, conscious of these difficulties, banished the principles of political economy to Saturn, and seemed to think that they would remain there. They have returned to assert their authority with greater power than before.

The system of large estates, where the landlord does the improvements, is a beneficial system; but in Ireland the holdings are small, and where they are it is impossible for the landlord to carry out permanent improvements. Therefore there is a natural antagonism between the interests of the landlord and those of the tenants, which the controversies of the last 20 years have brought prominently into relief, and the solution of which, I think, can be found only in purchase. The right hon. Gentleman hoped that, in the debates on this Bill, there would be an absence of personal recrimination and of *tu quoque.* What were the action and opinion of right hon. Gentlemen opposite only a year ago? It is not for the purpose of exciting acrimonious feeling, but only to point out that, so far as Irish Land Questions are concerned, I say you cannot have a more unsafe guide than right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I have heard Irish Land Bill after Irish Land Bill introduced by right hon. Gentlemen opposite, and in every single instance the main recommendation of these Bills was their finality. Last year the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian introduced two measures, which he admitted were the most important which, in his experience of 50 years, had ever been proposed, by which a separate Government was to be set up, and complicated financial proposals were made for establishing the relations of England and Ireland, and the main basis of the financial proposals was the maintenance of the statutory rents as fixed prior to the last gale of November, 1885. If the House and the country last year had been deluded by the right hon. Gentleman into passing these two measures, where should we now financially have been, when, according to the statements of these right hon. Gentlemen, the whole foundation on which these financial relations rested was absolutely rotten? Therefore, continuous failure in the past is not a good augury for success in the future. If, then, right hon. Gentlemen opposite are vigorous in opposition to our proposals, and have nothing tangible in their place, the country will think that we are best serving its interests if we offer what we think a satisfactory solution of the matter.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): Although, like the noble Lord who has just sat down, I intend to support the second reading of this Bill, I do so for reasons which are not altogether those which he has given, and with certain reservations, which I can hardly expect any Member of the Government, in the present stage of the discussion at all events, will be prepared to accept. Therefore I ask the indulgence of the House for the few observations which I shall make, and, in doing so, I will endeavour to follow the advice given at an earlier period of the evening by my right hon. Friend the Member for Stirling (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), although, in doing so, I shall, perhaps, be unable to follow his example. I shall endeavour to avoid any unnecessary introduction of the controversial spirit, and anything like personal recrimination. Like my right hon. Friend, I intend to give to this Bill a fair and candid consideration. I can conceive that statement may appear, at first sight, alarming to the promoters of the measure, because my right hon. Friend has interpreted a fair and candid consideration as justifying a diatribe in which he has exhausted every possible epithet of scorn and contumely, and condemned, root and branch, every clause and line of the Bill, and has not a single word of approval for any part of the measure. What is this Bill in which my right hon. Friend finds nothing to approve, and everything to condemn? It is a Bill brought in by the Government in redemption of a pledge which they gave early in the Session that, concurrently with the Crimes Bill, they would endeavour to pass a remedial measure, dealing with the immediate and most urgent exigencies of the situation of the tenants of Ireland. Especially, they pledged themselves to deal justly with the leaseholders, whose case has hitherto received very scanty consideration from successive Governments. In the second place, they pledged themselves to prevent the possibility of the Crimes Bill being used in order to secure harsh and unjust evictions, by the pressure which the landlords might be able to exercise in straining their legal rights. I say, if we were able to consider this question altogether apart from Party interests, I do not believe there is a single intelligent and fair-minded man who would not admit that this Bill is an honest attempt —[*Home Rule laughter and ironical* *cheers.*] I said any fair-minded man, and hon. Members below the Gangway need not be so anxious to separate themselves from that category. Any candid and fair-minded man would admit that this is an honest attempt to deal with the most pressing and urgent exigencies of the situation, and that it is something more than that—that it is generous in a degree than no previous measure has been, and that it goes further in the concessions which it makes than any Government has ever gone, whether Tory or Liberal. Hon. Members below the Gangway have been anxious to separate themselves from the category in which I have desired to place them. They do not think the Bill deserves the opinion which I have given to it. All I can say is, that my opinion is confirmed by what has taken place in "another place" with reference to the Bill. I find, for instance, Lord Fitzgerald—[*Laughter from* MR. T. M. HEALY.] I should have thought that hon. Members below the Gangway would have recognized Lord Fitzgerald—[*Renewed laughter.*] I beg to remind the hon. and learned Member for North Longford that insulting interruptions are not arguments. [*Loud Ministerial cheers.*]

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. T. M. HEALY: If I am the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, I should like to remind the right hon. Member for West Birmingham——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! [*Cries of* "Name!"]

MR. T. M. HEALY again rose, but his remarks were inaudible.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I shall certainly Name the hon. and learned Member for North Longford if he continues to interrupt in the manner in which he is doing.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: I should have thought that hon. Members below the Gangway would, at all events, have recognized Lord Fitzgerald as a man with probably a larger experience with reference to this question than any other politician, and as a man of singularly fair and impartial mind. Lord Fitzgerald, in speaking on this Bill, said that although he was strongly opposed to some of its provisions, he yet held the Bill to be a fair, honest, and upright attempt to deal with the most pressing and urgent necessities of the tenants of Ireland. But I do not wish to confine myself to Lord Fitzgerald. I noticed that the right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs quoted exclusively from Lord Salisbury. But why did he not quote the opinions of the legitimate Opposition in "another place?" I find, for instance, Lord Granville said there were clauses in the Bill which he cordially approved, other clauses in which he acquiesced, and others which he totally disapproved. I find also that Lord Spencer, Lord Kimberley, and Lord Herschell, while carefully criticizing the Bill in a fair, moderate, and reasonable spirit, at the same time repudiated any hostility to it, which they admitted to contain valuable provisions. I say that, under those circumstances, I am surprised that my right hon. Friend should meet the Bill, at the outset of its career, by a Resolution which he knows perfectly well would, if carried, destroy the Bill altogether, and, would, therefore, prevent the House of Commons, during the present Session or the present year, from doing anything to relieve the tenants of Ireland. My right hon. Friend admits, for instance, that the case of the leaseholders demands immediate attention. But if his Resolution were carried the leaseholders might whistle for another year, and would be prevented from obtaining the redress which now, for the first time, all Parties are ready to concede to them. It appears to me, to put it no higher, an error of tactics on the part of my right hon. Friend. I can quite understand that there are clauses in this Bill which my right hon. Friend may desire to amend. I can understand that there are grievances with which the Bill does not propose to deal, and which my right hon. Friend would like to have dealt with. But the place and time to deal with them is when the Bill is in Committee. It is to the Committee stage of the Bill that his opposition should have been directed. With regard, however, to the revision of rent, my right hon. Friend presents his Amendment to the House as though it were an alternative to the proposals of this Bill. He says—"If you wish to avoid the scandal and disorder"—I understand him to refer especially to the cases of evictions which have caused so much trouble and public indignation—"the scandal and disorder of harsh evictions, you must deal with this matter otherwise than it is dealt with in the Bill—namely, by a revision of rents as is proposed in my Amendment." I venture to tell my right hon. Friend that is not an alternative at all. Even if the House were prepared to accept a general revision of rent as necessary and expedient, that would not make this Bill in the least degree unnecessary. If the Bill, on the other hand, is adopted without amendment, that will not prejudge in any way, nor preclude the consideration of the so-called alternative, or, as I prefer to call it, the addition of my right hon. Friend. The fact is that the Bill and the Amendment deal with two totally different branches of the same great question which ought to be each considered separately, and upon their merits. A decision upon one of them does not in the slightest degree affect the decision upon the other. Take the case of the Bill. It makes two great changes of first-class importance. It provides, in the first place, for the inclusion in the benefits of the Land Act of an unknown number of tenant leaseholders who have hitherto been excluded. The Chief Secretary for Ireland has to-night given us some very interesting statistics upon this subject. According to his latest information, this Bill will provide for the inclusion in the benefits of the Land Act of over 100,000 tenants. Is that a small matter? Is that a trifle? Is that a thing which is to be treated with contempt? Is that a matter which, if it stood alone, is to be rejected on a side-issue on the Amendment of my right hon. Friend? Then the Bill professes to provide for the case of unnecessary, unjust, and harsh evictions. It professes to render impossible, or, at all events, to limit, such evictions as those at Glenbeigh and Bodyke. What would the Amendment of my right hon. Friend have done in that respect? His Amendment does not deal with the question of arrears. It was proved that some of the tenants at Glenbeigh had not paid rent for six years. What I should like to know will a revision of rents do for tenants who have not been able to pay rent for six years? My right hon. Friend proposes as an alternative, as a satisfactory settlement of the Irish Land Question, that the Report of the Cowper Commissioners should in part be adopted, and that some scheme should be agreed upon for a general revision of rents, regard being paid to the fall in prices. I complain that my right hon. Friend was very vague. He refused, when challenged, to commit himself to the Report of the Commissioners; but if he does not accept their Report, why does he blame the Government for not accepting it? If he may criticize the Commissioners, and propose an alternative, why may not the Government do the same? [Mr. CHANCE: It was their own Commission.] Their own Commission! I wonder if the hon. Member who makes that observation has been long in the House? If he has been here long, I will ask him whether, in the course of his experience, he has ever known any Government who have adopted, without alteration, the Report of a Commission they themselves have appointed? I was for some years a Member of a Government who appointed many Commissions; but we never accepted their recommendations. We recognized that the evidence and recommendations contained valuable suggestions worthy of consideration; but we always exercised our own discretion. After all, we have not come to this in this country, that we are to be governed by Commission. I have pointed out that the Amendment of my right hon. Friend is inadequate and insufficient, because it does not deal with the question of arrears. But take another point. Suppose we accept his view of the revision of rents. The revision is to be strictly confined to such a reduction as the fall in prices would justify. Well, the fall is 18½ per cent, and the Sub-Commissioners have recently reduced rents by from 10 to 14 per cent below the average judicial rent fixed before 1885. But my right hon. Friend says—"Oh, there have been recently exceptional reductions of 40 per cent." But before 1885, there were exceptional reductions of 40 per cent and more. The average reduction was 18 per cent; but the exceptional reductions were quite as great as those referred to by my right hon. Friend. We have to deal with this assumption and hypothesis, that the judicial rents fixed before 1885 were fair at the time when they were fixed. Is that accepted? [*Cries of* "No!" *from the Home Rule Members.*] Then how can you consistently propose as a remedy that you shall go to people who were unable, from 1880 to 1885, to fix a fair rent, and who, you now assume, w.ll, in reviewing these rents, fix a fair rent? That will not bear examination. You must proceed upon the assumption that the Commissioners dealt fairly with these cases to the best of their judgment, and that when they fixed fair rent, those rents were fair at the time. All that you have to consider now is, that since the Commissioners fixed the rents, circumstances which they did not anticipate have wrought a change. My right hon. Friend says that there ought to be a reduction, in consequence, of 10, 14, or even 23 per cent if you take the view of Mr. Knipe. What I wish to point out to my right hon. Friend is, that you might have granted reductions of 10, 14, 20, or even 23 per cent to the tenants at Glenbeigh and Bodyke, and that you would not have stopped a single one of the evictions. Yet this is the alternative which my right hon. Friend recommends in preference to the Bill of the Government, which he has described in language of such extraordinary hyperbole. I do not think that my right hon. Friend appreciates the really strong argument in favour of his own contention. He does not appreciate the point in which his Amendment differs from the Bill. I should have thought that the object of his Amendment was to deal with a class of cases which the Bill admittedly leaves entirely out of account—namely, the cases of the solvent tenants, who do not go into the Courts, who are able to pay, although at great sacrifice, and who see their capital dwindling away. For these tenants the Bill affords no relief; and if my right hon. Friend had stated that it was his object to relieve them, I would at once admit that the matter deserves very serious consideration. But this subject lies altogether outside the Bill, and ought not to be used as an instrument for its destruction. The Amendment in that sense may be good or bad; but is it not altogether unreasonable on the part of my right hon. Friend, because he thinks it does not go far enough, that he should refuse the half loaf, which proverbially is a great deal better than no bread. Under these circumstances, my course is perfectly clear, if my right hon. Friend thinks it desirable to proceed to a Division. ["Hear, hear!" *from the Home Rule Members.*] I am so glad I have made myself clear and intelligible to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. [*Laughter.*] I shall vote for the second reading of the Bill; but in doing so I want it to be understood also that I do not consider that anyone who votes for the second reading is thereby disposing of, or prejudging the question of a revision of rents. That is a totally different question, which will no doubt come up on the Committee stage of the Bill, and on which I reserve to myself absolute liberty of action. All I am doing is this—by voting for the second reading, I am affirming the necessity of providing for the attainment of the objects aimed at by the Bill, and of endeavouring, by the best means open to the Legislature, to prevent harsh, unjust, and unnecessary evictions. Now, in the further discussion of this question it seems to me there are two main points that we have to keep in view. In the first place, we have to ask ourselves—Has it become necessary to destroy—because that is the effect of the proposal—and absolutely upset the great Settlement of 1881, which was declared at that time, and on many subsequent occasions, to be a final, an almost sacred settlement, and which was not voluntarily accepted, but imposed upon at least one of the parties to the Legislative contract? That is the first question; and then the second question is this—Does this Bill, regarded by itself, quite independently of the question of revision, fairly and fully meet the case it is intended to meet; can it be amended if defective, and does it, therefore, deserve a second reading? Now, as regards the first point of the revision of rents, I have endeavoured to consider the matter impartially, and I do not think there is any Party in the House or any man in the House who is entitled to lay any claim to infallibility in reference to this great question of Irish land. Those of us who were parties to the Settlement of 1881 have to confess, if we are now in favour of a review of that Settlement, that we were unable to anticipate the circumstances which have since arisen, and which have made that Settlement—which we thought and declared to be final, and which we almost promised should be final—unsatisfactory and have caused it to require review. On the other hand, the Members of the great Party opposite who opposed that Settlement cannot pretend that when they opposed it they foresaw or predicted the particular point upon which it would break down; and, at the present time, I would go further, and say that they have since that undertaken a great responsibility of which they cannot relieve themselves by appointing a Commission to inquire into the facts; and, having got the facts, they are bound to deal with them, either by accepting the recommendations of the Commission, or by some alternative and more satisfactory proposal. Now, when the matter was discussed before — I think it was on the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell)—it was possible and even reasonable that doubts should be felt on two very important points. Doubt was expressed, and no doubt honestly felt, first as to the extent and character of the fall in prices which was alleged to have occurred; and, secondly—and this was still more important—doubt was expressed as to the extent to which that fall in prices might have been discounted and calculated upon by the Assistant Commissioners of the Land Courts in estimating the judicial rents. Now, we have the Report of the Commission; and, putting aside altogether the recommendations of the Commission, we have incontrovertible evidence to show that there has been a great and undoubted fall in the value of produce since the rents settled previous to 1885 were fixed; and, secondly, we have the evidence of the Land Commissioners who fixed those rents that they did not take that fact fully into account at the time when they gave their earlier decision. These are, in a certain sense, two new facts which are authentically disclosed by the Report of the Commission and the evidence which covers it. We have, further, the evidence, to which I have already referred, that the Commissioners have settled rent since 1885 on an average level of from 10 to 14 per cent below the level they had previous adopted. I say it follows from these facts that, if the later rents are fair, the earlier rents are unfair to the extent of from 10 to 14 per cent at least. I do not see how we can possibly avoid that conclusion. Now, there are two witnesses on this point to whom I will briefly refer, because they will be recognized as absolutely impartial witnesses, at all events upon a point of this kind. The first witness is Mr. Litton. He was a Member of the Land Court, he is well known to many Members of the House, he is a very fair-minded man, and has a very large and extraordinary experience in reference to this question; and I should think nobody would doubt his honesty and integrity. Mr. Litton is entirely opposed to anything like a general revision of rents; but he says that the fall in prices since 1885-6 ought to be met by allowances granted by the landlord. That is an admission that the rents fixed previously to that time have become too high, and that they ought to be reduced; and I quote it for that purpose. The other witness is Mr. Townsend Trench, who is a landlord's agent. I believe him to be a perfectly fair-minded man; but, at all events, it is not likely that his evidence will be impugned as being unfavourable to the landlord. Mr. Townsend Trench says that if the fall in prices is permanent, there is no doubt the judicial rents are unfair. If, on the contrary, it was only temporary, it ought to have been met by corresponding abatements. Two witnesses, then, assert that, owing to the extraordinary and exceptional fall in prices, great temporary abatement, at all events, was necessary in the rents fixed previously to 1885. The next question we have to consider is this—if these abatements ought to have been made, if they were due, have they been made? Well, this is a question upon which I suppose there is a good deal of difference of opinion. I have looked very carefully at the evidence given before the Commission and there are from 25 to 30 witnesses who declare that abatements have been made generally by the landlords even upon judicial rents. But it is also certain that there are other witnesses who declare that, in particular cases, landlords have refused abatements. I think that it would be found, if you looked still more closely into the question, that in most of the cases where abatements have been refused—with some remarkable exceptions—they have been refused by landlords who are in a position very little removed from the miserable condition of their own tenants—so burdened by charges on their estates that they have no margin out of which to make the abatements which everybody admits ought to be made. I believe that it would be found that, in the first place, it is only in the minority of cases that abatements have been refused; and, in the second place, that in the majority of this minority abatements have been refused because, under the present circumstances, the landlords are incapable and have not the means of making them. But, still, that leaves the House with a real grievance, one very difficult to deal with, but with which we ought to deal—namely, the case of solvent tenants—be the cases many or few—who, upon the admission of everybody, are called upon to pay rents which have become unfair, owing to the fall in prices, and who are unable to obtain reasonable abatements in their rents. Now, I go on to ask another question. Is this grievance of an extent and character such as to justify the proposal of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling district, and to require the absolute upsettal of the sacred Settlement of 1881, and the revision of all judicial rents fixed previous to 1885? Now, upon that point I am going to quote a speech of Sir George Trevelyan in 1884, and I want to point out that that speech was made before this great fall in prices, and therefore I am not going to quote it in order to complain of the inconsistency of their holding that judicial rents should not be revised, and now in 1886 holding that they should be revised? I do not think that there is any inconsistency. The speech was made in circumstances of some solemnity, and after a conference with his Colleagues, and I quote it to show the importance we attached at that time to the permanence of that Settlement and also the danger which we saw might result from a disturbance of that settlement. Speaking on the 5th of March, 1884, Sir George Trevelyan said—

> "The Government preferred, therefore, to state that if ever there was a great Act which in their opinion was carefully and thoroughly considered and which it was not expedient to ask Parliament to amend, it was the Land Act of 1881. It was meant for a land settlement of Ireland, and the character of permanency and immutability so necessary in their opinion to a settlement they intended, as far as in them lay, to give it. He could only repeat the language of the Prime Minister on March 14, 1883, in which he stated—'We have at no time since the passing of the Land Act used any word or done any acts which would justify, in any way, any one in supposing that we were prepared to concur or, so far as we are concerned, to allow any disturbance of its fundamental provisions.' That language he could only respectfully repeat of Gentlemen on both sides of the House who desired to change the organic structure of the Land Act."

Later on, the right hon. Gentleman used these words—

> "The earnest wish and desire of the Government was to further, in any way that was not dangerous to the interests of the Treasury or to the safe administration of Ireland, the creation of a peasant proprietary. But one essential and preliminary condition was that the minds of those who alone could buy, or at any rate who the Government were anxious should buy, should be fully informed as to the permanence of the conditions under which they had been living since the Land Act of 1881; and on that point he had thought it necessary to speak in terms which could leave no doubt in the mind of any single Member of that House."—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 588, 589-90.)

I quote this to show that in the mind of the Government of that date that the permanence of the Land Act was a matter of the greatest possible importance, and that it was necessary in their mind, in order that the Government might go on with the scheme, to promote a peasant proprietary to which they looked as an important element in the settlement of the Land Question. What I have to say now is, that although circumstances have changed since then, and though a fall in prices which was not anticipated has taken place, I cannot find it necessary, or even just, to blame the Government, because they say now, in view of such reasons as those to which I have referred, and of the opinion of men so distinguished as authorities upon the question as Mr. Justice O'Hagan and Mr. Litton, against any general revision of rents—I cannot find it in my heart to blame the Government because they say now they are not prepared to adopt the recommendation of the Commission and to engage in a general revision of judicial rents throughout Ireland, but, on the contrary, prefer the alternative which was present to the mind of the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in 1884, and which now, I believe, is present to the mind of everyone who considers the subject—because they prefer to look for a permanent settlement of the question to proposals dealing with the dual ownership of land in Ireland. If the Government had been in a position to-day to do that which they might well have hoped to be in a position to do when they first declared their policy—namely, to lay before the House the alternative policy for settling the Land Question by means of a scheme of land purchase—I think, whatever that scheme may be, they would have been justified in rejecting absolutely any proposal for disturbing the Settlement of 1881; but they are unable to do that. I am not now considering the question of where the blame lies, or why it is that the Session has passed without the remedial measures in the contemplation of the Government at the commencement of the Session having been brought forward. I am not dealing with that question, because they cannot be brought forward now. But we must bear in mind that next Session is the earliest time at which any proposals for settling the Land Question can be brought before the House. We do not know what those proposals will be, or whether they will be acceptable to the House. If they be accepted they cannot come into operation for a year, or possibly two years afterwards, so that there can be no effectual remedy for those grievances, which are undoubted, until two or three years have passed. I ask myself, and I ask the House and the Government to consider, whether it is not possible, as a temporary expedient, to deal with these cases? You are bringing forward a great and generous measure, trying to deal with some of the more pressing exigencies of the case. Here is another grievance. Can you not deal with it at the same time? Is it altogether impossible to devise some proper means without destroying the Settlement of 1881, without involving anything like a general revision of rents, of providing some remedy for those who as well deserve the sympathy of this House as any class of tenants in Ireland—the solvent tenants who are called upon by landlords—exceptional landlords—to pay a rent which is notoriously unfair and unjust? There are two points, it seems to me, to which Her Majesty's Government may be invited to direct their attention—two points on which they should be willing to receive suggestions. They should consider whether, having regard to the fact that it had been stated again and again—I will not stop to inquire whether it is true or not—on behalf of the landlords of Ireland, that the majority of landlords have already voluntarily made fair and reasonable reductions on the judicial rents in consequence of the fall in prices, the Government should, I think, see whether, having regard to that fact, they should not consider whether those tenants who are in this category, and who have not received any just abatements to which they are entitled, should not have the liberty of coming into Court and asking for some revision of their position. Good landlords, we are told—the majority of landlords—have met their tenants fairly, and have given a reduction equivalent to 10, 14, and even 15 per cent on the judicial rents. Why should bad landlords escape scot free? Why should tenants who happen to have landlords who are unable voluntarily to offer these abatements be placed in a worse position than tenants of good landlords? Why should not the Government do something to meet this case, which I believe to be a real case of substantial grievance, and make this Bill, with the help of the House, as complete a temporary settlement as they possibly can? The second point to which I would call the attention of the Government is this—I have said that in the majority of cases in which abatements have been refused by landlords in Ireland it has been because the landlords themselves are already in such desperate straits. I ask the Government to consider the case of these landlords. I ask the Government to consider whether, having regard to the state of circumstances of the case, the time has not come to review the case of those landlords who are suffering under the burden of family charges which have been established under circumstances quite different to those which now exist. Why is the landlord to be the only person who is not to be relieved? I know the question is full of difficulties. I know it is a knotty problem. But I do not think such a review as I suggest is without precedent. We know that in the case of insolvent companies and insolvent estates, an arrangement is often made and imposed upon the prior and preference creditors, by which they have to share the sacrifices imposed on the ordinary creditors, and I should like to know why there should be one class in Ireland, one class alone connected with the land, which is not to sustain any sacrifices which circumstances have imposed on every other class. It seems to me that if the Government were to make some provision for the relief of landlords who are overburdened by these charges, there would then be less difficulty in providing for a similar abatement being given by those landlords to that which has been given by good landlords throughout Ireland. I have now said all that I have to say with regard to the Amendment of my right hon. Friend. I have pointed out to the House that the Amendment of my right hon. Friend is a matter which I think is well worthy of consideration; but it is clear that it is one that ought to be treated separately, and on account of which the House would not be justified in destroying this Bill, and in parting from the subject for the present Session. The second point to which I desire to direct attention is, whether this Bill as it stands, independently of any addition that may be made to it, is worthy of a second reading. I do not pretend—I do not know whether the Government pretend—that this Bill is absolutely perfect and cannot be amended. I think it is defective in some points and I will refer to three main points which I think demand further consideration. In the first place, the Bill deals with the case of the leaseholders, and I understand and believe that the Government desire to deal largely and generously with the cases of the leaseholders who have hitherto been excluded from consideration, but who are now to be brought in to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881. The Chief Secretary has told us to-night, on the authority of Sir Ball Green, that 12 years ago there were in Ireland 113,000 leaseholders, of which 101,000 held terminable leases. Taking these figures as representing the present number, this would leave 12,000 outside of this Bill. Now, why should they be excluded? I can conceive of no argument for excluding them from the Bill. Perpetuity leases have been represented as being in many cases equivalent to a Scotch feu. In that case, there would be no reason for a reduction of rent, but on the other hand there can be no argument against allowing the possessor of a feu appealing to the Land Court. Certainly there are a number of cases of perpetuity leases which are not feus or anything like fues, and Mr. Tyrrel, Clerk of the Crown for the County Armagh, and also Mr. Richard have given evidence to the effect that there are many perpetuity leases, the rents of which to their knowledge are higher than the judicial rents. In this case when these perpetuity leases were accepted, the tenants were under precisely the same sort of pressure which has justified the whole land legislation of recent years. Why should not the tenants have an opportunity of going to the Court? We are not asking that reduction of rents should be afforded. We are only asking that an opportunity should be afforded of reviewing them by a judicial tribunal. If the rents are, as is contended, a mere feu rent of insignificant amount, of course the tenants will not think of bringing them into Court, and I cannot conceive any argument whatever for excluding them from the possibility of appeal. But there is a much more serious limitation in the Bill for which I cannot conceive the slightest justification; that is altogether outside the 12,000 perpetuity leases. It is the case of tenants whose landlords or their predecessors have made improvements to the extent of four times the amount of the rent. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes, but does anyone suppose that the landlords have made those improvements without charging rents for them? I can understand that it may be fair to say that as regards so much rent as represented interests on the improvements, there should be no appeal whatever. It is in the nature of money lent, on which interest and instalments ought to be paid. But why should the fact that money has been lent and interest charged upon it preclude the tenant from appealing in regard to the remainder of the balance of the rent? He is in the same position as any other tenant. Take the case of a tenancy of £100 a-year. Suppose the landlord has spent £400 in improvements, and has charged £20 a-year—a moderate interest—for that £400. Then the rent of the tenant is made up of two items, £80 a-year being the rent of the holding, and £20 a-year being the interest and instalment of the landlord. Why should not the tenant have a right of appeal to the Court whether £80 is a fair rent or not. I venture to suggest that the Government, who, in my opinion, at all events, are settling this question in a generous way, should not spoil a gracious act by any grudging recognition of the claims of this class of tenants. Nothing can be more unwise, in my opinion, when dealing with the great majority of the leasehold tenants of Ireland, to leave behind centres of disaffection and of justifiable complaint which would prevent this Bill from being what it professes to be—a temporary settlement of the difficulties of the case. Then I come to the much more important clauses which deal with equitable jurisdiction. I listened with great interest and attention to the account of those clauses given by my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling district. I must say that I think it is impossible for anyone professing to give a fair and candid consideration to this Bill to give a more jaundiced account of those proposals. I only give my own opinion; but I believe that the clauses which are described as the Equitable Jurisdiction Clauses do give, with one exception which I shall shortly mention, an absolute and satisfactory and sufficient relief to tenants who are unable to pay and who are threatened with eviction. What was it the Government pledged themselves to do? It was alleged when the Crimes Bill was introduced that it would be used in order to promote harsh and unjust evictions. The Government pledged themselves to introduce a measure which should interpose the equitable discretion of a judicial tribunal between the tenant and the landlord. I think they have done so. I contend, then, that under these clauses, before a tenant can be evicted, he can go to the Court, and if he can show that his inability to pay rent is due to no culpable act of his own—it is not a mere question of whether the rent is unfair—it may be a question of misfortune—but if he can show, independently of the fairness of the rent, that his position is one due to misfortune and not to culpable neglect, he can get from the Court a stay of process, and that stay may be indeterminate in time and extent. He may get an order from the Court to pay by instalments, which may be of any amount, and spread over any length of time. I say that I think it is impossible to provide more fully than this clause does for the discretion of the Court, in a case in which the Court thinks that an eviction ought not to take place. Suppose this Bill had been passed, as it ought to have been passed, before the evictions took place the other day at Bodyke. If the account given to us of the circumstances attending those evictions be true—of which I know nothing—but if those evictions were the harsh and disgraceful proceedings which we were told they were, all that would have been proved before a Court which would have intervened and protected those tenants, and they would now be in possession of their holdinge. So far as it goes, therefore, the clause is an absolute protection to the tenant, and fully carries out the pledge which the Government gave. But the exception to which I referred has been mentioned by my right hon. Friend. There is another process open to the landlord, the process of *fieri facias.* The landlord has two courses open. He may bring an action for ejectment, and in that case the Government Bill intervenes and secures the intervention and discretion of the Court. But if he prefers he may go for the recovery of rent. That action may be removed by *certiorari*, and then upon that a *fieri facias* may issue, and there may be a sale of the holding. This second proceeding which is open to the landlord has, I believe, been very seldom resorted to in the past. ["Oh, oh!"] The ordinary course of the landlord has been to proceed by way of ejectment.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The very opposite is the case.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: No doubt the hon. and learned Member is a much better witness than I am. In any case, however, that does not affect my argument. What I was going to say is this—I understand that it was argued on behalf of the Government that this second proceeding by *fieri facias* was not a usual proceeding, and was open to considerable objections, as it involved expense and was not so easy and ready a method as that of ejectment; therefore, it was not adopted by the landlord, and it was not necessary to provide for it. I am bound to say that I entirely differ from that view. You want to keep a man out of your house. In ordinary circumstances, he enters by the front door; but if you block up the front door, he will come in by the back door, if you leave it open. It may be that this proceeding is less advantageous to the landlord than proceeding by ejectment; but if you block proceedings by ejectment it seems absolutely certain that every bad landlord will resort to the alternative by *fieri facias.* Therefore, I do urge on the Government, as strongly as I can, that they, at all events, shall make their equitable jurisdiction clause effective, and take some step to block the back door while closing the front door. The noble Lord who preceded me (Lord George Hamilton) said that this proceeding by *fieri facias* is the usual proceeding adopted by all creditors. And if you stop the landlord from adopting it, you should stop the other creditors too. I understand that hon. Members below the Gangway accept that view, therefore there would be no difficulty about the assent both of hon. Members below the Gangway and of hon. Members on this side of the House, to any proposal on the part of the Government which will deal with both the case of the ordinary creditors and with the case of the landlord. And let me remind the House of this point. It is not proposed to destroy the power of recovery by *fieri facias* any more than it is proposed by the clause as it stands to destroy the power of eviction. What you want to do is to prevent unjust eviction, and the unjust recovery of the debt. What you want to do, if you make exceptions, is to secure that in these cases there shall always be an equitable intervention of the Court. If the recovery is just, it will proceed by *fieri facias* as it would by the other course. No doubt, in the case of an ordinary creditor, in nine cases out of ten the tenant does not pretend that the debt is unjust. The position on the part of the landlord is that the tenant pretends that the landlord claims an unjust rent, and that altogether alters the situation. All I want is not to decide the question in this House, but to allow the intervention of the Court in each case to decide whether the demand of the creditor for the recovery of the debt, or of the landlord for the recovery of the rent, is just. Let process issue; and if the demand is not just, give the same power in every case for the stay of execution. The third point with which only I propose to deal to-night is the question of the Bankruptcy Clauses. These clauses have been very unpopular in this House and I think in the country too. I am sorry to say that I have never heard anybody who would say a good word for them. I am supposed to be particularly interested in this part of the subject. ["Hear, hear!"] I think that hon. Members do me too much honour, and if they knew the facts they would not give me so much credit for these clauses as they seem prepared to do. I would only say that when they become aware that I am not responsible for these clauses, they may give them a more fair and candid consideration than they would otherwise be inclined to do. My right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) has referred to my supposed connection with these clauses, and he said, I think, that I had been successful in passing an English Bankruptcy Act through the House of Commons, and that since then I had got bankruptcy on the brain, and that I recommended bankruptcy as a universal panacea for all the evils to which mankind are subject. I do not complain in the least at that rather humorous exaggeration of my right hon. Friend; but I venture to tell him that he is under a total misconception as to the nature of bankruptcy whether in England or in Ireland, and as to the effect which these clauses would have. In the first place, I do not admit the justice of the description of the right hon. Member for the Stirling District, who waxed eloquent, indignant, and even pathetic, at the idea of subjecting the people to what he called the stigma of bankruptcy, which he declared to be demoralizing, degrading, and insulting to the people of Ireland. Well, I hope that the people of Ireland will not feel more insulted than the people of England, Scotland, and Wales, who all have a Bankruptcy Act, and who are accustomed to regard it, not as a stigma and humiliation, but as a measure of relief. Insolvency may be a subject of humiliation. It may involve a stigma on the people who are insolvent if it has been brought about by their fault. But bankruptcy is the process by which the Legislature has endeavoured to relieve innocent insolvents from the pressure of circumstances. When a man cannot pay his rent, and cannot pay anything, he is insolvent. No power on earth can relieve him from that "stigma and humiliation." All that the Legislature can do is by a process of bankruptcy to relieve him from his legal obligations to his creditors. I hope the House will bear with me while I deal with some details on this matter. These Bankruptcy Clauses are an extension of the other relief clauses under the Bill. They may be considered quite separately and as standing by themselves, and quite independently of the clause as to equitable jurisdiction, to which I think little objection can be taken. When they were first introduced into "another place" they contained a provision which I admit was open to serious objection and criticism. As they were first introduced, the landlord could make the tenant bankrupt; and upon that it was alleged that they were clauses for enabling landlords to make all their tenants bankrupts. Well, that objection has been entirely removed, and that at the instance of an Irish landland and an Irish Peer—at the instance of a Member of that much-abused class —so that, at that present time, this is an option of relief which is made to the tenant, which he need not accept unless he likes. If the tenant thinks it a stigma and a humiliation—I forget the exact expressions which my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling District used in reference to it, but he went into the Italian classics for his description of the state of things in which the unfortunate tenant would find himself involved—if the tenant takes that view he need not touch this clause at all. And what hon. Members below the Gangway and my right hon. Friend seem to wish to do in relation to this clause is this—they are preventing the tenants of Ireland from having the option of a mode of relief which, after all, if we came to consider it quietly, we might greatly prefer to the other. Well, now, Sir, it has been said that I am deeply interested in these clauses; and, therefore, I venture to suggest to the Government that these clauses are not for the benefit of the landlord. I do not believe you will find a single landlord in Ireland who likes them. I believe that the landlords hate them. I believe that one of the great difficulties in passing the other clauses of this Bill through the other House has been the objection which the landlords have taken not altogether without reason to those bankruptcy proposals which, in my judgment, are most generous, and have a very far-reaching consequence. Well, now we are told by those whom we must admit are authorized to speak on behalf of the tenants, that they reject these clauses with contempt. [*Home Rule cheers.*] That is so. Then I advise the Government to take note of that. I advise the Government to drop these clauses. I do not see why, at this period of the Session, we should be kept here for I do not know how many days discussing a proposal which I firmly believe is a proposal of very great advantage to the tenants, but which those who claim to speak on the part of the tenants declare to be no advantage at all, and reject with contempt and contumely. Sir, what I venture to suggest is that this Bill should be relieved by the omission of these clauses. If the Government choose to proceed with them, I am prepared to support them, because I believe they would be found to work in the interests of the tenants; but, at the same time, I sincerely hope the Government will not proceed with them. I hope the Government will drop those clauses, and relieve the Bill and relieve the House of all discussion which would otherwise take place upon them. And then all that would be necessary would be that they would allow some extension of the provisions on the preceding clause for equitable jurisdiction to enable the Court, in case the landlord and tenant do not come to a reasonable agreement with regard to the arrears, to make a composition which to them the justice of the case admits. There are a great many other matters of detail which will, no doubt, be discussed in Committee; but, so far as I am concerned, I have dealt with what appear to me to be the principal points of the Bill, and I hope the Members of the Government will consider favourably any suggestions which may be made, from whatever quarter of the House it may come, for the amendment and improvement of this Bill, and that they will endeavour, with the assistance of the whole House, to make this as complete a measure of temporary relief as it is possible to make it. I say for myself that, even as the Bill stands, subject, perhaps, to the alteration with regard to the question of *fieri facias* to which I have referred—subject to that, even as the Bill stands, and without Amendments, which I hope will be introduced, I believe that this Bill is a substantial, and even a generous measure of relief, and that it ought to be accepted in the interests of the tenants of Ireland, even though it be impossible to secure additions and Amendments to it. I gathered from something that was said by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the Irish Representatives below the Gangway are prepared to treat this Bill with contempt.

MR. DILLON: All except the 1st clause.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: Well, that is a very serious and unsatisfactory state of things; but I ask the House to consider whether in recent times those who now claim to be the Representatives of the National Party in Ireland have ever received any effort of any statesman to deal with the grievances of their constituents otherwise than with contempt? [*Cries of* "Gladstone!" *and* "Last April."] I am speaking of Land Bills.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We showed that we were right.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: They received the Bill brought in by the late Government in 1880 for compensation for disturbance with contempt. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; that was a measure of relief. I do not think they voted against it. I am not certain; but I think they voted against the third reading. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: No, no!] Then they did not vote at all. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: We did.] I am speaking from memory; and I will not, therefore, pledge myself to a particular statement; but I make this general statement, that they gave us no assistance in carrying that Bill, and I am certain that, at some stage or other of the Bill, they opposed it.

MR. T. M. HEALY: When the Government brought in bad Amendments.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: Bad Amendments are Amendments which do not carry out the views of hon. Members.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We represent the Irish people.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: I have known very many occasions when they have proposed Amendments absolutely impracticable when they have not dared in any other way to oppose the principle of the Bill. I say that was their conduct with regard to the Bill of 1880. What was their conduct with regard to the Bill of 1881? Did they give to that Bill a generous and an unhesitating support? [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Certainly not.] No, certainly not; yet that is the Bill upon which they now rest. Although in one particular it has broken down, although in circumstances which no one could have foreseen, owing to the fall of prices, it has become unsatisfactory, it is now the sheet anchor of the Irish Members; and they never did a more unpopular thing, and they know it, than when, during the progress of the Bill, they offered on many occasions opposition which I confess I cannot admit was altogether patriotic. But I say that experience does not justify us, I am sorry to say, in accepting the support of the Irish Members—in assuming, I would rather say, the support of Irish Members—for any proposal of remedial legislation. At the same time, our duty remains unchanged by their attitude. I believe that the Bill carries out the pledge which the Government gave to do their best to prevent harsh, unjust, and unnecessary evictions. I believe that if this Bill is passed, these evictions will be absolutely impossible without the intervention of the Court; and I believe that no Court will allow such evictions as those which have shocked the public mind within recent times. It is on this account that I am prepared to give a hearty assent to the second reading of the Bill, although I hope that the Government will be willing to consider favourably any reasonable and just Amendments which may be proposed in extension of their proposal. I can say for myself that, in the observations I have made to the House, I have tried, as far as I can, to deal with the matter fairly, and without Party spirit. I know there are branches of this thorny and difficult Irish Question from which it is almost impossible to exclude personal and partizan feelings; but I still venture to hope that, as this is the last occasion we shall have this Session of dealing with the practical and material grievances of the Irish tenants, that all Parties may unite in one common endeavour to secure the largest and most complete measure of relief that can, with justice, be applied to them under the existing difficulties.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillon,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

[*First Night.*]

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) [SALARY, ADVANCES, &c.]

REPORT OF RESOLUTION.

Resolution [July 8] *reported.*

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the salary, remuneration, and allowances of any Commissioners that may be appointed in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to make better provision for the administration of the Acts relating to the relief of the destitute poor in certain parts of Ireland, to authorise the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to make loans, and the Treasury to make a free grant, to the Board of Guardians or Commissioners of any dissolved or altered Union under the provisions of the said Act."

Resolution read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution."

Debate arising.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I think we should have from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) a formal statement as to what will be the charges he imagines will fall upon the ratepayers with regard to the working of this Bill. Surely there is a sufficiently large staff in Ireland for carrying on the work of the Local Government Board without having extra officials for the purposes of this Act; and I do enter a protest against the idea that we require in Ireland more clerks and more Inspectors for the purpose of carrying out the Poor Law. I beg the right hon. Gentleman not to tax the English taxpayers simply because representation has been made to him that the Act cannot be carried out without extra assistance. I assure him that, to my knowledge, the Local Government Board in Ireland have practically an army of officials, who really have little enough to do, and are quite able, as far as I can understand, to discharge the duties which will have to be performed under this Bill. Why increase the officials? I think we should know exactly how many officials it is proposed to create; what salaries will be paid to them; what the time occupied in the performance of the duties will be; and who are the officials the Government have in their mind's eye?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is intended that there shall be Vice Guardians appointed, two to each Union. There will, therefore, be 10 Vice Guardians altogether, and they will be paid by the ratepayers, and not by the taxpayers. The hon. Gentleman appears to think that the staff at the command of the Local Government Board is sufficient to do the work under this Bill, in addition to their other work. I cannot agree with the hon. Gentleman in that; indeed, the Government think it would be well to appoint four or five Commissioners, and to charge their salaries upon the ratepayers.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I think it would be well to adjourn the discussion of this Resolution until after we have got into Committee on the Bill itself. Such a course will, I am sure, recommend itself to the common sense of the House. There are considerable and important principles, and novel principles, involved in the Bill, and until we have some clear knowledge as to whether the House is going to consent to the Bill or not, it would be absurd to agree to this Resolution. There is one principle involved in the Report of this Committee to which I am most strongly opposed, and it is the principle that the House ought not to consent to an expenditure without understanding thoroughly what it is consenting to. The House is probably aware that the proposition in this Bill is to entirely abolish representative Government in five Unions in the West of Ireland, while, at the same time, the Bill, practically speaking, gives no relief to the Unions, except the very extraordinary and novel relief of enabling them by law to cut off the remedy of their creditors. It is proposed to substitute for the representative Guardians a Body of two or three Guardians appointed by the Executive Government of Ireland, and these are to administer the affairs of the Union for an indefinite period of time. I am of opinion it will be for a great number of years. It is deliberately proposed that these gentlemen shall have the power to pledge and mortgage the rates to an unlimited extent, without the people having any voice in the proceeding. We may be brought face to face with this fact, that the unfortunate creditors of the Unions will not only be debarred from any right, or hope, of recovering the money which they advanced under the idea that they would have a chance of recovering it, but they may see non-representative Guardians mortgaging the rates to obtain further advances. It must be manifest to hon. Members that most extraordinary and important principles are involved in this proposition. Irish banks, for instance, who have allowed these Unions to overdraw their accounts in order to prevent the paupers being starved, are to be denied a chance of recovering their money. And the Guardians, or the Commissioners who are to take the place of the Guardians, will have power to mortgage the rates of the Unions in such a way that they may, at the end of the 10 or 15 years, hand the Unions back to the elected Guardians in a state of absolute insolvency. Creditors will actually see the security for their debts mortgaged anew. I do not wish to enter into a long discussion of this question at the present time. All I suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary is that, until the principle of the Bill he has introduced is accepted, he will postpone this Report stage.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I hope the hon. Member will not press for the postponement of this Resolution, which is only a preliminary proceeding, and without which the clauses of the Bill cannot be discussed.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I remind the hon. Gentleman opposite that we are some distance yet from the Report of the Bill. With regard to the fund to be advanced from the Treasury for paying the expenses, I would remind the hon. Gentleman that we have not yet formally gone into Committee, and I hope that before we do so we shall obtain from the Government a little more information with regard to the Bill than has hitherto been vouchsafed, and also with regard to some modifications which have been suggested.

MR. SPEAKER: I point out to the hon. Member that his remarks are out of Order. This is a preliminary discussion with regard to payment, and is in the position of a Money Bill.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I submit that my remarks would be relevant on Report, because the Resolution specially provides for an advance, and the Government have told us that there are advances to be made. What I would ask is, that the Government should consider whether some modifications cannot be made. It is impossible that they can expect to take the Report stage on the same day as they get into Committee; and if they cannot get into Committee before the end of the week, I ask them, in order to give time for consideration, to adjourn the Report stage until Thursday.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I would earnestly appeal to the hon. Gentleman opposite not to delay the passage of the Bill, which is to enable the Government to deal with the eminently pressing condition in which these Unions now are. Of course, if hon. Gentlemen exercise their power of delaying the Resolution we cannot help it; but the Government have no alternative to offer, and the responsibility for what may ensue must rest with hon. Members.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The right hon. Gentleman says that the Government have no alternative to propose; but we have, on former occasions, seen them driven sometimes to alter an irrational proposal which they have endeavoured to press upon this House. I am opposed to the principle of dealing with the Unions as the Government propose, and I am surprised at the right hon. Gentleman that he should attempt to cast on the public taxes 10 or 12 Vice Guardians at salaries of £400 a-year; and I think that if the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) was in his place, the Government would probably give us time to turn round and consider this important question. I say that if the proposal were for 12 months we might agree to it offhand; but if you are going to enact this like your Coercion Bill for ever, I think, at least, you should give us time to consider it. The meaning of the action of the Government is that the right hon. Gentleman, when he goes to the hustings, should be able to say that this Bill was pressed upon the Irish Members, and that they were obliged to accept it. I repeat that the Government should give us a little further time for consideration, because at present we have not been fairly dealt with, seeing that we are asked to accept a measure placing the control of these Unions in the hands of other Guardians for all eternity.

Mr. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): I am certainly of opinion that we ought to have further time than has been accorded to us to consider this Bill. When the Motion for the second reading was before the House, the right hon. Gentleman suggested to my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), in reply to his criticisms on the Bill, that he should offer some alternative proposal to meet the case of these Unions. It is obvious that any alternative proposal must require time for preparation, and I am at a loss to see why the Government do not assent to our request for adjournment.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I intimated that the Government would not resist the Motion for postponement of the Resolution; but I pointed out, at the same time, that the whole responsibility for the consequences of delay would rest with those who proposed it.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I should like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that this is a case in which Irish Members have not been consulted, and that, having regard to the importance of the local matters with which the Bill proposes to deal, I think that further time ought to be allowed us for the consideration of this Resolution.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman.*)

[BILL 307.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I rise to move that the debate be now adjourned. It is a monstrous thing that we should be called upon to consider this Bill in Committee at the present Sitting. This is a proposal to abolish the Poor Law Guardians in Mayo, and to put the people in the Unions which the Bill deals with under the rule of Vice Guardians paid by the Government. This is not a *bonâ fide* proposal by the Government on behalf of the people of the districts concerned, but one that will be used by ingenious gentlemen who are opposed to all reform in Ireland to give colour to the pretence that the Irish people do not like their local representatives to manage their affairs. My reason for saying that is, that you have refused over and over again to reform the Irish Guardian system. I am entirely opposed to the Guardian system in Ireland. I regard it as degrading; at any rate, the workhouse is a place where immoral women can get shelter, and tramps lodging. You have refused year after year any amelioration or reform in the system of Poor Law Guardians, and now you would throw the working of the Poor Law system into the hands of jobbers in the country whom the majority of the people would have no power to remove. I say that if the people could have been directly represented on these Boards, the scandals that have occurred would not have taken place. You threw the whole working of these Boards into the hands of the landlord class, and it is a fact that there is a higher qualification for membership of the Boards in these Unions than there is in the county and City of Dublin. That is the case with regard to the Union of Clifden, which is the poorest in Ireland, where the valuation is fixed at £30; and I say that if you insist that the Guardians must be people of a £30 valuation, you restrict membership to a little knot of men who do not represent the people in the Union—men who, in some instances, have betrayed their trust. The remedy of the Government for the state of things in these Unions is to abolish the existing debt; but is it not the duty of the landlords to provide for the poor? The Irish tenants receive no value whatever from the landlords for the rents that are exacted from them. I say that a more disgraceful proposition than the present never emanated from a British Government, and I believe it is owing to the schoolboy Secretaryship of the present Chief Secretary that such a Bill has been laid before us. I am amazed that such a Bill should be seriously laid before the House of Commons, and it will be an encouragement to others, when they see that Guardians who have plunged their Unions into debt can escape the consequences of their acts by means of this Bill, to do likewise. It is monstrous to ask us to assent to a wholesale repudiation of debts; and, therefore, I beg to move that this debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: At Question time the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) asked me to defer the taking of this Order so that he might put down an Instruction to the Committee, and I suggested that perhaps the most convenient course would be to discuss this point on the Question, "That the Speaker do leave the Chair." The hon. Member expressed his satisfaction; and I hope he will now use his influence with his Friends to prevent the Bill being obstructed.

MR. DILLON: I am in rather a singular position. I am perfectly willing to go on, and I signified my willingness to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour); but in the course of the evening I was approached through the usual channels of communication, and asked whether it would meet my views if the Bill were postponed? I stated that I was quite agreeable to that course also, and just now, on Order No. 2, I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether he intended to proceed with Order No. 3, and he said no. All the Members sitting here heard the right hon. Gentleman, and presumed, therefore, that Order No. 3 would not be taken. Now, in regard to the other matter, to be perfectly fair and frank, I may say I do not wish this Bill blocked; but I cannot answer for all my Friends. I have stated from the outset that I shall be no party to the blocking of this Bill; but I am not in a position to give the Government the assurance the right hon. Gentleman requires.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I should like to make one suggestion before this Bill is proceeded with. I am far from being opposed to the Bill, and my suggestion is that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should give an assurance that all the *bonâ fide* debts incurred by Unions ought to be paid. As has been pointed out, it would be a terrible example if the Government were to take over a Union and take power to borrow money and then repudiate the *bonâ fide* debts of the Union. There may be, however, debts which are not *bonâ fide*, but I do not think there are many. The Government ought certainly to give an assurance that some provision will be made for the payment of *bonâ fide* debts.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be resumed To-morrow."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the Government put the Bill down for to-morrow I shall block it. Why not take it on Thursday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will agree to Thursday.

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

[BILL 316.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In moving the second reading of this Bill I shall only detain the House for a short time. It is a matter which has been so frequently before the House, and upon which there is such a strong feeling entertained in every quarter of the House, that few words of introduction are required from me. It is a Bill simply enabling prisoners to give evidence. It is perfectly well known to the House that up to the year 1836 prisoners had power to make a statement, and it is practically only from 1836 that there has been a difficulty as to prisoners being heard on their own behalf. That is not the principal ground on which we propose this Bill. There have been a series of Statutes from the year 1867, running almost continuously down to the present time, whereby the rule has been infringed in this sense, that prisoners in a variety of cases have been enabled to give evidence. Under the Masters' and Servants' Act, the Merchant Shipping Act, the Food and Drugs Act, the Mines' Regulation Act, the Army Act, the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, and half-a-dozen others, prisoners are able to give evidence. Notably under one particular Act which passed in 1885, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, there have been a large number of prosecutions, and I have received communications from almost every Judge on the English Bench, and there is a unanimity of opinion among those who have thought out this matter that the giving of evidence by prisoners has conduced largely to the acquittal of those who have been innocent, and tended generally towards justice being done. I think there is hardly anyone in the House who will object to this amendment of the law being made. From 1865 down to the present time there have been eight or 10 Bills introduced with the object of effecting this change in the law. Bills suggesting this amendment have been introduced by Sir Fitzroy Kelly, the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), and the late Sir John Holker. Indeed, there is practically a consensus of opinion on the part of those who have had much experience of the administration of the Criminal Law in favour of this change being made. I am aware that I shall be told that some hon. Members below the Gangway opposite are opposed to this Bill; certainly I know that the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) is prepared to oppose this Bill as far as Ireland is concerned.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Explain why you have sprung it upon the House now.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: There has been no attempt to spring it upon the House. The Bill passed through the House of Lords early in the Session, and I stated my desire to bring it forward much earlier than this, and had there been an opportunity I should certainly have done so. Of course, I regret very much that the attempt to exclude Ireland should be pressed; but I shall be only too glad, with the exclusion of Ireland, to get the Bill passed, in order that we may have the benefit of the working of it in all criminal proceedings. If an Amendment to exclude Ireland is proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. T. M. Healy), I shall be prepared to accept it. As we have tried by experience what the effect of the change is in the cases brought under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and as we find that in a large number of criminal cases it has been found to work well, it does seem strange that in cases of murder and other grave crimes this power should not be given to prisoners. I am sure I shall have the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), who at one time introduced a Bill proposing this change. In fact, there is no one who has occupied the Home Office, or taken any part in criminal legislation, who has not, at some time or other, expressed a wish that this alteration of the law should be made. I trust the House will assent to the second reading of the Bill. There are practically only one or two Amendments to the Bill which I shall be obliged to consider. So far as England is concerned, I am satisfied that the country desires that the proposed change should be made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): As I took part in the debate when a Bill similar to this was before the House in the last Parliament, a Bill proposed by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), I desire to explain my exact position then and at the present moment. I do not oppose the amendment of the law which this Bill seeks to effect; but I did oppose the Bill in the shape in which it was then introduced. There was no protection afforded prisoners or accused persons appearing before unpaid magistrates or even Stipendiary Magistrates—my objection related more to unpaid magistrates—in cases of trade dispute, in cases of poaching, and other matters in which party feeling has very often moved Benches of Magistrates unfairly, as I thought, against prisoners or accused persons. The right hon. and learned Member for Bury, while thinking that I overstrained the point, agreed that the Amendment I suggested was a fair Amendment, but stated that there was not sufficient time to introduce an Amendment then and send it up to the House of Lords, it being so near to the end of the Session. I have, therefore, now to ask the Government whether they will insert, or permit to be inserted in Committee, a clause ensuring that warning shall be given or intimation given to a prisoner, that the Bill does not compel him to give evidence but that he has a right to give it, just in the same way as a man who is committed for trial is told that he is at liberty to make any statement he chooses to make, but is cautioned as to the legal effect of it. [Sir RICHARD WEBSTER assented.] I understand the hon. and learned Attorney General to assent to that. If such a provision were inserted, it would make a most advantageous amendment of our law; and I, for one, would support the second reading of this Bill. I trust hon. Members sitting around me and representing Ireland will be content, if they think it right to their constituents, to have Ireland excluded from the operation of the Bill, and to allow the Bill to pass so far as the other portions of the United Kingdom are concerned. I have heard it suggested that if they allow the Bill to pass, Ireland being exempted, it may possibly happen that the other House will reinstate Ireland; but I am quite sure that the Government, giving such a pledge and accepting such an Amendment now, would not consent to such a proceeding. I trust that on this question the Irish Members will allow what is clearly an amendment in English jurisprudence to be effected.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): As I believe I moved the Amendment in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was afterwards in an amended form accepted, permitting criminals to give evidence, I desire now to support this Bill brought in by the Government. So far as I have been able to understand the provisions of the Bill it does provide that criminals shall be adequately protected, and that it shall be clearly understood that they are not required to give evidence. Still, I agree that the suggestion made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) is an exceedingly good one, and I am glad to hear from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, or, at least, to understand from his manner, that he is willing to insert some such Amendment. Now, the case of Ireland arises, and I can sympathize with the objections which are felt by hon. Gentlemen representing Irish constituencies to allow this Bill to be applied to their own country. The circumstances into which they stand are peculiar. A Bill which they very strongly oppose is about to be passed into law, and they well fear that if accused persons under the Coercion Act are even allowed to give evidence they may, under some circumstances, be put into a very unfair position. I trust that in these circumstances the Government will not press upon hon. Members representing Irish constituencies the acceptance of this Bill for their own country. Let us try the principle in Great Britain first, and if it works well here, in happier times it may be extended to Ireland.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I have said that if an Amendment is proposed to that effect I will accept it.

MR. PICTON: Then I have no more to say, but to express the hope that the Bill will be allowed to pass.

MR. T. M. HEALY: For some years past I have been successful in preventing the passing of this legislation, and if I remain in this House for 50 years I shall continue to offer such a measure as this the strongest opposition. I am happy to say that there is every probability of my succeeding in procuring an adjournment of this measure. Even Englishmen, I think, will recognize, when they think of French jurisprudence, that there would not be any advantage in the making of such a change as this. In nine cases out of 10 our Courts of Justice would be changed into inquisitorial chambers. Take the case of the trial of Pranzini now going on in France. What is occurring in that trial is exactly what would occur in English Courts of Justice if this amendment of the law were adopted. You would degrade the position of a Judge into that of a mere *Juge d'Instruction.* But, you will say, the prisoner is not compelled to give evidence. I say that if he does not give evidence comments will be made on the fact by the Judge, or the Crown Prosecutor, and the question would be asked, why does the prisoner not speak? It must be remembered that, as a rule, prisoners are uneducated men, and that they are opposed by the greatest intellects at the Bar—that they have opposed to them the best cross-examiners in the whole world. It must also be remembered that jurors flatter themselves that they can see through the deceptions of the human mind; therefore, if a man refuses to give evidence he is put into a position of comment. There is one sentence from the concluding observations of the Judge in the trial of Pranzini—fancy an English Judge addressing an English prisoner in such terms!—which merits attention. The President of the Court said—"Listen, Pranzini"—think of an English Judge addressing an English criminal whose life may be at stake in such a manner. The President said—"Listen, Pranzini, I am going to leave you alone till Monday." The torture was to be suspended over the Sabbath day. There were 12 men who were to pronounce upon the case, but they were to have rest and repose over the Sabbath day. That is what occurs where there is no political question, no political feeling, no bias, and no Party interest; where there is simply a desire on the part of an official of the law to do justice between man and man. But what would be the case when, instead of that, you had some political consideration raised, perhaps when the Law of Conspiracy, or perhaps when the Plan of Campaign was under discussion, when it was a question of the rents of tenants. I may be told that you are only applying this change of the law to England. If you apply it to England, that will be a very good reason for applying it to Ireland. In 1879 Lord Cross promised us an Amendment on the question of appeal, promised us that no person should be sentenced at Petty Sessions to a single day's imprisonment without the right of appeal. Why have no English Gentlemen brought in a Bill to give us the benefit of that English law; and why, when the Irish Secretary promised it, did he, when some hon. Gentleman wrote to *The Times* upon the point, recede from his promise? I say that this Bill puts a prisoner in England, even in cases where there is no question of politics, in a hopeless, in an unfortunate, position; and in Ireland a prisoner's position would be hopeless in the extreme. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) is always boasting that he was one of the men who tried the agrarian prisoners in 1882-3. Would it not be a frightful thing if I or my Colleagues were to be tried by jurors of such a description; and if, in addition, we were to have men bullying us from the Bench by saying—"You know the evidence is against you; answer me this question." And then you would have the prosecuting counsel, paid out of the money of the taxpayers, allowed to insult you under the ægis of the Bench. We know what the Irish juries have come to be in such a system of select juries; we know what to expect in a county like Kerry, where, with a population of 250,000, you have only 100 special jurors. If this Bill was brought from the Lords on the 7th of March, where has it been all this time? By an arrangement which I do not care to characterize the Government, at an early hour on Saturday morning, obtained the first reading of this Bill. Remember that this Bill was brought down from the Lords on the 7th of March; you had all April, May, June, and July for the passage of this Bill; but you have not chosen to bring it forward until now, and in order to prevent its being blocked you put it down in a workmanlike manner for Monday. I consider that is not fair play to hon. Members of this House. The Government seem to consider themselves very clever in preventing the operation of the block; but the block was provided as a protection against hasty legislation—as a means of providing that the Government may have time to consider the exact meaning of proposals made in the House. This Bill has been brought in frequently. I remember that when I was in gaol in Richmond I spent many weary hours in drafting Amendments to it. It may be said that in a normal state of affairs in a country a Bill of this kind can do no harm; but you had 1800 years of the present system. Well, in the Reign of Charles II. prisoners were interrogated. But read the accounts of the trials. Are the proceedings at those trials such that you would like to recur to them? Would you like to revert to such trials as those which were conducted by Jeffreys and Scroggs? I say that the English people should be careful of their liberties; they have maintained their liberties by being careful of them and by not adopting hasty changes. You are proposing to adopt the principle of interrogating prisoners at a time when the French themselves are thinking of abandoning it. For years it has been the subject of debate on the part of those who are interested in the question of legal administration in France, whether the system of interrogating prisoners is not most mischievous. Why introduce such a system here? You have a fair system of trial; you have a Judicial Bench in which you have confidence; you have jurors who cannot be prejudiced against prisoners, because they have everything in common with the prisoners, so far as race and nation is concerned. I think it would be a hasty step for this House to adopt a measure of this kind, simply because Her Majesty's Government ask for it on the recommendation of the Judges. This country owes nothing, so far as liberty is concerned, to Her Majesty's Judges; they have opposed every reform of the Criminal Law; they opposed the abolition of hanging and long periods of penal servitude. Their ideas are not the ideas which generally prevail among the people at large, and I am in favour of legislating according to the common sense of the multitude at large. There may be, of course, individual gentlemen of high position who have more brains than the whole of us put together; but I prefer to trust to the common sense of the English people. The English people have approved of the present system of criminal procedure, and I do not think that this second reading of a Bill appointing such a change ought to be rushed through in this way. I do not think it is honest or fair to attempt to buy off the opposition of the Irish Members by stating that the Bill shall only apply to England. If the principle is good for England, it ought to be good for Ireland. Under the circumstances in which the Bill has been hurried forward, I beg to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) asked why this measure should be introduced? The object of introducing it is to secure the acquittal of innocent persons. That is the whole object which we who supported the Bill in past times had in view. I care very little whether it will secure the conviction of more guilty persons or not; but I know it will secure the acquittal of innocent persons. I am not going to weary the House by wading through the list of authorities in support of this measure. It has been before the House since 1873, the principle of the Bill was adopted in a Conservative House of Commons by more than two to one, and we have never been allowed to pass the Bill, partly on account of the opposition of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford and those who act with him. The French system is not attempted to be followed.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. and learned Gentleman is not speaking to the Motion for the adjournment.

SIR HENRY JAMES: I beg pardon, Mr. Speaker. It had escaped me that that is the Question before the House. I will only beg of hon. Members to allow us to proceed with the debate.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 74; Noes 208: Majority 134.—(Div. List, No. 293.) [1.10 A.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I think this hour of the morning (1.20) is scarcely suitable for introducing an important modification into the Constitution of the country; besides, we should remember that by those New Rules, which are to make the procedure of this House so perfect, the time of adjournment has been fixed at 12 o'clock. I hope, having regard to the importance of the question, and to the fact that we only received a copy of the Bill this morning, the Government will see the propriety of adjourning the debate. I beg to move that the House do now adjourn.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Mac Neill.*)

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I rise for the purpose of supporting the Motion for Adjournment, and also to express the hope that the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster), and everyone present who considers the matter, will be able to see that it is too late an hour at which to spring this proposal upon the House. The Bill was passed through the House of Lords in the month of March last, and no notice of it was taken by the Government until Thursday last. I may also mention that no Notice was put upon the Paper when the Bill was going to be read the first time, and that is a point on which I shall be glad to receive some explanation from the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman probably knew that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford would block the Bill, and he was, no doubt, afraid on that account to put the Notice on the Paper. If I am right in my supposition, I say that the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to be above anything of that sort. I ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to say and to prove that the Bill was not brought forward in an unworthy way; and, further, that this was not to prevent the legitimate opposition of hon. Members on this side of the House. If this Bill is intended to be what it professes—namely, a serious measure of remedial legislation—I say that to make it complete it should have come before the House earlier in the Session, and at a more fitting hour than the present.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I can only say, in reply to the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, that if, in bringing this Bill before the House, I have been governed by the desire to prevent unnecessary opposition, I have, at any rate, not succeeded in doing so. With regard to the Motion before the House, I can only say that the Bill has been before the country for a very considerable time, and that in the minds of those well acquainted with the position of the Criminal Law the subject is one that is ripe for decision. The Bill has met with the general approval of the Legal Profession; and I, therefore, protest against the Motion for the adjournment of the House.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I support this Bill in principle as applied to England and Scotland; but I point out that it was only printed this morning, and I am, therefore, in favour of adjournment until to-morrow, in order that we may have time for consideration. I support this course, having regard to the convenience of the House, and not out of opposition to what I believe to be a valuable measure.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The hon. and learned Attorney General has not stated the reason why it was that this Bill did not make its appearance before last Saturday.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The reason for the delay was the pressure of Business. I expressed my desire to bring this Bill forward earlier in the Session; but, on consideration, it was thought desirable to bring it forward at a time when there was a prospect of its being carried through.

MR. CHANCE: The hon. and learned Gentleman had ample knowledge of the fact that the principle of this Bill was bitterly contested by us; because he said that the Bill had been produced eight or 10 times, and that it had not been carried into law owing to the opposition which existed. It is under those circumstances that he considers this a reasonable opportunity to bring in the Bill, and to put it down in a way which evades the block which we are entitled to place upon it. All I can say is that, taking the hon. and learned Gentleman's definition of "a reasonable opportunity," we shall contest the Bill as long as we can, and he may find that the discussion may occupy a great many more hours than will be agreeable to him.

MR. LOCKWOOD (York): I should like to say a few words in favour of the withdrawal of opposition to the Bill on the part of hon. Members below the Gangway. I understand the hon. and learned Attorney General to have given a guarantee that he would exclude Ireland from the operation of the measure. I believe this is a Bill which, in its operation, will tend more to the acquittal of innocent men than to the conviction of the guilty. I hope hon. Members will see their way to allow the Bill to be read a second time to-night, so far as this country is concerned.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I regret that the appeal which the hon. and learned Member for York (Mr. Lockwood) has made to us is one to which we cannot accede, because we feel satisfied that, if the Bill were passed for England, it would in a very short time be applied to Ireland. That would be the inevitable result; and when we proceed to resist the introduction of a Bill for Ireland we shall be charged with wasting the time of the House and resisting a proposal which is already the law in England, and to which there ought to be no objection so far as Ireland is concerned. I do not think the House has reason to be satisfied with the explanation given by the hon. and learned Attorney General of the somewhat peculiar circumstances in which this Bill comes before us. He has told us that the reason why this Bill was not issued before was, that there was no reasonable opportunity of discussing it at an earlier period of the Session. That is, of course, true; but it does not furnish the slightest reason why the Bill should not have been issued to Members, and why we should not have had some notice of a measure which proposes so radical and organic a change in the Criminal Law of the country. I do not think the hon. and learned Gentleman has made that point clear, neither do I think he has given us a satisfactory explanation of the reason why—although, no doubt, he had the best motives—he so fixed the date of the second reading that it came on at a time when there was no opportunity of our putting down Notice of opposition. Now, I venture to say that if there has been, in the course of this Session, a matter to which the half-past 12 o'clock Rule ought to apply, it is a Bill to enable prisoners to be examined. There are many reasons why we should not proceed further with this discussion to-night, and one of them is that we have not had suitable opportunities of considering the Bill in its present form; and it is no answer to that argument to say that the Bill has been brought forward in previous Parliaments. There are many here who were not Members of the House in former Parliaments; and, that being so, it is a strong argument in favour of a reasonable period being given for the consideration of the Bill before it becomes law. I appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to say whether they think one day is sufficient time to have elapsed since the Bill was in the hands of hon. Members? Hon. Gentlemen opposite have great powers of assertion; but I do not think any one of them will say that we ought to be asked to read the Bill a second time on so short a notice. There is no reason why that course should be taken, having regard to the fact that the Bill passed in "another place" so long as four months ago; nor can there be any pretence for saying that it was not open to the hon. and learned Attorney General to bring it into this House at an earlier period of the Session.

MR. T. M. HEALY: If this Bill is as important as the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite alleges it to be, I am surprised that during the last four months no attempt whatever has been made by the hon. and learned Attorney General and Her Majesty's Government to give prisoners an earlier opportunity of escaping unjust sentences by submitting to examination. We ask for a little more time to read a Bill which was only circulated this morning; and I say that it is monstrous that a Bill of this immense importance, which practically was only ready this morning, should be read a second time to-night. As far as we are concerned, we shall maintain our opposition to this Bill. We have a duty to do, and we shall perform that duty notwithstanding the attitude of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The Bill has been before the country for a considerable time, no doubt; but serious changes have been made in it, and I say that in many respects it is a different Bill altogether from that which was introduced in the House of Lords in previous Sessions. It is true that the differences are not of a remarkable character, but there are many of them.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I rise to say that if the second reading of the Bill is agreed to, we shall be ready to postpone the Committee stage for a week, which will give hon. Members ample time for considering the measure.

MR. T. M. HEALY: But we want the second reading postponed. We do not want to give any stage if we can possibly help it. It is most unreasonable that the second reading of this Bill should be snatched in the way proposed. If you think you have the great power which you have enforced against us on previous occasions enforce it now. Let us see whether you have got your 200.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 52; Noes 201: Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 254.) [1.40 A.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): I do not know whether it is any use discussing this matter further now if hon. Members are disinclined to enter into the merits of the question; but I hope the House will allow me to make a few observations in respect to the Bill with the view of showing the advantages which will accrue from the passing of it. When the Explosives Act was introduced by my hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), a clause was inserted giving a prisoner the right to be examined. Within a very few months of the passing of the Act a man was charged with having been guilty of an offence under the Act. That man would have been convicted, and would have been now undergoing penal servitude, if he had not been able to tell his own tale. Again, in 1885, we passed the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and in opposition to the Irish Representatives we allowed persons charged under that Act to give evidence. I do not exaggerate when I say that many innocent persons have been acquitted in consequence of having been able to give evidence on their own behalf. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for York (Mr. Lockwood) defended a prisoner who would have been convicted and sent to penal servitude for many years if he had not been able to go into the witness-box and tell his own tale. And now we are in this position. [An hon. MEMBER: That is all in England?] I am speaking of England; I am asking for the acquittal of innocent Englishmen, to whom alone this Bill is to apply, and we cannot allow innocent Englishmen to be convicted because Irish Members think that at some future time the operation of this Bill will be extended to Ireland. Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act prisoners charged with minor offences are able to tell their own tale, and undoubtedly innocent men in consequence have been acquitted. On the other hand, I believe that many innocent men have been convicted of the major offence because they have not been allowed to give evidence; and I beg of Irish Members not to run counter to the testimony of persons, be they Judges, counsel, or whoever they may be, who know that the innocent are frequently convicted solely because they have not the power of stating their own case. There could be no abuse of this system. It has been demonstrated that this is a great and necessary change which will be adopted, and must be adopted, because the public demand it. I do not know what course the Government intend to take; but I think this is a great measure of justice which is being refused only by those to whom there is no desire to apply it.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): We fully expected to hear the eloquent appeal from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James). He belongs to what is called the legitimate Opposition, which signalizes itself in supporting all measures of Her Majesty's Government, be those measures conformable to their former views or not. We have been told that in every Statute creating new offences power has been given to the prisoner to tell his own tale. Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman forget the Coercion Bill, which he has so ardently supported for the last few months?

SIR HENRY JAMES: There is no new offence created by that Bill.

MR. CHANCE: The right hon. and learned Gentleman has been supporting that Bill so ardently that he has forgotten the admission made upon the Treasury Bench. He says that there are no new offences created by the Coercion Act; but the words of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), who is now a Judge, are on record in *Hansard*, and in the pages of *The Times* newspaper. They have been quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and no denial of those words has come from the learned Judge who is alleged to have used them. Well, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury makes an eloquent appeal that innocent Englishmen should not be convicted; he seems to forget that an equally eloquent appeal was necessary in regard to innocent Irishmen. He is so anxious that justice should be done that he found it perfectly consistent with justice to vote in favour of sending us to packed juries of Northern Orangemen and to special Courts of two Resident Magistrates.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not speaking to the Question before the House.

MR. CHANCE: Very well; I will confine myself to the question of the Bill itself. We have been told there is a strong opinion in favour of the Bill. There is, undoubtedly, such a feeling on the part of English Members; but it is not our fault if we cannot give effect to that opinion. We have been told that a pledge has been given that Ireland will not be included in the Bill. Now, I draw the attention of the House to the very careful and technical phraseology in which that pledge was given by the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster). The hon. and learned Gentleman said "he would not insist that Ireland should be included in the Bill." Such are the words of his pledge. There is nothing to prevent the other House resolving that Ireland shall be included—there is nothing to prevent the Unionist majority insisting upon the inclusion of Ireland. There is no reason why we should accept a pledge of this character. I have no doubt the Attorney General for England would do everything he could to carry out every pledge he gave; but it must be remembered that he cannot bind the other Members of the Government. We have had very good reason to distrust Members of the Government. I recollect a pledge was given by a certain prominent Member of the Government last year in respect to a measure, and that there was an attempt to break that pledge. It was only by a majority of two that we were enabled to force the right hon. Gentleman of whom I am speaking to keep his pledge. What is the provision of this Bill? I assume it is now in Order to discuss the Bill. We must deal with this Bill as one which must be applied to Ireland, either by the action of "another place," or by the action of the Unionist majority, of which we hear so much. What is it? We are told in the most bland terms by the hon. and learned Attorney General, that it is a Bill to enable prisoners to give evidence. I deny that most emphatically. It is a Bill to enable Judges and juries to convict prisoners when they refuse to come forward and subject themselves to cross-examination by lawyers who are thought best worthy to be retained by the Crown, and by Judges who have been promoted for their political services. Under Section 5 of this Bill, not only can witnesses be examined as to the precise crime a prisoner has committed, but can be examined as to the whole past life of the prisoner. We are asked why we should not have equality of law, and why we should not have this Bill enforced by Irish Judges and juries. We are asked to assume that Irish Judges are most capable officials; but that has not always been the case with English Judges. When a certain Bill of a permanent character becomes law, there is no reason that we should not assume that the character of Irish Judges may not change. In addition to that, we object to allow our prisoners to make their case before juries in Ireland, who are ready to convict them under any circumstances. Sir, it is impossible for us to allow this Bill to pass. We are told that in certain other Statutes powers of this character have been inserted. I think it would be a very reasonable thing if it was necessary to insert such powers in respect to certain offences to do so; and, following that example, I do not see why the Government should not in this Bill specify the offences as to which prisoners could be examined. They make a change which will apply to political offences, to the Law of Conspiracy, for instance, and then we are asked to allow this Bill to pass in order that in the near future it may be applied to Ireland. This Bill should be called Coercion Bill No. 2. We would meet it then, and understand it. This Bill brought in, in the manner in which it was, lying for four months in the pocket of the hon. and learned Attorney General, and then hurriedly introduced on a Saturday morning when there is not even a reasonable prospect of passing it, will receive the most strenuous opposition we can possibly give to it.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I do not rise to prolong this discussion, but to join in the appeal made to hon. Members from Ireland not to continue their opposition. Whatever remarks may be made as to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), they do not apply to me. I have been willing to give the Irish Home Rule, and I ask that in return they should give us a little Home Rule for England. If the Bill were to apply to Ireland, I could see there would be many objections to it; but as an express pledge has been given that the Bill shall be confined to England and Scotland, and as the Bill is intended merely to complete the change or reform in the Law of Evidence, which has been carried on for 50 years past, I join very strongly and earnestly in the appeal to the Irish Members that they will allow this Bill to proceed.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion): If the Bill would only have the effect of securing the acquittal of innocent persons, or securing the conviction of guilty persons, it would have my most hearty support; but I am afraid, in a great number of cases, it will not tend to secure either one or the other, but will tend to increase, to a frightful extent, the crime of perjury. I believe there is considerable misapprehension as to the reason why the principle of law was originally established. It is generally thought it was established out of some sort of concession for a guilty person. It has been held that a guilty person ought to be compelled to give evidence. If you could secure that a guilty man would be compelled to give evidence convicting himself I would earnestly support the Bill; but that you can never secure. You can secure, possibly, that a man shall be sworn; but you cannot secure that he will give evidence convicting himself. In 99 cases out of every 100 a guilty man will swear he is innocent, and that is the great mischief of this Bill. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) and the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) showed great anxiety that prisoners should not be compelled to give evidence. The hon. Member for Leicester went further, and said that a prisoner should be informed that it was not compulsory that he should give evidence. But the nature of things will oblige him to give evidence, because if a man charged with a crime does not go into the witness-box, or present himself to be sworn in order to deny the crime, his action will be taken as an admission of guilt. I call the attention of the House to a case which took place a short time ago. It is well known that in all divorce cases the co-respondent may give evidence, and we know that in a celebrated case the co-respondent did not evidence, because it was considered it was not necessary, the legal case against him having failed. There was such an outcry that the co-respondent moved the Queen's Proctor to get the case re-heard in order that he might go into the box. When he was in the box giving his evidence on the second occasion, he was asked why he did not give evidence when the case was last heard, and he said—

> "That the torture to which he had been subjected by newspapers which had assumed his guilt, because he had not denied the charges, forced him to the action he had taken."

Now, that will apply with ten-fold force against every person who is charged with disgraceful crime. Most of these statute-made offences are not offences which bear with them any great moral condemnation. [Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: Assaults upon children.] That, of course, does not come within my argument. In all cases which partake of a civil nature, or in all cases where a person may reasonably be expected to tell the truth, even at the risk of his own conviction, it is desirable to allow accused persons to give evidence; but in all cases of serious crime it will be found that guilty men will swear they are innocent. The whole principle of law has been to prevent a constant repetition of perjury. I should prefer that there should be some opportunity given to a prisoner of making a statement, and I believe that that is the practice which has been adopted by the Lord Chief Justice. I believe the Lord Chief Justice allows counsel to state that his instructions are so and so, and thus to give the prisoner's account of the occurrence. I think something of the kind would be far preferable. It would secure all that is desired for the protection of the guiltless, and would not secure the multiplication of crimes of perjury.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I am far from wishing to obstruct this measure, and I hope the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) will not accuse me, as he has accused others on this side of the House, of being desirous of obstructing the Bill. I think the speech we have just heard from my hon. Friend the Member for the Eifion Division of Carnarvonshire (Mr. Bryn Roberts) shows there is by no means unanimous feeling about this measure which we have been given to understand exists, and I advance that as a plea for greater delay. I have not gone very deeply into the matter, and, therefore, I do not wish to discourse upon the merits of the Bill; but I am bound to say that in the course of what professional experience I have had I have heard a great deal said against the proposal contained in this measure. My experience, at any rate, is that while most people would be in favour, as the hon. Gentleman has just said, of allowing the prisoner to make a statement, or of allowing his counsel to make a statement on his behalf, there is a very great diversity of opinion, not only in the Profession, but also among laymen in the country, as to the propriety of allowing prisoners to be put into the box to be subjected to a cross-examination, which certain bullies in cross-examination know so well how to apply to the discomfiture of innocent men. I appeal to the Government to allow us a little more delay. I have not seen the Bill. It was not amongst my Parliamentary Papers this morning, and I knew nothing, until I came down this evening, about the measure being on for discussion. It is perfectly impossible for any hon. Member to give any attention to the principle or the details of this measure in the course of a day. It is perfectly well known that a great many Members go out of town on the Saturday and only return on the Monday afternoon in order to take their places in the House. That being so, I think there is an additional reason why we should be granted a little further time. I do not impute to the hon. and learned Attorney General anything of the nature of a trick. I have always found him straightforward, and above anything of the kind; but I do observe that there is a difference between the practice which has been insisted upon in other cases, and that which has been adopted in this case. I could recall instances in which we have been refused a second reading even of very insignificant measures at so short a notice as this. I could recall instances in which we have been actually debarred from bringing forward measures which may be of importance to us—although, perhaps, not of Imperial importance—simply because sufficient time has not elapsed between the printing of the Bill and the second reading. In a case of this importance it does appear we ought to be as jealous of the convenience of hon. Members as we ought to be in small matters; and, as I have said before, while I am very far from desiring in any sense to obstruct the measure, I do think it is only fair to allow us to have another night—say until Thursday night—in order to make ourselves more acquainted with the principle of this Bill. The fact which has been relied upon by hon. Gentlemen opposite — namely, that this Bill has been before the House of Commons on former occasions—does not apply to us. We were not Members of the House of Commons—at least most of us—when this Bill was last considered. I am not aware that the Bill was before the last House of Commons—certainly, I never saw it. We never had an opportunity of discussing it; and I maintain that what happened in former years cannot be said in any way to be a valid reason why we should not have sufficient time —I do not say more than sufficient time—to consider the bearing of this great and novel principle which it is sought to introduce into our criminal procedure. A variety of suggestions have been made this evening which I do not think unreasonable. It has been suggested that the scope of this measure should be confined to certain offences. That is a consideration which I think may well weigh with the Government. Having regard to the hour at which we have arrived, and having regard to the very strong reasons which have been urged by Gentlemen from Ireland in favour of their contention that this Bill should not pass, I think it is only fair and reasonable that we should now adjourn this discussion, and be allowed to get away for some little though much-needed rest. I, therefore, Sir, shall, without the slightest wish to obstruct the measure, move the adjournment of the debate. And I hope, considering the difference of opinion which exists amongst hon. Members upon this subject, the Government will not resist my Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Of course, I shall not oppose the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. I deeply regret these proceedings should have taken place to-night with regard to this measure. I feel I am justified in saying that the opposition to this measure has not proceeded from any *bonâ fide* reason. I have never in this House brought a charge of obstruction against anybody, except when I felt the proceedings were such as called for some criticism or comment of the kind. Every English Member, and, I believe, every other Member, who has studied the subject at all, knows what the feeling of the country with regard to this matter is. I have received numerous appeals upon this subject, and I do trust the constituencies will note from what quarter the opposition to this measure comes. Of course, it would only be wasting the time and strength, not only of the officials of the House, but of hon. Members, to keep up this discussion longer. I hope that, at any rate, we have demonstrated that there is a strong necessity for this Bill, and that no one below the Gangway who has spoken has been able to speak against the merits of the Bill, as far as England, or Scotland, or Wales are concerned. I consent to the adjournment of the debate; but I hope the people of the country will take notice of the quarter of the House from which the obstruction to this measure comes.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

MARGARINE (FRAUDULENT SALE) BILL.—[BILL 309.]

(*Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Elton, Mr. Mark Stewart.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendment proposed to be made in the Title, by leaving out the word "Margarine," in order to insert the word "Butterine,"—(*Mr. Maclure,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the word 'Margarine' stand part of the Title."

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I should have liked to hear from the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stretford Division of Lancashire (Mr. Maclure) some reason for the course he has taken in moving this Amendment. My reason for proposing the introduction of the word "Margarine" was that the substance in question is known by that name in the trade. The largest manufacturers and dealers always call it by that name in their circulars; and under that name it is sold in packages of 28 lbs. and 14 lbs.; and there is also a 1 lb. box of margarine. It is, moreover, called by its proper name—margarine—in France and Germany. For these reasons I think we should call this substance margarine in England, and not allow it to be imposed upon the poorer classes as butter. It is said that it is wholesome food, but the fat in it does not assimilate as easily as butter; and if that were a sufficient argument, I might bring forward a mixture of chalk and water and call it milk, because I could show on very strong grounds that chalk is of great use in the human economy. If I were to do so, however, I should probably get very little support in this House or in the country. I cannot understand why hon. Gentlemen should so strongly object to calling this thing by its proper name. I remember that when some years ago I had to make an examination into this matter, I found in some places that the farmers were in the habit of going to the country towns to buy cheap butter at 1*s.* per lb., and then selling it at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. Here we have a substance which contains only 5 per cent of butter, and I think we ought not to be afraid of the effect upon trade which would result from its being sold to the people who consume it under the name of "margarine," by which it is known in the trade. For the reasons I have given, I hope the House will stand by the decision arrived at in Committee.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester, S.W.): We are dealing here with a trade which is known as the butterine trade, in which there was last year an importation equal to the value of £4,000,000 sterling, although, of course, that does not represent its whole magnitude, because there is a considerable manufacture of butterine in this country. I would not ask the House to rescind the decision arrived at the other night, if I thought the decision had been fairly taken. But no notice had then been given of the change proposed, and the Report of the Select Committee was not then in the hands of Members. It seems to me that when you interfere with a great trade you should do so in daylight, and when all the Members interested in the question are present. There is no precedent for the House passing a law to say by what name an article of trade should be called. We are told that the name of "butterine" is fraudulent; but nothing can be more absurd. The name is in perfect accord with the commercial nomenclature of the day. We have, besides "butterine," the terms velveteen, leatherine, sateen, ivorine, and others, all of which are perfectly well understood to mean articles made in imitation of something much better than the things they represent. I think, on the part of those hon. Members of the House who desire to protect the butter trade, that it is not necessary to interfere with the use of the term butterine. I think it is enough for this

House to pass a Bill to safeguard butter, and imposing a penalty on the retailer who sells butterine for butter, of £20 for the first, £50 for the second, and £100 for the third offence, and enacting that every package in which the article is sold should have the word "butterine" printed upon its top, bottom, and sides. Surely this is a sufficient protection to the butter trade. Again, butterine does not, in the slightest degree, interfere or compete with good butter. It competes with bad butter; and it has had this good effect—that it has done much to reform the manufacture of butter; it has diminished the consumption of bad butter by one-half—that was the evidence given before the Committee—and the poor take it in preference to treacle. I believe that the manufacturers and the wholesale and retail dealers have assented to these severe restrictions and penalties in the belief that the name would not be altered, for to alter the name would greatly embarrass the trade. People would go to the shops and ask for butterine, which would be a thing no longer known by that name, and the result would be that the retailer and the trade generally would be extremely perplexed. I hope the House will hesitate before they decide to substitute the word margarine for butterine.

MR. C. W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon): In the interest of the poor classes I strongly disapprove of this Amendment. The evidence given upstairs clearly shows that the members of one of the largest Co-operative Societies in England, having every opportunity of knowing the difference between real butter and butter substitute, nearly invariably choose real butter. This large Co-operative Society, with all its ramifications, only sold about 5 per cent of butter substitute. That being the case, it is clear to my mind that when the working classes know that one article is real butter, and that the other article is merely a butter substitute, they choose the genuine commodity. And then the hon. Member for South-West Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) has told us that butterine has done wonders for the real butter trade; but surely margarine has done just as much. I think it is most important in the interests of the consumers that there should be no opportunity whatever for the vendors of butter substitute in any way to palm off an article on the working classes that the working classes do not wish to buy. Then there is another interest which I think ought to be studied, and that is the agricultural interest. Surely the agricultural interest may have a voice in the decision of this rather knotty point. Though hon. Members on this side of the House are not unfrequently voting in opposition to the wishes of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, surely this is just one of those questions in which hon. Members on this side of the House might strain a point and support hon. Members from Ireland. This is certainly a legitimate question for Irish Members to bring before the House. They are directly interested in the production of butter; and I hope that in the interests of the consumers and of the agriculturists of England and Ireland we shall keep to what the House did the other night —namely, retain the word "margarine" instead of "butterine."

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR (Leeds, S.): I think the arguments used by the hon. Member for the Maldon Division of Essex (Mr. C. W. Gray) just now in favour of allowing the working classes to choose for themselves in this matter are very strong. If they desire to have a good and healthy material at a cheap rate as a substitute for butter, I think they ought to be permitted to obtain this in the easiest way possible. The word "margarine" is an utterly false and wrong name. "Margarine" it is not. If you had substituted oleomargarine it would have been all right; but margarine is a solid and crystallized substance well known to the trade, having no resemblance to butter whatever, and its purpose is to make candles stiff. It has nothing to do with butter. Stearine and margarine are well known to be used in the manufacture of candles. Oleomargarine is a butter substitute, and is the scientific name for the material sold with this object. Why puzzle poor persons who want a butter substitute by calling it oleomargarine? If you want, by Act of Parliament, to compel people who have a dirty pavement to wash it with water, why should you use the scientific name for water, and say they are to wash it with protoxide of hydrogen. That is just equivalent to calling this material oleomargarine. The poor people do not understand it. They understand butterine as a substitue for butter. Butterine is a material which contains 95 per cent of the very substances which are in butter. There are 5 per cent of aromatic acids in butter which gives it the taste which is not in butterine nor oleomargarine; but the rest is exactly the same as cows' butter. It is butter made from the ox, instead of from the cow. Ox butter is a healthy and good substance for the poor to obtain. Butterine obviously indicates that it is not butter, but a substitute for butter; and, therefore, I shall support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Stretford (Mr. Maclure).

Mr. COLMAN (Norwich): The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Maldon Division of Essex (Mr. C. W. Gray) said the evidence given before the Committee proved conclusively that butterine was not the proper title to give to this substance. I should like to say for myself—and I think I may also say it for the majority of the Committee — that that is not the view we entertain. We came to the conclusion from the evidence given to us that butterine was the proper name. Sir Frederick Abel, the analytical officer in the Government Department, was asked if it struck him that the name butterine had been given to the substance because it made it more saleable, and his reply was that it was very likely it had been. He added that he did not know what other name could well have been selected except butter substitute or margarine butter. I am sure that no Member of the Committee will contradict my statement that there was a large amount of evidence to show that the term butterine was a proper term to use. There is a feeling amongst a good many people that the retailers of articles of this sort are very much disposed to do what they can to commit fraud on the public. Personally, I entertain a totally contrary opinion. That there are some retailers so disposed I do not doubt; but I believe that on the whole that if you give retailers fair laws, if you give them proper definitions, they will do the best they can to conform to the laws and definitions. I think the term butterine, which the Committee by a considerable majority recommended for adoption, is the proper one. I came to this conclusion after hearing the evidence given to the Committee upstairs; and, therefore, I shall very cordially support the Amendment.

Mr. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford): The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair) has told us this is not margarine at all, that it is an entirely different compound. We must recollect what was told us by the hon. Gentleman who opened the debate (Dr. Clark). He quoted the prices charged for margarine, this very article. We have it that there is this article, and that it is sold as margarine. If we use the word "butterine," the "ine" will be dropped and frauds continually practised.

Mr. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): The Motion of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Maclure), if adopted, will simply reverse the decision the Committee of the Whole House arrived at the other night on an Amendment of mine. The hon. Gentleman has found fault with me for seeking to reverse the decision of the Select Committee. The Committee of the Whole House is perfectly entitled to overhaul any decision of a Select Committee. When a Select Committee has been appointed to report on a Bill it is the especial function of the Committee of the Whole House to overhaul the decision of the Committee upstairs. I am particularly anxious to reverse the decision of the Select Committee, because they arrived at their decision under a misapprehension. The Select Committee were influenced mainly by the desire to have some Bill passed, and it was dinned into the ears of the Committee that if they adopted a change in the name the persons representing the dealers in the article would be able to command sufficient support in the House to prevent legislation. It was a case of Hobson's choice, and the Committee arrived at a decision at which they certainly would not have arrived had they been left to their own judgment. Under the circumstances, I felt perfectly justified in bringing the question before the Committee of the Whole House. Any misgivings I had on the point were certainly dissipated when the Committee approved of what I suggested. Now, I only wish to say one or two words upon this Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair) has given us the scientific meaning of "margarine," and has suggested "oleomargarine" instead. The best answer to that is the fact that the traders in spurious butter have, to some extent, adopted "margarine." This stuff is merely the fat taken from the ox, while butter is the fat extracted from milk. There has been no proof furnished that it is not possible to make this stuff from the fat of any other animal. There is no reason why this article should not be manufactured from the fat of a dead horse. It is really in the interest of the poor people of this country, who consume this article, that we are moving in the matter. It is pre-eminently to their interest that they should not be supplied with these deleterious substances, and, above all, supplied with them under a name which suggests that they are obtaining butter. The dealers are the only persons who are interested in retaining the old and fraudulent name of butterine. It is a name which the Board of Trade have for years refused to recognize. They have refused their recognition of the name mainly because the name suggested fraud, and, above all, facilitated fraud. The only remedy for the purchaser is to summon the retailer for selling adulterated food. Suppose a case is carried into Court, the first question upon cross-examination put to the purchaser will be —"What were you sold?" He will answer—"I was sold butterine." He will then be asked—"Did you ask for butter?" and he will say "Yes." The next question will, of course, be—"Will you swear the dealer did not tell you he was serving you with butterine?" There is a great similarity in the names, and very few men will care to say that the last three letters were not used. The word facilitates fraud, and practically renders prosecutions impossible, because very few persons will care to go to the expense of instituting them. Now, with regard to the respectable dealers in this article. The hon. Gentleman who moved this Amendment (Mr. Maclure) has amongst his constituents one of the principal retail dealers in Manchester—Mr. Seymour Mead. The other day this gentleman wrote a letter, which appeared in the Manchester papers, and in it he distinctly stated that by their fraudulent practices the retail dealers had brought this legislation on themselves. He suggested the name of margarine.

MR. MACLURE: I rise to Order. I am not aware Mr. Seymour Mead is one of my constituents.

MR. M. J. KENNY: That is scarcely a point of Order. Almost all the respectable dealers in the North of England and Scotland agree with the proposal to change this name, and it is only those persons interested in the continuance of fraudulent practices who are exerting Heaven and earth to retain the name "butterine."

MR. HOYLE (Lancashire, S.E., Heywood): I do not think anyone will dispute the contention of the hon. Member who has just sat down that the House has a perfect right to reverse the decision a Select Committee has come to; that is a right which belongs to all Superior Courts; but I have always understood that a Superior Court reads the evidence before it reverses the decision of an Inferior Court. The House is in a very unfortunate position in reference to this Bill. The second reading was taken without discussion. There has been no discussion in the House on the principle of the Bill. I should like to ask what is the principle underlying this Bill? Is it to prevent fraud, or is it protection? We have a right to know what we are to vote upon. I may inform the House that the evidence given before the Select Committee clearly proved that margarine would be a nickname, and would not correctly represent the substance sold. So strong was the evidence on this question, that the noble Lord the Member for Ipswich (Lord Elcho) told the Committee that he entered on his duties as a Member of the Committee strongly prejudiced against the name of "butterine;" but the evidence had convinced him that the word "butterine" ought to be retained. The opinions of four or five Members of the Committee were changed during the evidence, and when the decision was taken 15 Members were present; 10 voted for the adoption of the name "Butterine," and five for the name "Oleomargarine." We are entitled to ask the House to support the Select Committee until the House has had an opportunity of reading the evidence. I do not know why its publication has been delayed. I only wish to mention one other fact, and that is, that the hon. Baronet the Member for the Wells Division of Somerset (Sir Richard Paget), who has charge of the Bill, accepted the word "butterine." I trust that name may be re-inserted in the Bill.

SIR RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells): My hon. Friend (Mr. Hoyle) is under a slight misapprehension. I occupied the position of Chairman of the Select Committee, and, therefore, I was precluded from voting upon the point. As a matter of fact, I did not give a vote in the Committee. Now, the issue before the House is a very simple one. We all desire to prevent fraud. None of us desire to interfere with legitimate trade. The Committee who investigated this question took a merciful view of it. They listened to the appeal of the traders, who were very much alarmed lest their trade would be injured if the name were changed. Having regard to the views of the traders, the Committee reported in favour of allowing the term "butterine" to be used, but at the same time they approved of the imposition of very severe penalties. The other night the Committee of the Whole House changed the name from "butterine" to "margarine," and removed the penalties. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] In the Select Committee imprisonment for six months was adopted as the punishment for the third offence; but the other night in Committee of the Whole House that penalty was withdrawn. What I suggest to the House is that, if the decision of the House to-night should be to reverse the decision of the Committee of the Whole House, it would be necessary to reinstate the provision as to punishment. Now, I confess I am disposed to think that the traders themselves take a rather exaggerated view of the importance of the name of this article. Suppose the word "butterine" were retained, what would the Act do? It would oblige that in every case the article should be sold under that name and no other. At present, it is sometimes sold as margarine, sometimes as gelatine, sometimes as mixtures; it is sold under many other names. Under this Act it can only be sold under one name. It is for the House to decide what that name shall be.

MR. McLAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): I should like the hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms), as the Representative of the Government, to give us the opinion of the Government on this question,

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 124; Noes 99: Majority 25.—(Div. List, No. 295.) [3.5. A.M.]

Amendment made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 36, to leave out the words "shall be duly entered as such by the officers of Her Majesty's Customs."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I propose the Amendment standing in my name. The point is very simple, purely one of administration. The form of words I propose is similar to that used in the Food and Drugs Act.

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 1, before the word "charged" to insert the words "under the direction of the authority appointing such officer, or medical officer, inspector of nuisances, or police constable, or."—(*Mr. F. S. Powell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. M. J. KENNY: I am rather inclined to think that these words are unnecessary, because the procedure under this Act will be the procedure prescribed by Sections 12 to 28, inclusive, of the Food and Drugs Act. I am perfectly certain that in those sections there is included the provision that the official acting will only act under the direction of the person appointing him.

SIR RICHARD PAGET: I agree with the hon. Member for Mid Tyrone (Mr. M. J. Kenny) that these words are not necessary. The object of the Amendment is already secured. My hon. Friend (Mr. F. S. Powell) desires to make the Act more clear; but I cannot think that his words add to the value of the Act.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 4, to leave out the word "analysis," and insert the words "submitting the same to be analysed."—(*Mr. F. S. Powell.*)

Question, "That the word 'analysis' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the proposed words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. James O'Brien, Mr. Foley, Mr. Sheehy.*)

[BILL 252.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I beg to move that this Bill be read a second time. It affects my constituency, and that of the hon. Member for South Mayo (Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien). It also affects indirectly one or two other districts. It is merely to correct a technical defect. A tramway was passed by the Grand Juries of Galway and Mayo; but they forgot to appoint Directors for every barony concerned, and the Bill simply rectifies the mistake.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Colonel Nolan,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at twenty minutes after Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 12*th July,* 1887.

MINUTES]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Margarine (Fraudulent Sale)* (169); Merchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment* (170).

Committee — Allotments for Cottagers (109), *discharged;* Metropolitan Open Spaces Act Extension (69-168).

Third Reading—Land Transfer (161), and *passed.*

Royal Assent—Metropolis Management (Battersea and Westminster) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 17]; National Debt and Local Loans [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 16]; Trusts (Scotland) Act, 1867, Amendment [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 18].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Third Reading*—Local Government (No. 6)* (147); Local Government (No. 8)* (148); Local Government (Ireland) (Killiney and Ballybrack)* (149), and *passed.*

Royal Assent—Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. xcix]; Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. c]; Metropolis (Cable Street, Shadwell) Provisional Order [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. ci]; Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Provisional Order [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cii].

NEW PEERS.

Cornwallis, Viscount Hawarden in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, having been created Earl de Montalt, of Dundrum in the county of Tipperary—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

William Henry Forester, Baron Londesborough, having been created Viscount Raincliffe, of Raincliffe in the North Riding of the county of York, and Earl of Londesborough in the said county—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

George Edmund Milnes, Viscount Galway in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, having been created Baron Monckton, of Serlby in the county of Nottingham—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Sir John St. Aubyn, Baronet, having been created Baron Saint Levan, of St. Michael's Mount in the county of Cornwall—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Right Honourable George Sclater-Booth, having been created Baron Basing, of Basing Byflete and of Hoddington, both in the county of Southampton —Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—HOUSE OF LORDS—ACOUSTIC PROPERTIES OF THIS HOUSE.

PERSONAL EXPLANATIONS.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he wished to correct a passage in the report of the remarks he made in putting the Question yesterday with reference to the arrest of women by the police. He was reported to have said that—

> "Capital had been attempted to be made in a Party sense out of the recent transactions; but he would remind their Lordships that provisions which would have prevented this outrage from taking place were introduced into the Criminal Law Amendment Bill by the present Prime Minister and struck out by Mr. Gladstone's Government."

What he really did say, was that the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was introduced three times by Mr. Gladstone's Government, contained a clause giving power to the police to make an arrest without any complaint of annoyance having been made; and he stated that he consistently opposed that clause, and that he was honoured by the support in his opposition of the late Lord Shaftesbury and the present Prime Minister (the Marquess of Salisbury). He also gave extracts from the speeches of both those noble Lords, giving their reasons for concurring with him in thinking that such a clause would expose respectable women to great danger. He further stated that when the Bill came into the hands of the Government presided over by his noble Friend, the clause was struck out. He, therefore, could not refrain from expressing his great surprise that the police should continue to act as if that clause formed part of the Act.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I have a similar complaint to that of my noble Friend. In the newspapers of yesterday I am made to say that Sir H. Drummond Wolff was waiting in Constantinople in a state of "animated expectancy." That would have been a very disrespectful way of speaking of Her Majesty's Ambassador, and I am sure I never was guilty of it. But I would call your Lordships' attention to the very bad acoustic conditions of this House, and if I might propose, as Conservatives sometimes do, something exceedingly revolutionary, I should like to put a fourth gentleman at this Table and make him the reporter.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he would remind the noble Marquess that a Committee of the House had sat on the question of reporting, and had made a similar proposal to that put forward by his noble Friend.

LORD DENMAN said, there was no doubt the reporters could report most accurately when they chose. He had had an instance of that in proposing the Women's Suffrage Bill on September 2 last. He did not give any instructions to *Hansard* to report him, but that gentleman's representative occupied a place generally reserved for one of the Press. The Press had a great deal too much power in this matter, especially the editor of *The Times*. On the occasion to which he referred, *Hansard* reported every word he said, and, notwithstanding that he (Lord Denman) entreated him not to publish the speech, he insisted on doing so, and did it in a rather imperfect way, imputing to the Mayor of Sheffield the words of Mr. Jacob Bright. He had since published that speech. Last night, again, he quoted four lines from Lord Houghton's rare poem, and he was certain the reporters heard them. He was not ashamed of having quoted those lines. If their Lordships chose to truckle to *The Times* and the Press they would endanger the liberties of their country. They were not to be called over by foreign nations for what passed in that House, as their proceedings were private. They were so formerly. From the great Conservative meeting at which Lord Beaconsfield presided at Bridgewater House the Press were excluded. A gentleman from *The Telegraph* came and asked him what had passed, but he told him it was private. Although the Rule of the House of Commons as regards the admission of strangers had been relaxed, he would remind their Lordships that it still subsisted in their House, that strangers must withdraw when asked. He thought the liberties of the country were in danger when Peers and Members of Parliament truckled to the Press.

EARL STANHOPE said, that a Committee was appointed by their Lordships some years ago, of which he was a Member, to consider the question of reporting, and he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would take the Report of that Committee into consideration. To carry out their recommendations would have involved some alteration in the acoustic properties of the House, and would also have necessitated Parliament voting some money towards *Hansard's Debates* in their Lordships' House. Perhaps, their Lordships were not aware that the only means of reporting for *Hansard* in their House was *The Times* newspaper; whereas in the House of Commons some £4,000 a-year was voted for *quasi*-official reports. No doubt the acoustic properties of the House were very bad, and that eminent statesman (Lord Russell) could, in his latter years, only be accurately reported by means of a reporter placing himself under the floor of the House.

ALLOTMENTS FOR COTTAGERS BILL

(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

(NO. 109.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that as he understood it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Bill dealing with this subject in the House of Commons on Monday next, he would ask their Lordships' permission not to proceed with this Bill until the House had an opportunity of seeing the Government measure.

Order *discharged.*

METROPOLITAN OPEN SPACES ACT (EXTENSION) BILL.—(No. 69.)

(*The Lord Mount-Temple.*)

COMMITTEE.

House in Committee (according to Order).

Clauses 1 and 2 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Extension of Provisions of Metropolitan Open Spaces Act to the urban sanitary districts).

Amendment *moved,*

In page 2, line 32, after ("district") insert ("provided that no vestry nor other public body shall be permitted to remove any tombstone from a graveyard without first giving one month's notice to the representatives of the person whose tombstone it is proposed to remove").—(*The Lord De Ros.*)

On the Motion of The Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE, Amendment *amended* by inserting, after the word ("notice") in line 4, the words ("wherever practicable").

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 4 to 8, inclusive, severally *agreed to,* with Amendments.

Clause 9 *agreed to,* with Amendments.

On the Motion of the Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE, the following Amendments made:—After Clause 9 insert as a new Clause—

"After the passing of this Act it shall be lawful for the Metropolitan Board to allow the playing of games and sports in all open spaces other than churchyards, cemeteries, and burial grounds."

After proposed new Clause after Clause 9, insert as a new Clause—

"After the passing of this Act, it shall not be lawful to use any disused burial ground for any purposes of profit."

Remaining Clauses, and Schedule, *agreed to,* with Amendments: the Report thereof to be received on *Tuesday* next; and Bill to be *printed,* as amended. (No. 168.)

LAND TRANSFER BILL.—(No. 161)

(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Amendment moved yesterday on the Third Reading read.

Debate *resumed* accordingly: The said Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he wished to alter slightly the form of the Amendment he proposed yesterday. That Amendment had reference to Clause 39, Sub-section 4, which applied to the real estate of an infant or lunatic. It had been pointed out that there might be considerable difficulty in defining the lunatic; and he proposed now that this section should not apply to any real estate of a person being an infant, and not being capable of disposing of it by will. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) had said that every person ought to make a will; and the Amendment which he now proposed dealt with the case of those who by law were not capable of making a will, and, therefore, ought not to be subject to pains and penalties. It had been suggested that power should be given to the Court of Chancery to make a disposition of the property; but he thought the Court of Chancery would be very much embarrassed in doing so. In the case of persons not capable of making a will, the property ought to go to the next in remainder.

Amendment *moved,*

In page 20, line 27, leave out from ("or") to the end of the clause, and insert ("being at the time of his succession to such estate and thence forward incapable of disposing of the same by will").—(*The Earl Beauchamp.*)

LORD HOBHOUSE said, he opposed the Amendment on the ground that it was contrary to the principle of the clause in which it was proposed to insert it. When the law made arrangements for the distribution of property, it should endeavour to make such arrangements as reasonable people would make for themselves. The justification of this alteration of the law was, that, as a rule, reasonable people did not give all their property to one, but divided it among their successors. Why should not their Lordships do for the successors of an infant or lunatic that which they did for the successors of other persons? The House had decided, after discussion, that equal division was a better rule of succession than primogeniture. If primogeniture was the most reasonable rule, why were we now altering it? If equal division was the most reasonable rule, why not apply it to the property of those who cannot judge for themselves? It could not possibly make any difference whether the deceased owner could not make any disposition of his property, or whether he had not. In each case alike we were bound to make the best arrangements we could for succession to the undisposed of property.

Lord BRAMWELL said, that, as in the present case the infant or lunatic could not make a will, he thought the Amendment of the noble Earl was a most reasonable one.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, he was very much in their Lordships' hands in this matter. The only objection he saw to the Amendment was, that if it passed, there would be a class of persons to whom the new law would not apply. It seemed to him that to accept the noble Earl's Amendment would be to retain the Law of Inheritance in the cases of lunatics and infants, and that, he thought, scarcely consistent with the object of the Bill. He recognized the difficulty with which the noble Earl sought to deal; but he must say that it differed from what the Bill proposed to do in the case of intestates, and might be found to be inconvenient in practice. He should not, however, oppose it.

Lord HERSCHELL said, he did not think that this was a matter of very great importance. It dealt with exceptional cases, and the only recommendation which such a provision had was that the ingenuity of conveyancers was inexhaustible; and if a provision was made such as people very strongly desired to walk round for the sake of meeting these exceptional cases, he was not at all sure that they would not find means to do so, and walk round it not only in these cases, but also in others which did not fall within these particular exceptions. In that case there was something to be said for dealing with exceptional cases.

Amendment *agreed to.*

An Amendment *moved*, and *negatived*: Amendments made: Then the Queen's consent and the consent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in right of his Duchy of Cornwall signified: Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—THE CENTRAL HALL—THE STATUE OF THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

Lord MOUNT-TEMPLE asked the Lord Great Chamberlain, Whether permission will be given to the subscribers for a statue of the Earl of Iddesleigh to place their statue on the floor of the Central Hall of the Palace of Westminster, in a position not intended or contemplated by the architect as the site of any statue, or to place their statue on one of the eight vacant pedestals in the Lobby at the entrance of the House of Commons, which were designed by the architect for eight statues? He wished the statue to be worthy of the statesman, and in harmony with his character for wisdom, good sense, and appropriateness, and not the right thing in the wrong place. The Committee had been guided by the sculptor, without consulting architects of eminence. The effect of a statue always depended on surroundings, which, in this case, would be inharmonious and injured by a modern statue of a different character from the 48 statues and the 20 angels richly decorated. The statue would be a great eyesore to the building if placed where it was intended.

Lord AVELAND said, that in May last he was asked by his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council (Viscount Cranbrook), on behalf of the subscribers to the Lord Iddesleigh Memorial, to allow a statue to be placed in the Central Hall. He assented to the request; and he understood that in doing so he was acting in accordance with the wishes of a large number of the friends of the late Earl, Members of both Houses of Parliament, and also of other subscribers to the Memorial.

After some observations from Lord Braye,

Earl GRANVILLE said, he was the only Member of the Committee who, on different grounds, took exception to the site chosen unanimously by the rest of the Committee. At the same time, he acquiesced in the unanimous wish of the rest of the Committee, and he was bound to say that he thought that the arguments in favour of the present site were not so strong as the objections to all the other sites proposed, including the Lobby site.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked, whether the statue of Lord Iddesleigh would harmonize with that of Earl Russell?

EARL GRANVILLE said, he could not go into details; but both statues would be by the same sculptor, and it was therefore improbable that there would be any great difference of character between them.

MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS ACTS AMENDMENT (NO. 2) (IRELAND) BILL.

Commons' Amendments to Lords' Amendments, and Commons' Reason for disagreeing to one of the Lords' Amendments *considered* (on Motion).

LORD MACNAGHTEN said, he believed the parties interested in the Bill had arrived at an agreement in regard to the Bill; therefore, he hoped their Lordships would consider and assent to the Commons' Amendments at once.

On Motion of The Lord MACNAGHTEN, The Amendment to which the Commons have disagreed, *not insisted on;* and the Amendments made by the Commons to the Amendments made by the Lords *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 12*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Lambeth Borough (Brixton Division), *v.* Ernest Baggallay, esquire, Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Manor of Northstead in the County of York.

NEW MEMBER SWORN — Thomas Bedford Bolitho, *for* Western or St. Ives Division, Cornwall.

PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Lords Amendments considered, and agreed to* — Belfast Main Drainage.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Metropolitan Police* [321].

Second Reading—Irish Land Law [308] [*Second Night*], *debate adjourned;* Prison (Officers' Superannuation) (Scotland)* [233]; Sheriffs (Consolidation)* [262].

Report of Select Committee—Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) [No. 219].

Considered as amended—Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2)* [196]; Truck* [299], *Further Proceeding deferred.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Local Government (Ireland) (Dublin, &c.)* [312].

Report—Elementary Education Confirmation (Christchurch)* [296]; Education Department Confirmation (London)* [298].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL (*by Order*).

LORDS' AMENDMENTS. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [20th June], "That the Amendments made by The Lords to the Belfast Main Drainage Bill, be now taken into consideration."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.): Before this Bill is finally disposed of, I will, with the permission of the House, make a few remarks as to the position of the promoters. A great deal of misapprehension exists as to their actions and intention. It has been stated, here and elsewhere, that they were opposed to the extension of the municipal franchise in Ireland; but than this nothing can be more incorrect, and the reverse of that is the truth of the matter. May I recall to the memory of the House the fact that my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Armagh (Sir James Corry), early in the Session, introduced a Bill for the assimilation of the municipal franchise in Ireland to that existing in England? That was a general Bill extending to all the boroughs of Ireland. That Bill met with opposition in a quarter from which the House might well be surprised to find it come; it was blocked by hon. Members below the Gangway on the other side.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I would warn the hon. Member that these remarks of his may lead to prolonged debate if he continues them.

MR. EWART: I will not occupy the time of the House at length; but, in justice to myself and the promoters of the Bill, I feel bound to give some explanation why we to-day agree to these Amendments to this measure.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think a general review of the history of the Bill will be in Order.

Message to attend the Lords' Commissioners;—

The House went; and being returned;—

Mr. SPEAKER *reported* the *Royal Assent* to several Bills.

BELFAST MAIN DRAINAGE BILL
(*by Order*).

Mr. EWART resumed: It was my wish to say a few words in explanation and justification of the action of the promoters of this Bill; but in deference to an appeal made to me, and the feeling that seems to indicate that no such statement is required, I will content myself by saying that the promoters of the Bill will take every means to have the Amendments which were settled yesterday in the Franchise Bill carried out in the House of Lords.

Mr. SEXTON: I understand that the hon. Baronet the Member for Mid Armagh has undertaken to give a public engagement to a similar effect.

Sir JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): I may say that we have agreed with the hon. Member as to Amendments and the Franchise Bill in "another place," and every expedition will be used to carry out this understanding.

Mr. SEXTON: With the assurance that the promoters will exert their influence in "another place," to have the matter definitely closed upon the understanding arrived at, I assent to the Lords' Amendments.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Lords' Amendments *considered.*

Mr. SEXTON: I just wish to say that it was the introduction of Amendments in "another place" last year that led to all the trouble in reference to this Bill. This House inserted a clause extending the municipal franchise in Belfast to householders, and the House of Lords struck out the clause on the unreasonable plea that the Examiner on Standing Orders found that the clause was not in the original advertisement issued by the promoters. But it was impossible that it could be; the promoters had no intention of inserting a Franchise Clause, and not only so, but they opposed it when it was inserted, and struggled against it. As I have already said, the Examiner mistook his function, and the Committee on Standing Orders fortified him in his error; and the House of Lords, I conceive, acted unconstitutionally by denying the right of this House to insert any clause in any Bill at its discretion. Standing Orders are for the protection of the public interest against promoters of Private Bills; but no standing Order of the other House can cancel the right of this House to insert any Amendment in a Bill. If this matter had not been brought to a settlement—an amicable settlement—I should have felt it my duty to contest this action of the House of Lords on Constitutional grounds, and to press the House to restore the clause excluded by the Lords; but I am happy to say the Lords have seen fit to avoid the necessity for a further discussion of the Constitutional question, and I am relieved from further argument in reference to this Bill. Both Houses have now agreed to a Public Bill by which the municipal franchise is extended to all householders and ratepayers of Belfast, and this franchise will be made applicable to the Register for the present year. The Bill prescribes that the whole of the Town Council shall go out of office next November, and until the new franchise has been exercised there will be no action taken, and no liabilities incurred upon the scheme now before us in this Bill. I am satisfied with that. I believe the House has wisely and effectually protected the householders and ratepayers of Belfast from any action by the existing Council in reference to this Bill. The Council never consulted the ratepayers, never gave them an opportunity of forming an opinion. It is an effete body; it has no representative character or moral authority, and has disgraced itself by its stealthy action in reference to this Bill. I certainly should never have assented to this Bill if power had remained in the hands of this Council; but the Council is tied hand and foot, it is placed in a straight waistcoat, and there is nothing left for it but to await its dying moment with no power over this scheme. In view of the pledge that has been given, in view of our having arrived at a decisive agreement, there remaining, I think, only one word in dispute, I make no attempt to further delay the passage of this Bill. Though the Belfast Main Drainage Bill is an old friend of mine, I part with it without regret, and I am sure I may add that the House is not sorry to see the last of it. I would beg hon. Gentlemen opposite to believe that my opposition was directed by an imperative sense of public duty; and they will admit that though there were times when it was attended with some inconvenience, my opposition has been justified by the practical test of success.

Lords' Amendments *agreed to.*

MR. EWART: In view of what has taken place, it is not my intention to move the clause of which I have given Notice.

QUESTIONS.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND)—LOANS TO FISHERMEN UNDER THE CROFTERS' ACT.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) (for Dr. R. MACDONALD) (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, How many applications have been made to the Scotch Fishery Board, under the Crofters' Act, for boats and gear; how many applications have been granted; if few or none, why they have not been granted; and, seeing that the fishing season in the North is rapidly passing by, whether pressure can be brought on the said Board to expedite their decisions, in order to save men, who have stayed at home all the season (in hopes of getting boats and nets, but unsuccessfully), from starvation and bankruptcy during the coming winter season?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): Up to the present date 236 applications for loans have been received by the Board. No loans have as yet been granted by the Board. The Board lost no time in issuing forms of application, &c., to all those who have expressed a desire for a loan; but in consequence of misapprehension as to the terms on which loans can be obtained, and the great local difficulties experienced in making necessary examination and Reports, time has been unavoidably occupied in obtaining Reports from the officers of the Board. These Reports, however, have been within the last few days coming in in greater numbers, so that the Board will be enabled to proceed. The Secretary for Scotland is in correspondence with the Board, and every endeavour will be made to expedite their decisions.

DR. CLARK asked, if the Government still intended to continue the present restriction on loans—that was to require the men to provide one-third before granting any loan?

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD asked that Notice of the Question should be given.

ARMY—PROMOTIONS IN THE ROYAL ARTILLERY.

CAPTAIN COTTON (Cheshire, Wirral) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that there has been no promotion to the ranks of Lieutenant Colonel or Major in the Royal Artillery during the present year (Indian lists excepted); and, whether any steps are to be taken to remedy the stagnation in these and other ranks of the same regiment?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): On account of reductions in the establishment of Lieutenant Colonels and Majors in the Royal Artillery, there has not been any recent promotions to these ranks. The subject of how these reductions shall take effect has been under my consideration and that of the Treasury; but I hope it will shortly be settled.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — LEITRIM ASSIZES—ARREST OF JOHN MELLEY.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following report of certain proceedings at the Leitrim Assizes, reported in *The Freeman's Journal* of the 7th instant:—

> "At the conclusion of the Assizes, Mr. Taylor, B.L., applied to his Lordship for the discharge of John Melley, of Bundoran, a witness for the defence in the case of Johnston and others, who were charged with Whiteboyism near Kinlough, on the night of the 16th June last. Melley was arrested without a warrant or any legal process;
>
> "The Chief Baron pronounced the arrest unconstitutional and illegal without a warrant, and ordered Melley's discharge;"

and, under what circumstances Melley was arrested, and on what charge, and by whom?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: John Melley was produced as a witness for the defence in the case of six men who were on trial at the Leitrim Assizes on the charge of having, with others not identified, attacked the house of a man, and brutally assaulted him and his two sisters. Melley was at once recognized in Court by the assaulted man as one of the persons present when the outrage took place. The Head Constable subsequently ordered his arrest. The Judge, in ordering the police to discharge Melley, stated that the arrest without a warrant was merely an error of judgment. A warrant for Melley's arrest has since been issued.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: The right hon. and gallant Gentleman has not answered the Question whether the Judge denounced the arrest as unconstitutional and illegal?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: My information is that what the Judge said was that the arrest without a warrant was merely an error of judgment.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Do I understand the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that the Judge made no such statement as that alleged in *The Freeman's Journal* report—namely, that the arrest was unconstitutional and illegal?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: I have given you the answer, and I believe it is correct.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman make further inquiries into the matter?

[No reply.]

Mr. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.): I wish to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, whether he will do what my hon. Friend asks him—whether he will undertake to make a further inquiry into this matter, and obtain additional particulars?

Colonel KING-HARMAN intimated that he would institute further inquiries.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF A PRESBYTERIAN CHAPLAIN TO THE CORK ASYLUM.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Rev. Matthew Kerr was recently appointed Presbyterian Chaplain to the Cork Lunatic Asylum at a salary of £12 a-year; whether the Lord Lieutenant has refused to sanction the appointment on the grounds of the fewness of the Presbyterian inmates; what provision is intended to be made for the religious instruction of the Presbyterian inmates; what number of inmates professing a particular creed are necessary to obtain the sanction of His Excellency to the appointment of a chaplain for them; whether he is aware that in many Irish workhouses where the Protestant inmates do not amount to half-a-dozen, chaplains of that faith are appointed with the sanction of the Local Government Board; and, whether there is any difference in practice on this point between workhouses and lunatic asylums; and, if so, why?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, that objection was first taken to the appointment; but the matter was now under re-consideration.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: When will the final decision be given in the matter?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: As soon as possible.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — DR. HARTY, CORONER, KINGSTOWN.

Mr. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether complaints have reached him that in the case of an inquest on the body of a man named Patrick Rogan, who was found drowned in Kingstown Harbour on the afternoon of Friday the 1st instant, the Coroner, Dr. Harty, did not attend to hold the inquest till 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th, although he had issued his precept to have the jury summoned for 2 o'clock; whether his attention has been drawn to the rider appended by the jury to their verdict, in which they express their opinion that the inquest should have been held on Saturday the 2nd instant, and attaching blame to the Coroner for not holding it on that date, as they considered it wrong to have kept the body of deceased so many days without interment in this hot weather; whether Dr. Harty refused to take the verdict from the jury with the rider reflecting on himself, and threatened to lock them up till they had found a verdict without the rider; whether it was found that the Coroner had neglected to take notes of the evidence given by the witnesses at the inquest; whether complaints have reached him that it has been customary for Dr. Harty to keep juries waiting for a considerable time after the hour at which they have been summoned before he attends to hold the inquest; and, whether, in face of these alleged neglects of duty on the part of the Coroner, it is the intention of the Lord Chancellor for Ireland to take any steps in the matter?

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) said, he also wished to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, Whether he was aware that at a meeting of the Kingstown Town Commissioners the Chairman commented strongly on the matter; that the medical officer had stated he was powerless to have the body removed until the Coroner had held an inquest; and that the Council had ordered their executive sanitary officer to prepare a Report of the case for the Government?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton), in reply, said, he was not able to reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet. He would point out that the office of Coroner was an elective office, and that the Lord Chancellor, as such, had no control over him, and that he should be removed by a judicial decision. He trusted, however, that the effect of the Question would be to induce the Coroner to give no further cause of complaint.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.): I wish to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman, whether he is aware that this is the same Coroner who threatened to lock up a jury at the Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Dundrum, unless they returned a particular verdict?

MR. GIBSON: I really am not aware at all.

ADMIRALTY — SHIPBUILDING — THE ROYAL DOCKYARDS.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it has been definitely determined to build two of the five new cruisers by contract, so that prices may check one another; whether the new arrangements and appointments in the Admiralty and the Dockyards were ostensibly made to secure the more effective supervision; whether it is found now that these are ineffective, or that work cannot be as well and as cheaply done in the Dockyards as in private yards; whether, when the original estimate for ships built in the Dockyards is exceeded, it is owing to changes made during construction; and, whether, if the accounts of ships built in the Dockyards were kept in the same manner as the accounts kept for those built in private yards, it could be shown that the actual cost of the former is not so great as that of the latter?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): Two of the five new cruisers will be built by contract. The new arrangements made for supervision of work in the Dockyards have secured good results, as is shown by the fact that for the first time for many years past there was no Supplementary Dockyard Vote for the past year. The excess over estimates for ships built in Dockyards has not always been due to changes made during construction; but under the present arrangements we believe that instead of ships' estimates for building being exceeded they will be built within the estimates. I am not conversant with the methods of account kept for ships built in private yards; but I imagine they include depreciation of plant, which is not charged in Dockyard-built ships. The present Board of Admiralty are of opinion that the Dockyards should build the great bulk of the ships required for the Navy; and this year out of 13 ships of different types 11 have been, or will be, laid down in the Dockyards.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SKIBBEREEN AND BALTIMORE.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) (for Dr. KENNY) (Cork, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the mail car between Skibbereen and Baltimore has been discontinued, and a rural messenger substituted, who has to walk 19 miles a day, taking letters and parcels to and from Old Court Creagh, Loughine, Baltimore, Sherkin Island, and Cape Clear Island; whether he is aware that a piscatorial school is to be opened on the 18th August next at Baltimore, the existence of which is likely to add considerably to the postal work; what the difference in cost as between the mail car and a rural messenger is; and, whether, under the circumstances, he will consider the advisability of continuing the mail car at any rate till the end of the year?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The

Skibbereen and Baltimore Mail Car, which runs during the fishing season, has not yet been discontinued. The postman's walk is 16½ miles in length, performed on week days only. There is no foot-post on Sundays. He carries letters and parcels for the places named. A school in connection with the fishery is, I understand, about to be opened at Baltimore; but I cannot say to what extent it will affect the correspondence for that place. The difference in cost between a service by mail car throughout the year and a service by rural messenger would be the entire cost of the mail car — say, £60 or £70 a-year; so it would be necessary to retain the rural messenger to perform the road delivery. As I promised the hon. Member for West Cork (Mr. Gilhooly), who put a Question to me on the subject in May last, I will cause further accounts of letters to be taken at the end of the fishing season, with a view to reconsidering this matter.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: The fishing season will end on the 16th of July; and will the right hon. Gentleman have the car continued until he has ascertained the result of the inquiries he proposes to institute?

Mr. RAIKES: That is my intention, Sir.

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—REMOVAL OF THE LOO ROCK, BALTIMORE HARBOUR.

Mr. GILHOOLY (Cork, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Board of Works proposes to commence the removal of the Loo Rock at the entrance to Baltimore Harbour, in accordance with the promise given, the weather now being extremely favourable?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said, he was not aware that any promise was given to remove the rock in question. The original plan was to erect a beacon or perch upon it; but, after consultation with the representatives of the inhabitants, the Commissioners of Public Works had decided to place a buoy in the neighbourhood of the rock, and were now only waiting the consent of the Commissioners of Irish Lights in order to carry out the revised plan.

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER—AN UNVENTILATED CELLAR UNDER THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. BOND (Dorset, E.) (for Colonel Hambro) (Dorset, S.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he is aware that there is a cellar in the House of Commons, the superficial area of which is 18 feet by 12, into which no natural light or fresh air can enter, or foul or heated air from the gas (which is always burning) can escape, except through the doorway, which opens into a passage lit with gas, and is 19 yards from the external atmosphere, and that in this cellar, the temperature of which is seldom below 80 degrees, three men in the employment of the House have to work at a dirty and laborious occupation on an average of 15 hours a-day throughout the Session; and, if he will take immediate steps to have this cellar closed as a workroom?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. Plunket) (Dublin University): The cellar to which my attention has been called is really a scullery used in connection with the Kitchen and the Members' Dining Room, and is in a convenient position for that purpose. I have myself inquired into its sanitary condition; and while I found that the drainage had been quite recently renewed and was in an excellent condition, the ventilation was, undoubtedly, in a bad state. There was, however, an air shaft from the ceiling which had not been used for some time. This shaft has now been put in use, with the result that a considerable current of air is now passing through the room.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM—THE TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS.

Mr. BOWEN ROWLANDS (Cardiganshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a paragraph in *The Daily News* of Friday, 8th July, which states that—

> "The trial of prisoners charged with being concerned in the Llangwm Riots was resumed yesterday at Ruthin. . . . The wife of one of the defendants having died, permission for him to go home was asked; but as the prosecution opposed it the Bench could not permit him so to do. The defendant afterwards fainted;"

whether the prosecution has been instituted or is being conducted by or on behalf of the Government; and, whether the Government will in any case inquire into the truth of the above statement; and, if found to be true, take any action in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have obtained a Report from the Clerk to the Justices on this matter. He informs me that, after some discussion in Court, he advised the Justices that, according to Statute, the accused must be present in Court when the depositions were taken. The Justices thereupon, after expressing their sympathy with the defendant, declined to let him go home, as it would be illegal to take the case in his absence. The case was then proceeded with for about two hours, when the defendant had a slight fainting fit. He was immediately removed, and proper remedies having been applied he returned into Court, and during the remainder of the sitting was accommodated with a seat on the Bench near a window. Subsequently the Court agreed to adjourn over Monday to enable the defendant to attend the funeral of his wife, and accordingly on Friday evening the Court was adjourned. The defendant then came forward and said he desired to thank the Bench for the consideration they had shown towards him and for their kind expressions of sympathy. The prosecution was instituted, and is being conducted, by the Solicitor to the Treasury.

MR. BOWEN ROWLANDS said, the right hon. Gentleman had hardly answered the Question which he put—whether the Justices had declined to adjourn? He wanted to know why they did not postpone taking the depositions until the defendant had an opportunity of going home, and of recovering from the shock, and making arrangements with regard to his wife's funeral?

MR. MATTHEWS said, that the answer which he had just given showed that although the Justices did not adjourn at once, they adjourned after two or three hours, and for several days, to enable the defendant to go home.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) inquired, how it was that the Court did not adjourn, especially in view of the fact that the defendant had only three days' notice of the trial?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not able to answer that Question.

HARBOURS (IRELAND)—THE FLOATING DOCK AT LIMERICK.

MR. H. J. GILL (Limerick) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that great injury has been sustained by the Floating Dock at Limerick owing to the subsidence of the dock wall; whether, in 1864, only 10 years after the completion of the works, a portion of the river wall fell out, and had to be re-built by the Board of Works, at a cost of about £2,790; whether other portions of the dock and river wall are now in great danger of falling in, and thereby causing much inconvenience to the trade, as well as loss to the revenue, of the Port of Limerick; whether those dock works were built by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, under their sole supervision, and upon their design; had the Limerick Harbour Commissioners any control over the construction of the works; will he inquire whether the subsidence of the dock wall was the result of the original defective construction of the works, or of what other cause; in case the Limerick Harbour Commissioners should be unable to undertake the construction of the works, from want of funds or other causes, will the Treasury, or the Board of Works, be prepared to supply funds to repair and restore the works, if it should appear that such necessity has arisen from their defective construction originally; whether, in view of the fact that the Limerick Harbour Commissioners have paid up all their liabilities to the Treasury in respect of advances for those works, on the assumption of their stability and permanent character, the Harbour Commissioners will now be called upon to defray the cost of the restoration of the works; and, will any assurance be given, on behalf of the above named Public Departments, that some immediate action will be taken towards the restoration of the works, and the prevention of further damage to other parts of the docks?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): It is impossible, within the limits of an answer to a Question, to deal with the points raised by the hon. Member. Briefly stated, the connection of the Government with the Port of Limerick has been as follows:—In 1824 a loan of £60,000 was made for the construction of a bridge and tidal basin. In 1831 a further sum of £70,000 was advanced for the completion and improvement of these works. In 1846 a Receiver, on behalf of the Board of Works, was in receipt of the revenues of the Port; but the Government of the day consented, in deference to strong local representations, to spend £54,000 on the dock referred to in the Question of the hon. Member. Up to 1867 £179,384 had been spent on the Port, entirely from National Funds, and the annual charge amounted to between £6,000 and £7,000. In that year the Government made remissions amounting to £169,919, of which £114,248 was principal and £55,671 interest, leaving a debt on the Port of £59,414, and reducing the annual charge from £6,000 or £7,000 to £2,014. Since 1867 the Harbour Commissioners have been in charge of the Port, and I am not prepared to go behind the arrangement then made.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—LOUGH CORRIB DRAINAGE DISTRICTS.

Mr. PINKERTON (Galway) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that several meetings of ratepayers or the Lough Corrib (County Galway) drainage districts have been held, to protest against the neglect of the Drainage Trustees, in allowing the main drains to become silted up, thereby causing serious injury to the property of occupiers and owners of land by frequent flooding; if, at the Land Commission Court held in Galway, evidence was given by 37 tenants to the effect that for several years their property, including crops and live stock, had been destroyed, and that, in consequence, they had been reduced to poverty; if he is aware that Memorials have been forwarded from those meetings of ratepayers to the Lord Lieutenant, asking him to urge upon the Commissioners of Public Works the necessity of sending a properly qualified engineer down to examine and report; if the Commissioners, when so requested, refused to do so unless they first received a deposit of £30, which sum they promised to refund if the Commissioners carried out the work; and what steps, if any, he intends to take in order that these poor people may obtain relief?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, that the facts were as stated in the Question. The Memorialists stated themselves to be ratepayers, lessees, and occupiers under the 5th section of the Drainage Maintenance Act. The Commissioners of Public Works, after receiving a Memorial, may appoint an engineer to inspect and report on the state of the works, and furnish estimates and specifications. By the 9th section they may require the applicants to pay, or secure themselves in, a sum sufficient to defray preliminary expenses. When the Report of the engineer was received the Board called upon the Trustees to show cause why the Board should not proceed with the works; and if they failed to show cause, the Board proceeded to carry out the works, and the sum lodged for preliminary expenses was refunded to the persons who lodged it, as the preliminary expenses become part of the cost of the work, which, on the completion of the work, becomes a charge on the district. The Board hoped to be able to carry out the inspection in this case for £20; and they informed the Memorialists that they could not undertake an inspection unless the amount was lodged, for without a lodgment no funds were available for the purpose of making an inspection.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF A LUNATIC IN STAFFORD COUNTY GAOL.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the alleged ill-treatment of a lunatic named Jones, in the Stafford County Gaol; and whether any, and what, steps are being taken to inquire into the matter?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; a letter was received at the Home Office late last night from Mr. Hunt, the lunatic's solicitor, alleging ill-treatment. The complaint has been referred to the Governor of the Gaol for immediate report, the result of which I shall be happy to communicate to the hon. Member.

WAR OFFICE—THE ROYAL JUBILEE REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) (for Mr. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM) (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would produce a copy of the Regimental Orders of each regiment and battalion at Aldershot on the evening previous to the review; and, if not, if he would state the hour at which the different battalions were ordered to fall in on the private parade grounds; and, if all the regiments had water bottles, and all the battalions water carts, or only some of them?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I cannot undertake to produce the Regimental Orders asked for, as I do not think it would be in the interests of discipline. The manner in which reviews at Aldershot are conducted, and the arrangements about water-carts, water-bottles, and other details, are matters which are left—and I think very properly left—to the Military Authorities on the spot. Until I see reason to believe that they failed in the exercise of the power thus entrusted to them, I do not propose to institute what is practically an inquiry into the manner in which they perform their duty. The House generally may be glad to learn that, as I am informed, not a single man fell out during the march past at Aldershot.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—GWEEDORE, CO. DONEGAL.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If an application has been made to the authorities for military and police to assist in carrying out a series of evictions on the estate of Captain Hill, at Gweedore, County Donegal; if his attention has been called to an article which appeared in *The Londonderry Sentinel* of the 9th June—

> "But, in addition to the execution of the 60 ejectment decrees, the procedure in connection with which will be the putting out of the inmates and furniture and the securing up of the doors, opportunity will be taken to execute some 37 warrants in cases where tenants have been re-instated as caretakers, and have failed to redeem within the stipulated period of six months. In these instances the houses will be pulled down and final possession taken over by the agent on behalf of the landlord;"

and, in what capacity has Colonel Stewart been sent to Gweedore, or has his presence there any connection with these "contemplated evictions?"

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the hon. Member had favoured him with a copy of the newspaper referred to. He did not know on what evidence the statement in the paper had been made. He understood, however, that the Sheriff had told the County Inspector of Constabulary that it was possible he would make application for military and police protection in this case for some day not yet fixed. Gweedore was made the headquarters of a Resident Magistrate, and Colonel Stewart, as one of the Resident Magistrates, had been sent there.

MR. O'HEA asked, if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would say whether it was in expectation of the evictions that Colonel Stewart was sent to Gweedore?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, Colonel Stewart was not sent in consequence of expected evictions; but because the whole of the district had been in a disturbed state for some time.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM—TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS AT RUTHIN.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the fact that the 31 persons accused of taking part in the disturbances at Llangwm were summoned to the Petty Sessions at Ruthin (which is 18 miles distant from Llangwm, and not connected with it by any public conveyance) instead of Cerrig-y-Druidion (which is close to Llangwm), because the magistrates could not be forced to sit together at the latter place; whether the difficulty in making a quorum at Cerrig-y-Druidion arises from a personal quarrel between the four Justices of the Peace resident in that Petty Sessional Division, or some of them; and, whether (if the fact be so), he will draw the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the hardship inflicted upon these 31 defendants (most of whom are very poor men) and their witnesses by their having to proceed on foot over so great a distance to answer a charge which might have been preferred against them close to their own homes?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): As already stated to the House on May 12, in answer to the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis), whatever difficulty there may be in making a quorum of the Bench at Cerrig-y-Druidion arises not from a personal quarrel between the Justices, but from the paucity of their number. The issuing of summonses in the Llangwm case from Ruthin instead of Cerrig-y-Druidion was not due to any such difficulty in making a quorum at Cerrig-y-Druidion; but was determined upon by those in charge of the prosecution, principally on the ground that at Cerrig-y-Druidion there was no proper Court accommodation for the numerous defendants and witnesses.

HEREDITARY REVENUE OF THE CROWN—THE RECEIVER.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What is the total annual cost of the Office of the Receiver of Hereditary Revenue; whether he performs any other duty than that of such Receiver; and, what has been the annual amount received by him during the last five years in respect of such Hereditary Revenue only?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The total annual cost of the Office is £445 (£300 salary of Receiver, and £145 Office expenses). He also collects some fines which are not part of the Hereditary Revenue—such as fines under the Merchant Shipping Act and the Explosives Act. The amount received by him during the last five years in respect of Hereditary Revenue only has been £7,821, averaging £1,504 per annum. His other civil receipts have amounted in the five years to £12,322.

ADMIRALTY—DEVONPORT AND OTHER DOCKYARDS—DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact that, on Saturday, 30 shipwrights were discharged from and left Devonport Dockyard; that the same number of mechanics were given notice to quit a week hence; and that an average of about 30 men, mostly all shipwrights, will be discharged from the yard each week for the next two months; what is the total number of mechanics, shipwrights, and other Dockyard men who have been discharged from the Devonport and other Dockyards respectively, since the month of November last, when these discharges commenced; whether it is contemplated to continue these discharges, and to what extent; whether the Admiralty contemplate reducing the strength of the *employés* in other Departments; and, whether the Admiralty have, at the same time, dispensed with the services, or cut down the salaries, of any, and which, of the superior officials connected with the said Dockyard?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The number of men in the Dockyards was last year largely in excess of the requirements of the Service, and we have had imposed upon us the unpleasant duty of discharging the redundant number of hired men, who ought in past years to have been discharged at the completion of the work for which they were engaged, and we must continue these reductions until the numbers are adjusted to the work to be done. The salaries of nearly the whole of the superior officials were fixed when the numbers of men employed were much lower than they are present; and these officers, as well as the shipwrights and other *employés* on the establishment, are, in contradistinction to the hired men, entitled to continuous employment.

STATE OF IRELAND—CHARGE OF MR. JUSTICE O'BRIEN AT CLARE ASSIZES.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the fact that Mr. Justice O'Brien, when presiding at the current Clare Assizes, said—

> "The criminal business you will have to deal with at the present Assizes, in performance of your duty as Grand Jurors, consists of but very few cases."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): If the hon. Member wishes for more information about Mr. Justice O'Brien's Charge, I am bound to oblige him; and I will read the two lines contained in his Question with so much of the context as is necessary to understand them—

"The criminal business you will have to deal with at the present Assizes, in performance of your duty as Grand Jurors, consists of but very few cases, those of any moment among those few being cases which, by reason of their having been committed in the presence of the constabulary, did not require any sympathy on the part of the community to make them answerable for the actual offences of any kind that have been committed since last Assizes. The cases that will be laid before you constitute but a very trifling amount. Indeed, from all the accounts that I have received as to the state of this county in the interval since last Assizes, on which occasion it became my duty to take a survey of its condition in reference to the maintenance of the law and public order, all these accounts concur in representing that no kind of improvement whatsoever has been made in the county. The information that I have been able to collect of various kinds, consisting in the communications of official persons whose duty it is to take part in the administration of the law, or actual reports of offences committed, and other information I have received—these, I regret to say, lead me to the inevitable conclusion that this County of Clare possesses the bad distinction of being the worst part of Ireland in respect of social disturbance and disorder; and to the further conclusion, not less inevitable, that this County of Clare is worse at present than at any time before, even as to actual crime, compared with the corresponding period last year."

Mr. J. E. ELLIS asked, whether the calendar of crime did not show a decided improvement?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had not checked the account given by the Judge with the actual figures in the calendar.

Mr. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid): I should like the right hon. Gentleman to say if Judge O'Brien himself examined the Return laid before the House of outrages in Clare for the past three months; and whether he is aware that the Charge was made in a constituency where Judge O'Brien was defeated as a Home Rule candidate?

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the outrages perpetrated at Bodyke were in the Return laid before Judge O'Brien?

Mr. GOSCHEN said, he had been unable to dissect the statistics or the information upon which Mr. Justice O'Brien administered the law—administered justice. It was for the House and the public to judge.

PRISONS (SCOTLAND) — SALARY OF MEDICAL OFFICERS OF GLASGOW.

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the small sum paid to the Medical Officer of Glasgow (Duke Street) Prison as compared with the sums paid to the Medical Officers of Liverpool, Wakefield, and Strangeways Prisons; and, whether he is prepared to place Glasgow on a more equal position with similar prisons in England?

The SECRETARY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, that his attention had been called to this question both by the hon. Member and by other hon. Members; but he could not admit the justice of the suggestion made by the hon. Member in the Question. The surgeon referred to was on the highest scale allowed to medical officers in Scottish prisons; and quite recently the Treasury allowed him to have the maximum of his scale two years before it would have been due in the ordinary course. He might add, what perhaps the hon. Member was aware of, that this question was still under consideration. It was, for the moment, out of the hands of the Treasury, and in the hands of the Scottish Office; but he should not neglect the matter.

Mr. CALDWELL: Is there any reason why the scale of Prison Medical Officers' salaries should be different in Scotland from what they are in England?

Mr. JACKSON said, he was afraid he could not answer a Question of that sort off-hand. What he had to deal with was, as far as possible, to see that the scale already fixed was adhered to, unless there was some good reason stated for departing from it.

THE JUBILEE DAY IN LONDON — MEDALS FOR THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the medals which it is proposed to bestow on the Metropolitan Police are to be provided at the public expense; and, if so, whether he will reconsider the matter, with a view to make a more suitable acknowledgment of the services of the police on the 21st June last?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): The cost of the medals will be provided out of the Metropolitan Police Fund. It is not my intention to reconsider the matter, the Chief Commissioner being of opinion that the grant of a day's pay and three days' extra holiday on full pay, in addition to these commemorative medals, would be appreciated by the Force as a recognition of their services; and the available funds at the disposal of the Commissioners do not admit of a larger recognition, even if that were desirable.

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—CONTRACT FOR HIDES.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether the hides returned to Messrs. Ross, re-dressed by them, and now supposed to be fit for reissue, were reported in the first instance as having been damaged, if not virtually destroyed, by the action of chemicals in the process of tanning; and, if so, if any amount of re-dressing could possibly make them really serviceable, or otherwise than "worthless," as reported by the Inspector General of Cavalry?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The Colonel commanding the 2nd Dragoons suggested that one hide had been destroyed by chemicals in the process of tanning; but this statement proves to be incorrect, and the hides have been found in thoroughly serviceable condition.

PUBLIC WORKS AND IMPROVEMENTS (IRELAND)—ALLOCATION OF THE GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION OF £50,000.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Between what objects and in what proportions it is proposed to allocate the sum of £50,000, granted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for purposes of Irish improvement?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Government propose to devote the larger part of this sum to drainage works of a character that can be carried out without the necessity of waiting for preliminary legislation, £12,000 being allocated to works on the Shannon, £6,000 to the Bann, and £5,000 to the Barrow. This is exclusive of £7,000 for preliminary inquiries, with a view to the preparation of a general scheme and legislation next Session for the Barrow and elsewhere, making a total of £30,000 for drainage purposes. It is also proposed to devote £5,000 to the completion of works undertaken by the Piers and Roads Commission for the relief of distress last year in the Counties of Galway and Mayo; £5,000, to be administered through the Royal Dublin Society, as prizes for the purpose of promoting improvement in the breed of horses and cattle; £5,000 as a grant to the Industrial Fisheries School at Baltimore; £1,000 for the establishment of a technical school in connection with the Donegal Industrial Fund; and £750 for the enlargement of the Munster Dairy School. Some minor questions and rival claims remain to be settled; but it is hoped that the estimate for the whole sum will be ready to be submitted to the House within a few days.

MR. HAYDEN (Leitrim, S.) asked, what was the nature of the proposed works on the Shannon?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, they were arterial drainage works.

MR. HAYDEN: Will they not have the effect of saving the Government an annual charge?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: If the hon. Gentleman will put the Question on the Paper, I will be able to understand it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman say if he understands this Question—How soon is it intended to commence the drainage works on the Bann?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: As soon as possible.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the statement of the Parliamentary Under Secretary as to the allocation of the £50,000 was prepared under his guidance and under the sanction of the Treasury; and upon what principle the different sums had been arrived at; and under whose directions and whose approval?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) asked the hon. Gentleman to put the Question down on the Paper. He imagined the natural time to discuss the matter would be when the Estimate was brought up.

MR. T. M. HEALY said, the right hon. Gentleman stated a month ago that he himself would give this information to the House.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—HELMETS AND CLOTHING FOR SUMMER WEAR.

MR. QUILTER (Suffolk, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government will consider the desirability of supplying to the police a helmet of a lighter colour, and something in the nature of a blouse for wear on duty during the summer months?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I stated, in reply to a Question in September last, that the Chief Commissioner was in favour of the present system of clothing, thinking that in our variable climate there is more danger from wet and cold than from excessive heat. The Chief Commissioner is still of this opinion; and, accordingly, I am not prepared to advise any alteration in the dress of the police.

MR. QUILTER: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he is aware that such arrangements as I have suggested have been made in other parts of the Kingdom with satisfactory results?

MR. MATTHEWS: No; I am not aware of that fact.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BARROW.

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following important Resolution passed by the Mountmellick Board of Guardians on the 25th June:—

> "That this Board, having considered the Report on nuisances stated to exist in Portarlington, and having evidence produced to prove the impossibility of carrying out any system of drainage while the bed of the River Barrow remains higher than the existing drains, earnestly press on the Executive the need of taking steps to have the Barrow drainage undertaken forthwith, before an outbreak of disease occurs in some of the towns affected by its present pestilential condition;"

whether, in view of this Resolution, the works will be commenced at once; and, whether the £5,000 promised for this purpose will be spent on the actual drainage of the river, instead of being swallowed up in a preliminary inquiry?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, this Resolution did not appear to have been received by the Irish Government; but they had received one from the Maryborough Guardians in somewhat similar terms, passed on the 11th June. There would be no unnecessary delay in commencing the works; and, as he had already stated, the £5,000 would be expended on the works, and the expenses of the preliminary inquiry in connection with the general scheme would be otherwise provided for.

EGYPT—THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Sir H. Drummond Wolff is still in Constantinople; and, if so, how long it is intended that he shall remain there waiting the ratification of the Convention by the Ottoman Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): His Imperial Majesty was unable to receive Sir H. Drummond Wolff previous to his intended departure last week from Constantinople, and named Friday, the 15th, for his final audience. It is not intended that Sir H. Drummond Wolff's departure shall be delayed longer.

MR. BRYCE: My right hon. Friend says "it is not intended;" I must ask him, whether the House is to understand that Friday next will finally and positively terminate the unparalleled and undignified position in which Her Majesty's Government have placed this country?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: No, Sir; I cannot give any such positive undertaking; but I can undertake to say that when the House is fully in possession of what has taken place, as it will be in a few days, by the Papers being placed in the hands of hon. Members, they will not be of opinion that either the dignity or the interests of this country have been compromised in any way.

MR. BRYCE: I shall have to repeat this Question so long as the present condition of thing lasts.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Can the right hon. Gentleman state what Sir H. Drummond Wolff is doing now?

[No reply.]

THE JUBILEE WEEK—THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE.

MR. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the men in the Metropolitan Fire Brigade will, as in the case of the Metropolitan Police, receive any special gratuity for their extraordinary services during the Jubilee week?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Metropolitan Board of Works that the men of the Brigade were kept at their stations for two or three days in the week of the Jubilee; but, happily, no fire of unusual magnitude occurred. There was not, therefore, as in the case of the police, any call for such extra exertions on the part of the firemen as to justify a special gratuity being given to them.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM — TRIAL OF THE RIOTERS AT RUTHIN.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that the Justices at the Special Sessions at Ruthin affirmed, on Friday, 8th July, that they had no power to authorize the payment to the defendants and their witnesses in the Llangwm tithes trials of the expenses consequent on the trial being held at Ruthin instead of in their own Petty Sessional Division of Cerrig-y-Druidion; and, whether the Treasury will undertake to pay the expenses necessitated by the change in the place of trial? He also wished to know, why the Public Prosecutor had instituted this trial after a general inquiry had been promised; and whether it was usual or regular to change the place of trial at the instance of the prosecution?

MR. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) asked, whether it was not the case that Cerrig-y-Druidion was a long distance from any railway communication; and whether it was not the fact that all the witnesses and people concerned in this trial could be far more easily accommodated at Ruthin?

MR. BOWEN ROWLANDS (Cardiganshire) asked whether it was not the case that some of the prisoners would have to go 20 miles from their homes to Ruthin?

THE SECETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): In answer to the Question on the Paper, I am not aware whether the Justices made the statement suggested by the hon. Member; but I am advised that they had no power to authorize the payment of the expenses of the defendants. They can give a certificate on which payment of the expenses of the defendants' witnesses are afterwards paid. The Treasury have no power under the Statutes to pay the expenses of the defendants before the Justices, and there is no precedent for their doing so. In answer to the further question put to me by the hon. Member, the inquiry that is going to take place about the tithe rent-charge disturbances in North Wales cannot possibly supersede or take the place of a prosecution on a criminal charge brought against a number of defendants under the ordinary Criminal Law. The place of trial has not been changed, being still within the jurisdiction of the magistrate. I am not able to state where all the prisoners live. They are, I think, 31 in number, and many of them live at considerable distances from any Court House. The accommodation at Cerrig-y-Druidion is totally insufficient and inadequate for the number of persons concerned.

In reply to Mr. PULESTON (Devonport),

MR. MATTHEWS said, that no final appointment had yet been made of Sub-Commissioners or Secretary to the Commission of Inquiry.

IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN PAUPERS.

MR. AGG-GARDNER (Cheltenham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, as stated in *The Evening News*, to endeavour to restrict by legislative action the increasing importation of foreign paupers into this country; and, if so, how soon a measure dealing with this pressing question will be introduced?

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked, whether the Government had any information to lead them to suppose that the importation was increasing?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I must ask the hon. Member to give Notice of the last Question. The question of restricting the importation of foreign paupers is under the consideration of the Government. It is a question of much difficulty; and I am unable to fix a time when it will be possible to legislate upon it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Are the Government going to take any steps to prevent the exportation of native paupers to America?

[No reply.]

METROPOLITAN POLICE REGULATION ACT—THE METROPOLITAN MAGISTRATES.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Mr. Newton was one of the magistrates who took part in the conference of Metropolitan magistrates; and whether, prior to that meeting, any case had come before Mr. Newton's Court by which the illegality of the interpretation of the law as agreed upon at such conference had been brought under Mr. Newton's notice; whether the Metropolitan magistrates have similarly met and agreed to act upon any special interpretation of the law in reference to the right of public meeting in the open spaces of the Metropolis, and the action of the police in protecting the promoters of such meetings from disturbers of the peace; and, whether he will call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the matter?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Mr. Newton, the police magistrate at Marlborough Street Court, stated that he could not say positively whether he took part in a conference of Metropolitan magistrates on the 25th of November last; but his impression was that he was not present. In 1884 his attention was called to an alleged illegality in acting on the uncorroborated evidence of a police-constable; but the conclusion come to by the magistrates in 1883—and again adhered to in November last—was that there was no illegality in acting on the evidence of a police-constable, uncorroborated by any other witness. The Metropolitan magistrates had never, at any conference or otherwise, agreed to act upon any special interpretation of the law in reference to the right of public meeting in the open spaces of the Metropolis, or the action of the police in protecting the promoters of such meetings from disturbers of the peace.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government to enable the House to deal with the arrears of Business, particularly with the remaining Rules of Procedure, in an Autumn Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to make at this period any statement with regard to arrears of Business which may exist at the end of this Session.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

In reply to Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that it was proposed to-morrow to proceed with the Estimates as they stood on the Paper.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND) — EVICTIONS ON THE BROOKE ESTATE, COOLGREANY, CO. WEXFORD.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that during the evictions now going on in Wexford, on the Brooke estate, a house was burned to the ground on yesterday, before the Sheriff had taken possession of it; and whether the bailiff who burned that house on the previous day was deliberately proceeding to throw the women from the top window of a house until the police rushed in and rescued the women?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): No, Sir; I have no information at all on the subject. If the hon. Member will put down the Question on the Paper I will answer it to-morrow.

LICENSED PREMISES (EARLIER CLOSING) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), Whether there was any doubt about his proceeding with the Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) Bill that night?

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, before he answered the Question he wished to ask the Leader of the House whether, considering the fact that on Friday last he gave way in proceeding with the Bill for the convenience of the House, the right hon. Gentleman would, if he again postponed the Bill that night, grant him similar facilities for proceeding with it to those he had granted the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) in proceeding with the Bill which he had in charge?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster) said, it was quite obvious that if the Government endeavoured to facilitate the progress of Bills in charge of private Members, they would expose themselves to great difficulties. He could only appeal to the hon. Gentleman not to bring this measure on at an hour which would expose the House to the inconvenience of sitting up to a late period. He was sure he would feel that the conduct of Public Business was not satisfactory at 3, 4, and 5 o'clock in the morning. He would endeavour to do his best to find an opportunity for considering the Bill, if the hon. Member, on his part, would endeavour to seize such opportunities as would offer themselves to him.

Dr. CAMERON said, he would undertake not to proceed that night with the Bill at a late hour if the right hon. Gentleman would give him the facilities he asked for.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he could not give the hon. Member any absolute pledge. Certainly he would endeavour to meet the hon. Gentleman as far as he possibly could.

Dr. CAMERON: On that understanding I may say if the Bill comes on at an unreasonable hour I shall not go on with it.

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Sir John Gorst) (Chatham): I will, Sir, take the opportunity of amplifying an explanation which I gave to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) a few nights ago on the subject of the Ruby Mines in Burmah. I have since received a telegram from the Viceroy of India to the following effect:—

> "I find that the statement that Streeter's people are not at work on the mines requires qualification, for Crosthwaite—Chief Commissioner in Burmah—has just informed us that he had authorized his Deputy Commissioner to permit persons who wished to dig for rubies to do so, under the old system, and without use of machinery, as provisional means of enhancing revenue, until final decision can be arrived at in regard to the disposition of the mines, and that a written permit had been issued to Streeter's son, as it might have been to any other similar applicant. Crosthwaite adds that he considers this an ordinary act of the local executive, and not of sufficient importance to be reported to the Government of India. It is quite a distinct matter from leasing of Crown monopoly right, on which action is suspended pending your decision."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): In consequence of the statement of the hon. Gentleman, which he would not call an amplification, but rather a contradiction of the previous answer, asked on what conditions the permission to Messrs. Streeter had been granted; at what date the permit was issued; how it was possible that Streeters were working the mine if it were true, as previously stated, that no contract whatever had yet been entered into with reference to the working of the mines; and how the now admitted fact that the representatives of Streeters were actually at work was consistent with the former denial?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member must put Notice of that Question on the Paper in the usual way.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: It is in consequence of the communication from the hon. Gentleman ——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give Notice of the Question.

Mr. BRADLAUGH said, that he would then ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he would, in view of the absolutely contradictory answers given during the last 12 months from time to time with reference to the Burmah Ruby Mines, take care that the Papers dating back to February, 1886, were laid on the Table forthwith, so that the House might form its own opinion on the whole case.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, there would be no delay in laying the Papers on the Table as soon as the decision of the Secretary of State had been taken on the question of which he had only now been informed.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Then I will put the Question on the Paper for Friday?

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

IRISH LAND LAW BILL [*Lords*].

[BILL 308.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to Land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for affording such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) said, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), in his speech of yesterday, addressed very pointedly to the Irish Members who sat below the Gangway a question to the following effect—he asked us whether we were prepared to say that in the present condition of this Bill we would reject it with contempt? Sir, although I do not undertake to answer for the whole of my Friends, so far as I go personally, I have not the slightest difficulty in replying to that question. I say that, with the exception of the 1st clause, that I most unquestionably would reject the Bill with contempt as a measure of relief, and I believe that in making that statement I am expressing the view not alone of that portion of the farming population of Ireland who sympathize with us politically, but that I am also expressing the view of the body of farmers in the North of Ireland who do not at present sympathize with our political views.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): No, no!

MR. DILLON: The hon. Member for South Tyrone can express himself on the matter shortly; but I shall take the opportunity of visiting his constituency, and taking their opinion on it. I accept, Mr. Speaker, the 1st clause; but even with regard to that portion of the Bill, although undeniably and admittedly in its present shape it would confer upon a large and important class of tenants in Ireland very great benefits, it is so marred and mutilated by restrictions and drawbacks that even in the case of the 1st clause the grace of the concession is almost entirely destroyed. Now, Sir, I am aware that there are in this measure two or three clauses which would appear to grant some benefit to the tenantry of Ireland. The 2nd clause and the 6th clause are of that character; but looking at the Bill as a whole, and accepting the supposition which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham asked us in his question, I have not the slightest hesitation in repeating the reply that I gave to him last night, and saying that apart from the 1st clause I do reject that measure with contempt, as inadequate and utterly worthless to the tenantry of Ireland, and I think I shall be able to prove, notwithstanding the contradiction of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, that I am supported in this view of this Bill, not by the Nationalist Party alone, but by the body by whose votes certain Gentlemen have been enabled to sit in this House, and profess themselves to be Representatives of the tenants, when in reality they represent the interests of the landlords. I have here an extract from an article written upon this Bill by *The Londonderry Standard*, a journal which more than any other paper in Ireland represents the independent opinion of the Presbyterian farmers of the North of Ireland; and what does that paper say, writing upon the 6th of July, in reference to the present measure? It says, after recounting the misfortunes and grievances of the tenantry of Ireland—

> "This new Land Bill in its present shape will accentuate these evils, and should it pass into law, the last state of the tenant farmers will be considerably worse than the first."

This is the view of *The Londonderry Standard*, and I challenge the hon. Member for South Tyrone, when he proceeds to enlighten the House to-day, to deny the fact that the readers of *The Londonderry Standard* are the Liberal Presbyterian farmers of Ulster whom, to my regret, we have not succeeded in converting to our views in political matters. But *The Londonderry Standard* goes on to say—

> "It will not pass into law. The Liberals and Liberal Unionists will not run the danger of having such odium cast upon them by not opposing it with all their power and throwing it like an unclean thing out of the House."

These are not the words of Nationalists —they are the deliberate and written opinions of a journal which is entitled, as I have already stated, to speak more authoritatively on behalf of the Northern farmers of Ireland than any other newspaper in Ireland. Towards the close of his speech the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham asked me this question. He said—

> "What measure has ever been introduced by English statesmen professing to offer amelioration to the condition of the people of Ireland which has not been met by the Representatives of Ireland with contempt?"

Sir, I reply to that question by pointing to the 8th of April of last year, when, for the first time, an English statesman really understood the Irish Question, and really offered a full measure of amelioration to the Irish people; and was that measure met with contempt by the Representatives of Ireland? But, suppose that I lay aside the case of the 8th of April of last year, I utterly deny that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham has made out his case. Was the Bill of 1870 met by the Representatives of Ireland, miserably inadequate as it proved to be, with contempt? It was not. It was met with criticism, in which the Irish Members were proved to be right and the English Ministers wrong. Was the Land Bill of 1881 met with contempt? It was met with adverse criticism; and I ask every intelligent Member on both sides of this House whether time has not justified us in the criticisms we made on that Bill then. What were the points on which we found fault with the Bill of 1881? We complained of the exclusion of leaseholders, and the fixing of rents on the tenants' improvements. We complained of charging the judicial rents from the date of the hearing of the case, instead of from the date of the application. We complained of the exclusion of town parks. And, finally, we stated that the measure could not, in our opinion, be a final settlement of the Irish Land Question; and that we considered no measure could be looked upon with any degree of hope as a final settlement of that question which did not provide some machinery by which the occupier could become the owner of his farm. Let the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, or any other hon. Member of the House, stand up and point to a single one of the criticisms which we made from these Benches --I had not the opportunity myself of making any, for I was in another place —and let him say that time has not justified us in every one of those criticisms; and here we have this House wasting their time year after year in attempting, often too late, to bring relief to the suffering people of Ireland by successive Bills, dragged out of the Government inch by inch, to enact the very list of things which we asked them to do in 1881, and which they did not do from insufficiency of knowledge, and from the fatal habit which has been abandoned by the Liberal Party, but is still strong in the present Government and their supporters—namely, that they will take suggestions and advice from every quarter except from the Representatives of the people of Ireland. I deny the statement that we have met in the past the attempts of English statesmen with contempt. We have met them with criticism, and, as I have pointed out already, our criticisms have always, on every point, been fully and amply justified. We stated that the Bill of 1881 could not be regarded as a final settlement of the Irish Land Question. What is the commonplace language of the Government to-day? Did we not listen here last night to the statement made on behalf of the Government that they regarded this, the fourth Bill within six years, as merely a temporary expedient to tide them over a few months until they introduce a Bill which will be the final and ultimate settlement, but which I say will be the ultimate settlement on one condition, and one condition alone—namely, that it carries out the policy we recommended in the year 1881. Now, Sir, I come to the general character of the speech which was delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. As I listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, urging his Amendments to the Bill upon the attention of the Government, I was reminded of a story which I heard in my nursery days of men named Brown, Jones, and Robinson, who in their travels abroad were brought to see a certain famous horse, supposed to be the horse of William Tell; but when they proceeded to examine it they found that the legs, head, and a portion of the body had been put on, all the rest of the horse being genuine. This would be very much the position of the Government Bill after the Amendments of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. Now, what I want to ask is this—it would be for the advantage of the House, and it is necessary to continue the debate with any degree of usefulness—that some prominent Member of the Government should now stand up and inform us whether we are from this hour to debate the second reading of the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, because the two Bills are absolutely different and absolutely inconsistent Bills, and I find myself in this difficulty—that while I am prepared to reject with scorn and contempt the Bill of the Government, and while I am confident that my constituents, aye, and the constituents of the hon. Member for South Tyrone—notwithstanding his continued denials—would support me in any such course, still, if the Amendments which were suggested by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham would be accepted by the Government, I should find myself face to face with a totally different Bill, and should be obliged to reconsider my position. I do not think I am making an unfair demand when I ask that before this debate proceeds any further the Government should tell us frankly and straightforwardly which Bill we are debating the second reading of. When they have made that statement we shall be in a position to know what attitude to adopt towards the Bill, and the discussion can then go on with some degree of usefulness. What were the alterations suggested by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham? One was, as I understood him, an extension of the leaseholders' clause to such an extent as would make it certainly much more acceptable to the tenants of Ireland, and, as far as I could follow him, would make it entirely satisfactory. Then he proposed to abandon the very kernel and essence of the Bill, and throw it away altogether, and to substitute for it some measure which, as far as I could understand his speech, was to be on lines which we have always endeavoured to lay down. How can we proceed to debate the Bill, which professes to be a measure for preventing harsh evictions, when, with regard to the provisions which are pointed to deal with the prevention of evictions, we are utterly in the dark as to what those provisions will ultimately be? Sir, if the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and his Friends are sincere and honest when they say they will press upon the Government certain alterations in the character of this Bill, we know perfectly well that the Government are powerless to resist them. Was that speech to be followed up by action, or was it not? Did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham mean that he would compel the Government to introduce these Amendments and changes, as he can, or did he mean the speech for the country, and not for the House? If he chooses to follow up his speech by action, his action would be irresistible, because he can dictate terms to the Government, which only exists by the toleration of his Party. I want to know whether the right hon. Member for West Birmingham means to alter this Bill, or does not mean to alter it, and whether his speech was in earnest or merely for the country? I must confess the impression conveyed to my mind—and I regret it for the sake of the Irish tenants—was of the latter character, because my experience of Parliamentary tactics leads me to this conclusion — that when you want to amend the measure you ought not to begin by informing the Government that in its present shape it is a large and generous one, and when I heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham emphatically state that even if no change was introduced he would do nothing to embarrass the Government, and that he considered the measure in its present state large and generous, I must confess it appeared to me a direct invitation to the Government to resist change and maintain the Bill as it stood. Surely the right hon. Member for West Birmingham is far too old a bird in Parliament to believe that a Government can be got to alter a Bill merely by argument. We are entitled to ask whether the four Leaders of the Unionist Party intend to amend this Bill or not—they are the dictators, and they ought to speak out. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham found fault with the late Chief Secretary for not being impartial; but the right hon. Gentleman was himself on many points grossly partial. The right hon. Gentleman, in asking what was the grievance of Ireland in that matter, stated a fallacy; and this fallacy has been so frequently stated, and comprises such a monstrous misstatement, that I think it desirable and necessary that it should never be allowed to pass uncontradicted. He is a man of vast ability, and no doubt he is much my master on the subject of the manufacturing industries; but on agricultural matters he displays an extraordinary amount of ignorance. The right hon. Gentleman said that the grievance of Ireland amounted to this—that upon the evidence of the Cowper Commission there had been a fall of prices of such a character as justified a fall of 18 per cent in rents. A more monstrous misstatement of the case could hardly be conceived. There had been a fall of agricultural prices of close upon, if not fully, 20 per cent all round; and anybody at all acquainted with agriculture must know that a fall of less than 20 per cent in prices in innumerable instances meant the wiping out of all profits whatever. A fall of that extent in the gross value of produce not only obliterated rent, but made the whole business of the farmer a losing one. Dividing the loss caused by the fall of prices between the landlord and tenant, the lowest estimate that I have heard put upon it by practical farmers is that it is equal to a reduction of 40 per cent in the rent. That condition of things has been going on for two years, and Irish tenants are being reduced to beggary. I have referred to the terrible evictions on the Bodyke estate. The notoriousl and agent, Captain Hamilton, has proceeded against unfortunate tenants not only by way of ejectment, but, to use the figurative language of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, he has entered both by the front door and the back door at the same time; because he has resorted both to process of ejectment and also of *fieri facias.* The right hon. Gentleman, however, declared that the whole question at issue was one of 18 per cent. The question really at issue in Ireland is this and nothing less, and hon. Members ought to remember it in dealing with this Bill, under which probably over half the entire population of the country are to be dragged down, in spite of their utmost efforts and industry, into a condition of pauperism, and are to find relief in the Bankruptcy Clauses. Anybody who knows anything about farming knows that no greater misfortune can be inflicted on a country than to fasten on the soil men who are unable to cultivate the soil. If you are to give relief to the farming population it must come before their capital is all gone, and before they are reduced to such a condition as to be almost a curse instead of a blessing to their country. What is the history of this Bill? It is based on the Report of a Commission. We heard from the right hon. Member for Birmingham an eloquent passage in his speech in which he repudiated the idea that England was to be governed by Commissions. Quite so—I do not want her to be; but what we are entitled to ask is that when a Commission consisting of Lords and landlords has inquired into the condition of the Irish farmer, any departure you think right to make from the recommendations of that Commission should be in the direction of benefit to the farmers who are suffering. Is it to be expected that the farmers will be satisfied with a measure which makes a marked departure from the recommendations of the Commission in the direction of further benefiting not tenant, but the landlord? But another feature of the Bill which renders it suspicious is its place of origin. No sane man could ever have expected a Bill for the benefit of the Irish tenant to originate in the House of Lords; it certainly would have been welcomed in Ireland as one of the most extraordinary phenomena in modern politics if a measure originating in the House of Lords conferred any substantial benefit upon the tenants. He had seen an admirable *résumé* of the provisions of the Bill and its relation to the Report of the Commission. It is there said that the Government seem to have been struck with the hardship of evictions and the impression they had made on the public, and they felt the necessity of doing something. It was asked whether it would not be better to make the rents just, and to leave the power of getting them alone, than to adopt the other plan of leaving the rents too high. It was also alleged that, without the Bankruptcy Clauses, the Bill did simply nothing so far as the tenants are concerned; but it is added by the speaker that he did not wish to see the Bill opposed, although it certainly did not carry out the recommendations of the Commission. The speaker of the words which I have quoted is Earl Cowper. But what is the history of the inception and hatching of this Bill? I have read some remarks of Lord Salisbury apologizing for the Bill, and stating that the Government have "invited comments on the measure, advice, and Amendments." But where does he invite them from? The noble Lord says from all quarters. Yes; from all quarters except from Irishmen. He had to deal with a Bill to apply to Irishmen alone, and everyone was welcome to make suggestions, to propose Amendments, and to give opinions, except those who had the interest of the Irish tenants most at heart. We are in a position to state that no advice, no Amendment, no opinion, and no information was sought amongst our ranks; and, certainly, I think it is hardly a wise proceeding on the part of the Government, who are departing from the recommendations of a great Commission like the Cowper Commission, and who are introducing a Bill in a very suspicious way, in a very hostile way, purporting to remedy the grievances of the Irish tenants, to carefully abstain seeking any advice or suggestion from the men who represent the interests of the Irish. I shall now refer to the clauses of the Bill. The 1st clause is good as far as it goes, except that, while giving something to one class of Irish tenants, so strong is the greed of the landlords, they cannot resist the temptation to put their hands into the pockets of another class of tenants, robbing them and compelling them to break leases, so that they might plunder the tenants of their possessions. I do not know whether the one class of tenants will accept this Bill on these terms, or whether they will wait a little while for a more complete measure. As to Clause 2, I think there is little to say against it. It makes a concession which ought to have been made seven years ago. It is now all too late, and it is a little ambiguous; but otherwise it is the most unobjectionable clause in the Bill. I now come to Clause 4, and of which I can only say that it is an infamous and atrocious attempt to take away from the tenants of Ireland their last few remaining protections—protections which have caused this Bill to be introduced by drawing public attention to the matter. The Government propose to deal with tenants under the Coercion Act, and this clause is a clause to make eviction easy and to enable iniquity to be done in the dark, and it is characteristic of the Tory Party. To that clause we must give the most determined and resolute opposition. Clause 6, dealing with town parks, would relieve a few farmers; but the great mass of the grievance which is suffered by those excluded by the excepting clause of the Act of 1881 is left untouched—in fact, the provision is little better than a sham and a delusion. Clause 21 is most dishonest, and the Irish Members will have to resist it to the very utmost of their ability. What does it amount to? It amounts to a premium upon eviction. The man who is a rack-renter and public enemy will be allowed to shift from his shoulders his portion of the public burden, and share it among his neighbours who had acted the part of honest and decent men. It has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary—but it is not in the Bill—that it is intended to confine this to cases under £4. That will lessen the evil, but it does not affect the principle, which is an iniquity. I shall await with astonishment to hear by what arguments the Government are going to support this clause. I pass on to Clauses

19 and 20, which provide for the alteration of the Courts of Appeal. Clauses 19 and 20 must receive from these Benches the most determined opposition. They are clauses which would destroy such confidence as is felt in Ireland in the administration of the Land Court. With the present Government in power, and with the sample we have of the use they make of the power of appointment, I have no hesitation in saying that if they persist in introducing Clauses 19 and 20 they will create something like a rebellion against the Land Court in Ireland, and all confidence in it will be lost. I come to the proposal of the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the relief of glebe tenants. We might have hoped that the case of the glebe tenants, which was being supported by all sections in this House, would have received at the hands of the Government a more kindly and generous consideration. We know that they purchased their holdings at fully double what they were worth—we know that they paid for them a rack-price; we know that they paid that price under the terrible threat that if they did not buy their holdings at the price laid down by the valuator, who swore before a Committee of this House that his instructions were to value high if he could; we know that they purchased under the terrible threat that if they did not buy their holdings at the valuation of the Commissioners their land would be sold over their heads to the worst class of Irish landlords—namely, the land-jobbers, who buy in order to raise the rent. What is the condition of these men at present? They are men who, it has been admitted by everybody, are the very models of industry, self-sacrifice, and honest payment; and the small extent of arrears due by these men was admitted in this House as an astonishing fact, in view of all the circumstances of the cases. Now they have broken down under their terrible load, and the wonder is that they have managed to keep so long in their farms. I had a letter from Ulster the other night, which describes how men lately fled to America in the night in despair, from the overwhelming burden of their debt—men who had fought and struggled against hope to meet their liabilities, and who were obliged to fly in that humiliating way in order to escape their difficulties. I got a letter a few days ago from a Protestant in Ulster, who described a scene that he saw at a hiring fair the other day, which really ought to excite the compassion of every man in this House. He saw a friend of his, a Rathfriland farmer, who had 15 acres of land and 11 children—the two eldest boys were in England, and sending home their wages—he saw him standing in the hiring fair with his two daughters, the younger being nine years old, trying to hire them to some man in order to meet his instalment, and he told my friend that he had borrowed £100, his share of the purchase money, at 5 per cent interest, from a money-lender on his note of hand, without any other security, and that note was renewed last year, proving the confidence of the money-lender that he would pay if he could. All I want to say with regard to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's proposal for the relief of these men is this—that it would be far better to leave them alone than to make such proposals as were made last night. You cannot do a more foolish thing than bring half relief to a farmer—you waste your money, and he becomes worse than he was before. Better let him go into the workhouse, and let some other person take his land. What you should do is either to make up your mind to give him such relief as will enable him to carry on and make him solvent or to let him alone. Therefore, I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to consider the resolutions and statements which will reach him in a few days, and to see whether he cannot alter his proposals. We have it on the authority of Lord Cowper that this Bill does absolutely nothing for the tenant, except what it does by the Bankruptcy Clause. The difficulty again arises, are we dealing with the Bankruptcy Clauses or are we not? Is it waste of time to be talking about the Bankruptcy Clauses? Does the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham mean to kill the Bankruptcy Clauses or does he not? I think that is a question which we should have considered before we proceed further with this debate. The effects of the Bankruptcy Clauses were correctly summed up by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), when he said that the tenant would go into the

bankruptcy proceedings an insolvent and come out a beggar. Anybody who studied this Act and understood farming would see clearly that no man could hope to escape from the clutches of the Bankruptcy Clauses of this Act and be possessed of a single shilling. They are a new and a most irrepressible and tremendous engine for evicting the people and putting the landlords in possession of their land. They are so framed that no man can escape them; and after 18 months of misery are over the Bankruptcy Court comes and puts the landlord into possession of the tenant's land by means which are denied to him by the law at present. It was a very curious and instructive fact that the very first resource which the Irish landlords fell back upon when they were confronted with the combination which is now known as the Plan of Campaign was the Bankruptcy Court; but they found that they were stopped at the door of the Bankruptcy Court. The Law of Bankruptcy did not apply to farmers in Ireland; and now we have a Relief Bill for the Irish tenants to furnish the landlords with the very weapon by which they thought they could suppress the Plan of Campaign with, but which, to their disappointment, they found that the law did not furnish them with. The Bankruptcy Clauses are only really a new method of evicting Irish tenants. Before I explain the effect of this part of the Bill, I invite the particular attention of the House to page 17, lines 23 to 35, as a magnificent specimen of the moral tone of the framers of the Bill. I ask you to remember that this provision was introduced into the Bill in the Upper House on the Motion of a noble Lord—

"The rent of a holding held by a debtor, due at the time of the adjudication, not exceeding the amount of one year's rent, shall be a first charge upon the assets of such debtor, and the landlord or other person to whom the rent is due may prove in the bankruptcy or composition for the surplus due over and above such year's rent as aforesaid. In proceedings in bankruptcy under this Act, the Official Assignee attached to each Court shall for all purposes be the assignee of the estate and effects of every person adjudicated bankrupt by the Court, and there shall be no creditor's assignee."

Did anybody ever hear of such a proposition? The very men who supplied the tenant with meat and clothing to cover his nakedness were to be barred out from all remedy. The banks that had advanced the money to pay the landlord when the tenant was threatened with eviction were to be swindled—they were to have no representation at the adjudication—

"For the purpose of accepting an offer of composition after bankruptcy, the Official Assignee may do all things which may be done by the statutory majority in number and value of the creditors."

Was there ever such a proposition laid before a deliberative Assembly? The only relief which can be hoped for by the tenant under this Bankruptcy Clause is that if he and his landlord be so base as to go by a collusive proceeding into Court, the Official Assignee can accept, if he likes, 7*s.* in the pound, just in order to make up the year's rent. Then in walks the landlord, and takes the year's rent, and all the rest of the creditors are left without a shilling, without the right of being represented. I heard a noted expression from the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) last night. The noble Lord said it was necessary that the tenants should be freed, not only from their debts due to the landlord, but from their other debts also; but they had taken particular good care that they will not be clear of their other debts. The landlord was first to have his year's rent, and then to start again as a rent-exacting machine. I say that this is a scandalous dishonesty, which was inserted on the Motion of a noble Lord in the Upper House, and it is a good example of the high moral tone and honesty of character possessed by the men who are never tired of denouncing us as robbers. More than half the debts of the tenants were due to the fact that they had continued on the ruinous course of borrowing as long as credit existed in order to meet the excessive demands of landlords instead of making a struggle for liberty. I reject with contempt on behalf of the Irish tenants this delusive Bill, the Bankruptcy Clauses of which, according to Lord Cowper himself, are dishonest in their inception, and calculated to ruin the credit of the people of Ireland. This is the policy of the clause—a policy which, I say, if it is attempted to be honestly administered, means a fresh engine of oppression and extermination for the people of Ireland—if it be dishonestly administered, if the tenant gets any benefit out of the clause, it can only be by entering into a dishonest compact with his landlord to swindle and defraud every other creditor. That being the case, I have not the slightest fear, so far as my constituency goes, or as regards that portion of the tenantry of Ulster who are now wavering in the balance—I have not the slightest fear in taking up this attitude on the Bill; and I at once invite the hon. Member for South Tyrone to give the House the benefit of his opinion.

Mr. T. W. Russell (Tyrone, S.) and Mr. Shaw Lefevre (Bradford, Central) rose together, but Mr. Speaker called on

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL, who said, that he could not say that he regretted that an interjection, properly and legitimately made by him, had brought down upon his head the wrath of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) when he promised to visit South Tyrone. But about 12 months ago half the Irish Parliamentary Party were in South Tyrone, with the result that he was there in that House in spite of all their efforts to prevent it. The more the hon. Member and his Friends visited that spot the more would he like it; but he must say that South Tyrone of late was one of those places which they most religiously objected to visit. They had been told that the Ulster tenants were opposed to the Land Bill of the Government, and *The Londonderry Standard* was quoted in support of that view. He remembered that when the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) introduced his Tenants' Relief Bill last year he made a great deal out of the demands of the Ulster Tenants' Defence Association. Well, a committee of that body met a few days ago in the town of Belfast. That meeting was attended by representative farmers of Ulster, and they passed a resolution calling upon himself and the hon. Member for South Derry (Mr. Lea) to oppose the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), and to do what they could to amend the Bill; and they passed that resolution on the ground that, although they could not approve of the Bill as a whole, there was so much good contained in it that they could not take the responsibility of rejecting it. He (Mr. T. W. Russell) congratulated the House that they had got rid of the Crimes Bill, and that now they were able, in consequence, to get alongside the Land Question, which had a passionate interest for all classes of the Irish people. He had no hesitation in saying that the proceedings of the House on that Bill would be the touchstone by which the Irish people would judge, not only their individual Representatives, but the competency of that House to legislate for Ireland. But that was not to be wondered at when it was remembered that agriculture was almost, except in Ulster, the one great industry of the country. He, however, occupied a difficult position with regard to the Bill; and the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) had charged him last night with the misfortune of being a Scotchman.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I never said that it was a misfortune.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Well, I thought that was the character of the observation.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: No; I said it was rather your good fortune.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL said, he could tell the hon. Member this—that he had lived more years in Ireland than he (Mr. T. M. Healy) had lived altogether; and until the hon. and learned Member and his Friends set up their despotism in Dublin, Scotchman as he was, he should continue to represent those who had sent him to that House, regardless of what the hon. and learned Member might think. But, coming to the Government Bill, which they had to consider on that occasion, he thought that the Government were between the devil of landlordism on the one hand and the deep sea of agrarian socialism on the other. He, for one, did not wish to discredit the Government. ["Hear, hear!"] He made no secret of that, because, if that were done, it might complicate the solution of the Irish Question. He had received two sets of instructions from his constituents. He was sent to the House of Commons to oppose the Separatist proposals of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and at the same time to do the best he could for the Irish tenant farmer. He, therefore, did not wish to discredit the Government in what he considered they were trying to do—make a fair, an honest, and a resolute attempt to settle the Land Question. He had been accused by the hon. Member for East Mayo of holding a brief for the landlords; but nothing could be farther removed from the fact.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I spoke of the landlords of South Tyrone only.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL said, that in that case there must be 3,500 of them about the place. If he held a brief at all, it was for the Protestant tenant farmers of South Tyrone, and for the large number of Presbyterian farmers who had made Ulster what it was. These men believed in the Union; but it must be a Union for the benefit of the whole Irish people, and not for the benefit of a handful of unreasonable landlords. They were quite willing to pay a fair rent; but it must be a rent accruing from the produce of the soil, and not a rent designed to meet the necessities of cases in which, owing to the extravagance of their ancestors, the present landlords were so involved that they were not masters of their own actions, and had not the power to do what, in happier circumstances, they might be willing to do. He did not look on this Bill as being a final settlement of the Land Question in Ireland—in the same way, in fact, as the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian once looked on the Land Act of 1881. If he did he should know what to do with it. But his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) expressly said that this Bill was only a Bill to amend the Land Act of 1881. Now, that Act did, in the main, three things. It gave the Irish tenants fixity of tenure; it gave them a tribunal to fix a fair rent, and legalized, though it did not create, the tenant's interest in the soil, and made it saleable in the market. But hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, by walking out of the House on the second reading of that Bill, imperilled those three great provisions, because they did not come up to what they thought right. In the first place, the present measure dealt with the case of the leaseholders, upon 150,000 of whom the Act of 1881 had closed the door. During the debate on that Bill the leaseholder was almost as important a person as was the compound householder during the debates on the Reform Bill. But the Act deliberately closed the door on the leaseholders, although passionate appeals were made on their behalf. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian steeled his heart against them, on the ground that there was a peculiar sanction to a contract under seal for a specified number of years, as contrasted with an ordinary contract from year to year. Ever since the Act passed, however, the exclusion of the leaseholders from its provisions had been a cause of disturbance and friction in Ireland. This Bill professed to open the door to these men. Did it do what it professed to do? He regretted that in framing this part of the Bill the Government, in an evil hour, turned their eyes upon and had followed the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, which that hon. Member introduced last Session; and whatever could be said against the present proposals could equally, and with the same force, have been said against the proposals of the hon. Member. The least, however, which he (Mr. T. W. Russell) desired to say about its provisions on this head was, that he did not think the House should compel any leaseholder to become a present tenant, instead of merely giving him the option of going into Court and becoming such. He ought not to be compelled to resort to the Court against his will. Many a leaseholder, having regard to the advantages which their leases conferred on them, might not wish to sacrifice them even for the sake of obtaining a reduction of rent. Then he thought that the Bill was defective both in principle and in structure, inasmuch as it shut out both perpetuity leases and leases for a longer period than for 60 years after the passing of the Land Act of 1881. Between 1860 and 1876 there were years of great prosperity in Ulster, during which the landlords raised the rents; and to prevent such recurrent rent additions the tenants obtained perpetuity leases, paying, in many cases, heavy fines for the privilege. The result was that now they were most heavily weighted. But the operation of this Bill was limited to leases which would expire in 60 years. Why, he should like to know, were tenants who had leases for a longer period to be denied the benefits of the measure? There was also a most insidious and objectionable clause, which insisted that a leaseholder, to take advantage of the Bill, must be in *bonâ fide* occupation of his holding, while, by recent decisions, this might be questioned if he had let part of his holding as an allotment or a garden. He objected, moreover, that the worst part of the clause to which he was referring was the Proviso directing the Court to disallow an application for a judicial rent, if there were improvements on the holding which had been made by the landlord, and the value of which amounted to four times the yearly rent of the holding. That was an absurd provision, and one for which there was not the least ground or justification, having regard to the fact that, in many cases, the landlord had borrowed the money with which to make the improvements at 3½ per cent from the Board of Works, and would have charged the tenants a much larger percentage on the money so borrowed—in some cases as much as 10 per cent. The clause ought not to be modified by such conditions. If the House was ready to extend benefits to the leaseholders, let not the gift be accompanied by any ungracious limitations. With regard to town parks, the argument of the tenant was this. Admitting that the value of land in the neighbourhood of a town was enhanced, he asked —"Why should not the Land Court fix a fair rent, keeping in view the fact of the increased value?" Provision, therefore, ought to be made in the Bill for enabling the tenants of town parks to go into the Land Court to have fair rents fixed. So far he had, he thought, gone very much with hon. Members below the Gangway; but he feared he must part company with them when he came to Clause 4, enabling a notice to be served on the tenant and constituting him a caretaker, instead of actual eviction. The part of the Bill which dealt with this subject had been described by the hon. Member for East Mayo as being eviction made easy. Now, he would be willing to do almost anything to stop unjust or harsh evictions, and that very feeling induced him to support this 4th clause. They had heard a good deal about evictions, and he had taken the trouble to analyze the Eviction Returns for the first six months of the year 1886. There were 2,007 cases in that period, and as to 1,233 of these he had obtained the facts. No doubt, every man in that House thought at the time that in every one of these 1,233 cases a family was turned out of home upon the roadside. Nothing could be further from the truth. He found that 191 of them were were not agricultural evictions at all, but evictions from houses in towns or villages; 21 were evictions from town parks, on which there were no buildings; 141 were evictions where the tenant did not reside on the land; and out of the remainder, 878 in number, the tenants in 250 cases were reinstated as tenants, and in 371 were put back as caretakers, with power to redeem within six months. Now, as matters stood, it was necessary that these latter families should be actually turned out by the Sheriff before they could be re-admitted as caretakers. Under the Bill that would not be the case. The clause would prevent all these needless evictions, for, by the serving of a legal notice on a tenant who was in arrear with his rent, he would become a caretaker. The clause would, no doubt, put an end to certain political theatricals; but it would keep people in their holdings. It would, he believed, prevent one-fourth of the actual evictions that now took place, and confine the extreme remedy of eviction to the worst and most hopeless cases. He, therefore, had come to the conclusion that the clause ought to be supported, and he should accordingly support it. No one found serious fault with the Purchase Clauses of the Bill; but it was said that enough was not done for the purchasers of glebe lands, with whom he had the warmest sympathy, and who were originally not allowed to come under Lord Ashbourne's Act unless they paid their arrears, which some were unable to do. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had explained that it was intended they should by the Bill come in Lord Ashbourne's Act on paying half their arrears. [Mr. DILLON: They cannot pay half.] Although the hon. Member for East Mayo desired that those who were in arrear should be placed in the same position as those who were not in arrear at all, there were many objections to such a proposal, and he could not think that it would be right to take a course which would positively hold out a premium upon falling into arrears. The question, however, was surrounded by difficulties, and he was prepared to make allowances; but he was not prepared to repudiate the clause. The same might be said of the Bright purchasers under the Act of 1870. Would hon. Members vote against the second reading of a Bill with all these generous proposals in it? He should judge them by their action on the second reading. Probably there would be a solemn march out, but that theatrical display would not be very effective. The question of appeals next demanded attention. With regard to this point, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for East Mayo, and he would remind the Government that the delay in hearing appeals was very serious to the tenant. What was going to be the policy of the Government in regard to the constitution of the second Court of Appeal? Would the Government name the new Commissioners in the Bill? It was not to be denied that recent appointments in connection with the Land Courts had filled the tenants with fear and dread. If the Government were going to set up a new Court, then he implored them to take the appointments into their own hands, not leaving them to the underlings of Dublin Castle, who were fit to wreck the best Government in the world. A new Court should have for its head a man of experience, and to preserve continuity no better head could be had than Mr. Litton. He hoped that these appointments would be dealt with by the Cabinet, and that the names of the Commissioners would be inserted in the Bill. He separated Clause 22 entirely from the Bankruptcy Clauses, and regarded it as very admirable so far as it went. It provided that when a tenant was in arrear, and an ejectment process was served on him, he might go into the County Court, and if he could convince the County Court Judge that he had got into difficulties through no fault of his own, then the Judge was given power to do one of three things—give him time, arrange the instalments to be paid, or, with the consent of the landlord, effect a composition. This clause in itself was quite sufficient to prevent unjust evictions. But the Bill did not provide against what was almost as great an evil; for while it closed the front door, it left open the back door, and here it was that the harsh and unjust landlord would find an entrance. He appreciated the difficulties the Government found. They proposed that where a Judge considered that a tenant was unduly weighted, the landlord should not have his usual right of eviction. But a landlord need not proceed by way of eviction, if the debt were £20; he could get an ordinary decree for debt from a County Court Judge; and remove that by *certiorari* to a Superior Court, and then proceed by writ of *fieri facias.* The Sheriff would go down, would seize and sell everything on the farm, and leave the tenant ruined and helpless, though still in his holding, and without the means of cultivating it. If the debt was so unjust that the right of the landlord was to be fettered, so that he could not evict in certain cases where the tenant was in difficulties through no fault of his own, why should he be allowed in those same cases to proceed by writ of *fi. fa.* to sell up his tenant's goods? He hoped something would be done to prevent this. The County Court should have the same power to arrest a writ of *fieri facias* as the Bill would give them to arrest an eviction. To the Bankruptcy Clauses he had the greatest possible objection, and nothing would persuade him to vote for them. In view of the demoralized condition of Ireland, they were most dangerous in principle, and might be used as a legal "Plan of Campaign." His great objection to that part of the Bill was, that while it did good to the man who was brought to the wall, it did absolutely nothing for the solvent tenant; and those whom he represented were not insolvent, though they were over-rented, for the Report of the Royal Commission proved that they were in that condition. Was it an answer to the solvent tenant, to say that though he was over-rented, that he had made a contract for 15 years and must abide by it? It was the State that had blundered in making the term so long. Nor could the case of these men be settled by the promise of a Land Purchase Bill of which they at present knew nothing. They could not live on promises. Was it an answer to admit the injustice, and promise a remedy by a scheme of purchase? The shrewd Ulster tenants take this as they take the advice—"Live horse, and you will get grass." Nor was it an answer to say that the case of these tenants would be met by reductions from the landlords. It was an answer, he thought, in the South and West of Ireland, where the landlords had given abatements, and where intimidation had done its work; and he thought it was a scandal that this should be the case. Ulster was precisely the Province where those deductions had not been made. Many of the landlords could make reductions, though many of them, no doubt, were not really the owners of their properties. Ulster would get no benefit from the Bill, because it was solvent. He thought that neither the Government, nor the House, had the right to say to them—"You have a just case; go on till you are ruined, then we will relieve you; and when you have been made a bankrupt, you will go on again on the old round like a horse in the bark mill." He could be no party to that. This brought him to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), regarding which the Ulster Tenants' Defence Committee had written to him. That Resolution would do nothing for them; but it would wreck the Bill, which would do something. At the worst, what would the Bill do? It would admit a certain number of leaseholders. It changed the rules of procedure, by which the judicial rent was payable from the day judgment was given, to the gale day next to the service of the originating notice. It gave some concessions as regards town parks. It improved Lord Ashbourne's Purchase Act, and it did a good deal for the Bright purchasers and the glebe land purchasers; and, in his opinion, it erected a barrier against unjust evictions. With these things in it, he, as representing South Tyrone, could not and would not take the responsibility of not voting for the second reading. The main question with him was this—was the Government open to reasonable Amendments? If so, the Bill could be made a great boon to the tenant farmers of Ireland, and he could not throw away all this for any empty Resolution. With regard to the position in Ulster, the Government had had no more unflinching supporter of the Crimes Bill than he had been. It was the least that the Government could do to restore the sovereignty of law. The Government had now got their power to deal with the combinations to which the Cowper Commission had referred, and to enforce the law. It was their absolute duty to see that the law was scrupulously just. He wished to point out that this Land Question was at the root of the whole Irish trouble. The history of Ireland showed that no mere political movement had ever prospered in Ireland. That was to be seen in the cases of O'Connell, of the Young Ireland Party, the Fenian movement, and that headed by Mr. Butt, and even the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) had not ventured to hoist the National flag until he had founded the Land League. A Bill such as this was no settlement of the Land Question; it did not pretend to be a settlement of it. He Mr. T. W. Russell) believed that there was no solution of it save in the abolition of the dual ownership, which many people thought the Act of 1881 had created, but which, in fact, it had only legalized. He was a strong supporter of the Union, and he could conceive no greater calamity to Ireland than that the Union should be dissolved or impaired; but he was the true Unionist who pointed out the dangers ahead. The Government and the Party which took up and radically settled this great Irish Land Question might laugh to scorn all the efforts of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who talked about maintaining the Union by a process of dissolving it. They might as well talk about strengthening the marriage tie by a decree of judicial separation. The Ulster tenants were a patient race, but patience did not last for ever. In Ireland the land was the life. Let them not drive the Ulster tenants to despair. If they did, they might depend upon it that there were plenty of men ready to go to Ulster as well as the hon. Member for East Mayo, and, like Job's wife, to whisper into the ears of the Ulster tenants, not "curse God and die," but curse England and live.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton) said, he did not think it would be necessary for him to waste the attention of hon. Members by discussing seriously the Amendment which had been moved on the previous day by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling District (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). Not one word had been stated that evening in support of that Amendment by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), and, as far as he (Mr. Gibson) could gather from the admission of the right hon. Gentleman on the previous night, it had never been intended to be seriously argued, and the right hon. Gentleman distinctly stated that he submitted no plan. Her Majesty's Government had now to deal with a situation of considerable difficulty in Ireland, and they had devised, with as much care as they could, a measure which would amend imminent difficulties and mischiefs which were obvious in the administration of the Irish Land Act. It was remarkable that in the Bill introduced last autumn by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) there had been no proposition whatever put forward by him —although he had stated that the time was one of a crisis affecting the safety and prosperity of Irish tenants—that there should be any general revision of rents. The hon. Member had felt that it was necessary to deal with the immediate question of evictions, because he had been well aware that a general revision of rents would be idle for the purpose of meeting unfair or unjust evictions. It had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) that it was a principle in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothan (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) that there should be no general revision of rents when he had introduced his Land Purchase Bill in 1886. Not only had the right hon. Gentleman laid it down as a cardinal principle of the Bill that the normal rate of purchase should be 20 years' purchase on the judicial rent, but he had distinctly provided in the 51st section of his Bill that no action of the Irish Legislature should prejudice or impair the obligations come to under judicial decision. The result of that Bill would have been that no alteration could have been made in the judicial rents once they had been fixed by the Court. That was the position of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and it had apparently been the fixed policy of the right hon. Gentleman's Government down to the time he had gone out of Office, and if there had been any change this Amendment would have been moved by the right hon. Gentleman who had last been Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), and who up to last autumn had been in a position to know the condition of the Irish tenants. Now, the question was an immediate and pressing one. What the Government offered was not a reconstruction of the Land Act of 1881, but a means by which admitted and urgent difficulties could be dealt with, and which would be recognized as showing an earnest and a sincere intention on the part of the Government to deal fairly and justly with the Irish tenants. He felt much sympathy with the object and language of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone, who had just sat down. However much he might disagree with some of the views which the hon. Gentleman had expressed, it was plain from the language of the hon. Member that he was perfectly alive to the hollowness and insincerity of the Amendment, and was determined not to abandon the generous and reasonable proposals of the Government in order to deprive his constituents of benefits which they most assuredly would reap if this measure passed into law. Now, as to the 1st section of the Bill, which included the leaseholders, the question was what form the admission of the leaseholders to the benefits of the Act should take. Were all the leases in Ireland for the purpose of this Act to come to an end at a given period of time? The Government, looking to the provisions of the Bill brought in last autumn by the hon. Member for Cork, thought his solution was perhaps the best—namely, to accelerate the expiration of the leases coming within the Act of 1881, and at a given time, to which landlord and tenant could both look forward, say that these leases were determined for the purposes of this Act. But it was essential that the House should understand that the determination of a lease was practically only a formal expression, because all the obligations of the lease bound both landlord and tenant after its termination in exactly the same way as before the lease had run out. The position of the yearly tenant after his lease had expired under Section 21 of the right hon. Gentleman's Act was that he was bound by all the provisions of the lease, but he had got rights which he did not have when his lease was in force—the right to perpetuity of tenure, the right to have the rent fixed, and the right of free sale. The right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) declared that the effect of the drafting of the Bill was such as to leave every tenant who held under a lease at the mercy of his landlord who wanted to raise the rent, but he did not appear to have read the Bill, because it distinctly provided that if consideration had been given for the lease, in such a case it should be impossible for the landlord to break the lease. He could quite understand that it would be a hardship if there was a beneficial lease that that lease should be in the power of the landlord; but the provision of the Bill was a more generous and equitable provision than was to be found in the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork. The hon. Gentleman had made some observations with regard to perpetuity grants. Now, the drafting of the Bill in this regard was an amplification of the Act of the right hon. Gentleman. Where leases were then in existence which would come to an end within 60 years after the passing of the Act, at their expiration the tenant would be entitled to the status of a present tenant, with all the great boons which the right hon. Gentleman conferred. The Government had amplified and extended that principle, but they had not altered the class of tenants to which that legislation extended, and under the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork there was no extension beyond the class that came under the scope of the the Act of 1881. Accordingly, the Government had followed that principle. Now, the first section was the only one which the hon. Member for East Mayo had marked with his approval. But he thought the hon. Member could hardly have been in earnest. Was the House aware that the second clause, which enabled the judicial rent to be dated not from the gale day following the decision of the Court, but from the gale day following the application, was one which was included in a Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, although then rejected by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian? That was a great boon worth many thousands of pounds to the Irish tenants, and one that would be appreciated in the North as well as in the South. He was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) did not name one single provision of the Bill which met with his approval, and made no reference whatever to Section 2, which he must have known was a boon, and though the right hon. Gentleman announced that he would only make a fair and candid criticism, yet he did not lapse one moment into the forgetfulness of saying the smallest word of the faintest praise. The second clause, as he said, represented a benefit of large mercantile value. At the present moment there were about 500,000 tenants in Ireland; 100,000 were leaseholders; 200,000 had had judicial rents fixed, leaving 200,000 who had had no judicial rents fixed at all. A large number of these 200,000 tenants would get the benefit of this clause, and that fact that they had not yet come into Court alone ought to supply a strong argument to show that the Irish landlords were not the rapacious and unreasonable body they were sometimes represented to be. The section relating to ejectment had been denounced, not only by the hon. Member for East Mayo, who said it was an infamous and atrocious proposal, but he gathered that the right hon. Member for the Stirling district also joined in the condemnation of it. It was a merciful provision to the tenant and to the landlord. It gave each an opportunity during the six months of redemption of coming to terms, and prevented it being necessary for the Sheriff to resort to the last dire extremity. What was the law on this subject in Ireland? When an ejectment was brought for nonpayment of rent the tenancy was not forfeited until the judgment was actually executed by process of law, and the period of equitable redemption in the tenancy did not begin to run until that execution. The result was that landlords had to resort to two evictions, the first for the purpose of causing the expiration of the tenancy and making the period of redemption begin to run; and the second eviction, when the caretaker was put out. Statistics had been quoted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) which showed that of these preliminary evictions not more than a fourth or a fifth were consummated by ultimate eviction in the long run. It was the intention of the Government by this measure to save the tenants from the hardships and risks to which they were exposed, from the danger of quarrel and of settlement being impossible, by this preliminary eviction, and to enable the landlord to serve his notice on the premises to determine the tenancy. He called attention to the circumstance that the Government in this provision had mercifully enlarged the recommendations of the Cowper Commission. The next provision was that dealing with town parks. He thought the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) could not have given sufficient attention to the provisions of this section. What was the existing law? It was that a holding which was held by a person living in a town for acccommodation purposes should not be the subject of fixed rent under Act of Parliament. The Government, however, were aware that in many cases those town-park holdings were really in their essence and character not accommodation lands of the ordinary town-park character, but in the nature of agricultural holdings. Without laying down a hard and fast line, therefore, the Government had proposed that where the holding was in its ordinary character an agricultural one it should become subject to the provisions of the Land Act of 1881 and constitute a present tenancy. Then, as to the Purchase Clauses of the Bill. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) stated that no one opposed those clauses. He, however, distinctly caught the right hon. Member for Stirling District saying that he was always opposed to Purchase Clauses, and would oppose these.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.): No, no. I raised no objection to the Purchase Clauses at all. I referred to any further extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act.

MR. GIBSON asked whether he was to understand that the right hon. Gentleman had not considered the Purchases Clauses of the Bill, or whether he had not formed an opinion as to supporting them or not? The right hon. Gentleman appeared to decline to express an opinion in one way or another at present. But he called attention to the fact that in "another place" a suggestion was made as to not continuing those clauses in the Bill, and a representation was made by a noble Lord to the effect that those with whom he acted would probably offer no opposition to those clauses. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman might have had some communication with that noble Lord.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: I do not wish to alarm the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but I must mention that the noble Lord to whom he refers said that he could only speak for himself, and as to his own expectations, and was not able to bind any one else.

MR. GIBSON said, the expectation of the noble Lord was of great efficacy, speaking, as he did, from his high position. The next provision was that of appeal. The Government recognized the great importance of having a strong and efficient Court of Appeal. The matter, however, would no doubt be fully discussed in Committee. The hon. Member for East Mayo referred to the provisions dealing with the remission of local rates. He was unable to understand what the hon. Member meant when he said that it was a premium on evictions. He could not understand how a provision which limited the landlord's right to a case where the land could not be let in consequence of intimidation was assumed to be a case in which the landlord was in possession of the holding from which the tenant had been unjustly and harshly evicted. The next provision was that of equitable jurisdiction. There could be no doubt that, broadly speaking, there were two classes of tenants in the community—the class of tenants who were solvent, but who might have grievances, and who occupied a hard position, and tenants who were wholly unable to pay not only the landlord but their other creditors. The view of the Government was that, in an individual case of hardship it should be competent for the Court to intervene between the solvent tenant and the landlord, who had, perhaps, harshly enforced his legal rights, so as to give a stay of execution to the tenant. That was a very large concession, which he was not aware had previously been found in any Government measure, and there was no doubt that the views of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham and of the hon. Member for South Tyrone were perfectly well founded when they said that such a provision was a complete answer to the possibility of capricious eviction on the part of any landlord. But it had been said that this was only the front door, and the back door remained open—that a landlord, if he chose, might get a writ of *fieri facias*. That was no doubt a possibility, but he would call attention to one or two circumstances in order to show that wise landlords rarely resorted to this particular expedient. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] He knew that it had been resorted to in some cases, but, as a rule, it was not resorted to by any landlord who had a wise counsellor. A wise landlord would not usually resort to this method of execution, because if a tenancy had been mortgaged, settled, or had outstanding interests attached, no execution against the man who was paying the rent would be effective in enabling the landlord to acquire that interest; and, as he had seen again and again, ejectments which had been brought failed because the interests could not be legally seized under a writ of *fieri facias.* The method of recovery in Ireland was the statutory remedy. But there were difficulties in the landlord's way. If a landlord brought an action for rent in a superior court against the small tenant under £20, he must pay the attorney and all law costs himself, the result being that the landlords did not care to go to this luxury at their own expense. These and other circumstances made the enforcement of this remedy rare. Still, he admitted that it was legally possible for the thing to occur, and the House had to consider and suggest an expedient by which such a difficulty could be avoided. He had heard a most thoughtful speech in the other House from the late Lord Chancellor, but that noble and learned Lord offered no solution of the difficulty. It was hard to see where they were to draw the line. Was the landlord to look on while an execution creditor swooped down and carried off everything from the farm? If the writ of *fieri facias* on the part of the landlord was suspended, what was the landlord to do? The tenant might be making away with his crops; he might give them away to favoured creditors.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): There was a provision of the kind in the Act of 1881, and you threw it out in the House of Lords.

Mr. GIBSON said, he did not know to what provision the hon. Member referred. No doubt by the Statute of Anne, where a Sheriff seized in execution and a year's rent was due, he had to make a provision for a year's rent. That was the law of both countries; but he was calling attention to the fact that they would be making a sharp and marked distinction between the landlord and other creditors by adopting the suggestion which had been thrown out. The matter appeared to him to be one of enormous difficulty, and he would have been glad if the right hon. Gentleman opposite had been good enough to indicate what should be the particular mode of obviating the difficulty without flagrant and manifest injustice. By that section as it stood they dealt with the difficulty which existed in some parts of Ireland, and was recognized in previous legislation; and he did not think there was any precedent in the Act of 1870 or in other legislation which altered the position of the landlord as compared with that of other creditors. He next came to the bankruptcy section, as to which the House had heard a good deal of criticism. The right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs seemed to think that the provision of the Bill that a reasonable rent might be fixed by the Bankruptcy Court during the 18 months placed the Government in a dilemma as to the reasonableness or fairness of the judicial rent which had been previously fixed. In constructing his dilemma, however, the right hon. Gentleman did not sufficiently consider that they were dealing with proceedings in the Court of Bankruptcy to which the landlord was a consenting party. The tenant, under the Bill, to get into the Bankruptcy Court must go as a free agent and with the sanction of the landlord, who was subject to a penalty if his refusal was unreasonable. While the tenant was in the Bankruptcy Court, relieved of the claims of the other creditors who were each trying to pull some of his assets from him, it was the intention of the clause that during that period the landlord and all the other creditors should make as it were a common subscription together. The landlord allowed his land to be used for the 18 months by permission of the Court, and the rent which the tenant was to pay was not that which he would pay under ordinary circumstances, but such as he could be fairly expected to pay under the particular circumstances without injustice to the landlord and without undue preference to any other of the creditors. The right hon. Member for Stirling said that the clause "was saturated with the spirit of exclusiveness and reeked with the worst spirit of landlordism." Why did the right hon. Gentleman say that of a clause which was probably more disliked by landlords than any other clause in the Bill? The right hon. Gentleman said there was no provision that the landlord should be made a bankrupt.

The suggestion seemed to be that where the tenant could not pay his debts, and became a bankrupt, it was a hardship to him if the landlord did not assume the same mantle and accompany him into the Bankruptcy Court as a kind of twin. The hon. Member for East Mayo had referred to the arrears of rent on the holding being made a first charge to the extent of one year, and said the intention of that was to plunder the creditors for the benefit of the landlord. The existing Law of Bankruptcy was that every landlord was entitled to a distraint to the extent of six months' rent; but inasmuch as the landlord was to be put out from his power of bringing any action of ejectment, and was to be tied up during that period altogether, the Government thought it fair that the landlord, who might have many years of arrears due to him, should receive that small consideration to which the hon. Member objected. When the hon. Member for East Mayo said that creditors were deprived of all remedy, he forgot that all the creditors in bankruptcy were entitled to an equal right of proof, except in so far as a preferential right of proof was given to any particular creditor. In conclusion, that Bill was not put forward by the Government as a re-construction of the Act of 1881; but as a generous attempt to meet a real difficulty which all honest and candid men in that House must admit to exist. Last Session the hon. Member for Cork introduced a Bill proposing a stay of execution against tenants whose rents were judicially fixed before 1884. What they now proposed under that provision was that, in cases where there might be a harsh eviction, whether the rents were judicial rents or not, the Court should have a power to intervene. That would be a great benefit to tenants in difficulties, and he hoped that the House would come to the conclusion that the Amendment of the right hon. Member for the Stirling District was an illusory Amendment, not supported by any real plan or intelligible proposition, and that it would be an unwise and a dangerous thing to throw away the real advantages of that Bill, in order to satisfy the views of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, he expected the hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) would have given the House some information as to the intentions of the Government. The importance of the hon. Gentleman's reticence could only be fully realized by a consideration of what the position of the Government really was. It was well known that they were in Office, and that they were not in power. They occupied the Ministerial Benches by the votes of hon. Gentlemen sitting on the opposite side of the House; and, in view of the fact that the Bill had been subjected to the most hostile criticism by two of their supporters on that side of the House, the seriousness of the hon. and learned Gentleman's silence as to the intention of the Government could hardly be over-estimated. In introducing this Bill, he believed the Government were actuated all through as men who were enemies to the principle of the Act which they now proposed to amend. That spirit seemed to him to animate every proposal they made. The great principle of the Act of 1885 could only be defended on the ground that freedom of contract between landlord and tenant in Ireland had never existed. The only reason he could see for admitting leaseholders to the benefits of the Act of 1881 was that they were not free to contract at the time of taking over their leases. They took their leases, in many cases, to avoid the evils which were pressing strongly upon them, and of which subsequent legislation relieved other tenants in Ireland to a certain extent. They were, in many instances, forced into their leases because they held under extra harsh landlords. There was no possible argument to justify them in allowing landlords to break those leases which the tenants did not want to have broken, because there could be no pretence that the landlords had been coerced into granting the leases. The Bankruptcy Clauses, as they stood at present, were a mere sham, and they had been so described in the Upper House by Lord Fitzgerald. *The Times* newspaper, that eminently fair and judicial journal, in its report of Lord Fitzgerald's speech, had entirely omitted the words "merest sham," which only appeared in *The Daily News*. But he had Lord Fitzgerald's own authority for saying that he used the word sham. As regards the written notice substituted in the action for ejectment, that was a clause rendering evictions easy and unjust—evictions were always easy enough. The landlords would serve their notice by post on the day they got the decree, and this would, of course, shorten the time for redemption quite as much as the recommendation of the Commissioners. To argue on the basis that tenants were re-admitted as caretakers was quite erroneous, because they had no record of what happened—those caretakers at the end of the six months' period of redemption. It was conceded all round that the judicial rents were too high, and last night the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) told them that if the Irish landlords would take his advice they would make reductions on the judicial rents. With reference to middlemen, he would ask what was to become of middlemen whose rents to the landlords just equalled the judicial rents of their tenants? They could not make a reduction to their tenants without loss, and yet under this Bill they could not surrender. However, as middlemen were practically landlords, he had no doubt this matter would be carefully attended to by the House. The provisions for the remission of rates to landlords were very peculiar in a Bill which was brought forward with such professions as this Bill, for it was certainly a novel way of relieving over-rented tenants to throw upon them the burden of extra rates. With regard to the jurisdiction of the County Court, it was pretty certain that the County Court Judge would not be unfriendly to the Irish landlords. The hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland, who was the adviser of the Government on this matter, had assured the House that the power of *fieri facias* was not much used by the landlords now. Would the House believe that the Returns showed that this power in the year 1886 was used in no less than 6,580 cases. The Commission had reported that the price and produce combined had fallen 18 per cent, but in reality they had fallen a great deal more, because, in the first place, they based their calculation on a rate of produce which existed only in the mind of the Registrar General, and because they took their estimate of prices from the only source available to them—namely, the *Irish Farmers' Gazette.* This gave the prices of the great towns—Belfast, Cork, and Dublin—and these were different from the prices in the country, and besides it was the best produce which was sent to the great towns. But even taking the fall in prices as 20 per cent, and he believed it to be much more, it was ludicrous to say that a 20 per cent fall could be met by a 20 per cent reduction—as a matter of fact it could not be met by less than a 50 per cent reduction. There was great danger of the whole Bill being strangled by a hostile Court of Appeal. He admitted that the Land Commissioners were giving effect to a certain extent to the fall in prices, even now the rents were not being fixed low enough, and those who rested their hopes upon the present action of the Land Commissioners would find their hope very delusive indeed. The Government ought to adopt the recommendation of their own Commissioners, and reduce the term of years during which the judicial rents should run from 15 to five years. The Commissioners themselves said that the term of 15 years was too long for the poorer class of tenant. If a term of 15 years were fixed the fluctuations in prices would naturally be allowed for; but the Commissioners never allowed for the present depression, though they did make allowance for good years which would enable a tenant to tide over bad years, and they fixed the rents believing that things would improve. Instead of prices rising, they had gone down far below what the Commissioners believed to be the bottom of the fall. When the Act of 1881 was before the House, it was distinctly stated in the House that it was the intention of the Government that no rent should be charged on tenants' improvements. The right hon. Gentleman opposite knew that that had been overridden by the Courts in Ireland, and he wished to ask him if he would introduce some provision into this Bill to secure that to the tenant. Lord Salisbury told them last Session that any scheme of land purchase would be based on the present judicial rents; but now the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary admitted that any scheme of purchase must be based on what were fair rents at the time of the purchase. If the Government were in earnest in their promise to bring in a Bill next Session to carry out a scheme of land purchase based on fair rents at the time, there was no reason why they should not at once set to work to revise the judicial rents which they admitted were unfair. There were many hundred tenants in Ireland suffering under a rent which it was impossible for them to pay, but the Government did not interfere to relieve these people, but only consented to deal with a few questions where the landlords had pushed their rights to such dire extremes that the tenants were reduced to a state of bankruptcy; in fact, the only clauses of the Bill which made any pretence of giving a remedy to the tenant were the equitable jurisdiction and the Bankruptcy Clauses of the Bill, which, in their present shape, were a mere sham. The Government might find a sufficient number of men in that House to support their policy; but the recent elections at Spalding and Coventry showed that their action was not approved of by the country.

MR. ELTON (Somerset, Wellington) said, that the ground had now been pretty well cleared for the discussion of the Bill. The House had had speeches of many different kinds, one of which, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Division (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), who proposed the Amendment, he was very glad to hear, for this reason—that if there was nothing more to be said against it, the Bill, he thought, was tolerably secure. Whether it was from his native caution, or from the merits of the case, the right hon. Gentleman took care not to fire very damaging shots against a measure which he wished to wound, but not to kill. From Ministers the House had statements which more clearly revealed the real nature and scope of the Bill than had been done before. Then there was the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), which was full of the most striking suggestions. The right hon. Gentleman's speech was marked by a tone of too general benevolence. He had a reform to suggest for every evil, and his mode of dealing with the subject perhaps too closely resembled that of an Eastern Cadi. The right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment gave the House a good deal of criticism on every clause of the Bill; but what it all came to was this—that the Government ought to have done something quite different. With regard to frequent revision of rents, to carry out such a policy would be to sanctify the system of dual ownership. It might have been an extremely good thing to legalize the tenant-right interest in 1881; but, of course, the fixing of it for a certain term of years was sure to lead to the difficulties which had come to pass. This must be regarded as a step towards a plan by which dual ownership would pass away, and single ownership would be established by means of a purchase scheme. Dual ownership, he was convinced, was not a good thing as a permanent system. It was a bad thing in itself, except where the rent was very small. It was only tolerable when the rent was in the nature of a ground-rent or small charge. It might be said that we had been accustomed to dual ownership in England for many generations; but, on the other hand, it should be remembered that it had been disliked, and that efforts had been made to abolish it. In his opinion, a continual revision of rents would be most inconvenient and irritable, and even an automatic change must lead to the idea that the rent would be a tribute rather than the result of a contract. The Bill contained a great number of provisions dealing with a large number of subjects, and he thought that it was intended to prepare the way for purchase by defining and ascertaining the state of the tenants, and to make it clear, more than the Act of 1881 did, what were the interests of the owner and the tenant in the land. The Bill should prevent any dispossession of the tenant until the Arrears Bill was brought in. In that case, if what he considered was the principle of Clause 22 was carried out, the Bankruptcy Clauses would not be wanted at all, because all cases would be met except those of undeserving tenants. With regard to Section 4 of the Bill, he thought that those who were engaged in the administration of Ireland were right in attempting to reduce those horrors which had made their blood run cold. The Government, in his opinion, had made an honest and strenuous effort to avert those horrors. He thought that the right hon. Gentleman who had proposed the Amendment had spoken somewhat coldly and cynically of the efforts of the Government to do away with the evils which surrounded evictions. At all events, he conceived that it was the duty of the

Government to do all that in them lay to put down the occurrence of the terrible events which had taken place in the wholesale evictions of which they had heard. They had been told that this clause would reduce the number of evictions by one-half, and that was something. All he asked was that this Bill should be received as a contribution which all parties would try to make into something good. He was sure that it would not be received in an irreconcilable way. After all, the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) had not been so very irreconcilable, since he had found that everything in the Bill had been advised at some previous period by himself and his Party. At the same time, whether or not there might be practical details in it which could be altered in Committee, he did not believe that the House, after considering it, would refuse to assent to the proposition that this was an honest attempt to deal with the difficulty, not from any base motives which might have been suggested, but with an anxiety to do justice between all parties, and in a generous spirit to do all in their power to prevent those unfortunate events occurring again. With regard to the question of the charges on estates, which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham had wished to be abated proportionally, he thought that those family charges and other charges on landlords pressed very hard in Ireland, as they did in England, upon people whose rents were depressed below the margin of subsistence; but were they to put an Incumbered Estates Bill into what was really a Provisional Arrears Bill? Let them think what tremendous principles were involved. Suppose some of a family had alienated their charges on a property. A very large proportion of family charges were assigned to other people for money. Were they going to reduce charges in the hands of solicitors and Insurance Companies? That would be a very large undertaking to put into an Arrears Bill. On the other hand, it would be hard and obviously unfair to reduce them only when they were in the family. Then, again, what was there that was sacred in a charge held by relations as compared with an ordinary mortgagee's charge? Why should not the usurer be cut down too? He thought that these questions were too large to be treated in what was merely an Arrears Bill, which was to act until the Purchase Bill came down. With regard to the surrender of his estate by the middleman, he thought that it was guarded in every way by the provisions of the clause. All Parties were agreed that the leaseholder ought to be admitted to the benefits of the Act of 1881, and ought to obtain the immediate enjoyment of the rights of a statutory tenant, which at present he had only in reversion at the end of his lease. There was no use in saying that this right ought to have been given in 1881, and little advantage in the minute criticism which had been passed upon this part of the Bill. With respect to improvements, there was a disposition on the part of some of the witnesses before the Commission to treat them as though they constituted a sort of separate interest from the land. This seemed to be the point of view of the Proviso to the 1st clause, according to which the Court was to disallow an application by a leaseholder for a judicial rent in cases where the landlord or his predecessors had made improvements, the unexhausted value of which was four times the rent of the holding. In cases of main or arterial drainage, he had sometimes heard this view expressed. But his view was that the general rule should be followed, that the accessory follows the principal, and that, as the leaseholders were to be enfranchised, no condition of this kind should be attached to their enfranchisement.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, that no Bill ever introduced into the House had been mauled as this Bill had been. It had been riddled with shot from stem to stern, and had not received any commendation from any quarter except the Ministerial Bench. Hostile criticism had not been confined to the opponents of the Government. Of the able and exhaustive speeches made against the Bill, two of the most damaging had been made by his right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) and the hon. and learned Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). Though both Gentlemen promised to vote in favour of the Government, both were unsparing in their criticism of the details of the Bill, and there was scarcely a clause of the Bill of which they were able unreservedly to approve. The most damaging speech against the Bill was that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, more especially when the House considered his close relations with the Government, and the fact that he had been generally credited with the authorship of one portion of the Bill. Under these circumstances, they might certainly have expected that when the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland rose to speak on behalf of the Government, he would be prepared to announce some concessions to the almost unanimous expression of opinion against the Bill. But in the course of his speech there was no promise of amendment on the part of the Government, and no concession of any kind. He asked the Liberal Unionists what would have been the effect upon the Government if they had promised to vote for the Amendment instead of against it? Would it not have had the effect of bringing the Government to its bearings upon this subject? The answer to the course they had taken was that no concession had been made, and this fact justified his right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) in the Amendment he now placed before the House. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham made a severe and, as he thought, a rather unfair attack upon his right hon. Friend. He told him that his object was to defeat and destroy the Bill, and throw matters in Ireland into greater confusion, and deprive the Irish tenants of any remedy for a year, or two years, or a longer period to come. He was quite sure that that description of the right hon. Gentleman's object was wholly incorrect; there was nothing that hon. Members on his side of the House would not do to alleviate the condition of the Irish tenantry; and if the Government would but consent to amend the measure they would receive cordial assistance in making it a real remedy for the existing state of things. Having had some experience of measures of this kind, it was his conviction that, with the exception of the clauses relating to leaseholders, the other main portions of the Bill were nugatory and inefficacious for their purpose. They would do more harm than good. They were not worth the paper they were written upon. They furnished no real remedy for the evil which existed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, although giving the Government Bill a general support, confirmed in effect the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). They all admitted the value of the clause relating to leaseholders so far as it went. But it was hampered by restrictions which might easily be removed. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham, referring to the clause relating to ejectments, had pointed out that although the Bill provided a remedy in one direction against unjust eviction it left the door open for the landlord in another direction. From the intimations they had received from Ireland, it appeared that a bad class of landlords would take advantage of the alternative process which the Bill permitted and would treat their tenants in the future as they had in the past. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) practically admitted the force of the argument. His only answer to it was that landlords in the past had not often availed themselves of these processes, on account of the responsibility they involved. The right hon. and learned Attorney General had asked Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House to find a remedy. It was not for the Opposition to provide remedies for the defects they pointed out, and which were admitted by the Government. But the alternative proposal set forth in the Amendment before the House to a large extent provided a remedy. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham also admitted that the Bankruptcy Clauses would not meet the case of the solvent tenant, and that the fall in agricultural prices had rendered the rents judicially fixed unfair and unreasonable. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that where landlords have been unable or unwilling to make remissions the tenants should have the power to apply to the Land Court for temporary remission. That suggestion was rather vague and hazy. He should prefer the adoption of the recommendation of the Cowper Commission upon this point, believing that to allow too frequent application to the Court for temporary remissions would be unwise. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham had argued that much of the existing difficulty was caused by the embarrassments of landlords, who had heavy charges and mortgages upon their property, and who were in consequence unable to grant remissions. This, no doubt, was the explanation of the unwillingness of some landlords to make reductions; but it was no real answer to the complaints of the tenants. The tenants were either entitled to remissions in consequence of their peculiar position as co-proprietors, or they were not. If they were, the embarrassed position of landlords could not affect their right. As to the Bankruptcy Clauses, the Government could not do better than take the advice of the right hon. Gentleman and abandon them. He could not refrain from saying that never before had such foolish—aye, idiotic proposals been laid before Parliament. They would not benefit a single tenant in Ireland, and be of use only to landlords. Any tenant who took advantage of them would emerge from the Bankruptcy Court a beggar. Under the circumstances, therefore, the advice of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham to drop this part of the Bill was good. The Bill, as amended according to the suggestion of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham would be a totally different measure. It would, indeed, be difficult to recognize it, for almost every clause would have undergone a change in accordance with the spirit of the Amendment of the right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs. He desired to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to follow up his advice by action? They had also a right to know from the Liberal Unionists whether the Amendments suggested by the right hon. Member represented their views as well as his. Was the right hon. Member prepared to stand by his proposals? Was he prepared to insist upon them; or was he going to do what he had done on previous occasions—namely, speak in one sense and vote in another, for fear of defeating the Government? If the Government elected to stand or fall by their Bills, his right hon. Friend would not be able to insist upon any of his Amendments without the risk of turning out the Government, and this he was not prepared to do. It was to be regretted that the right hon. Gentleman did not produce these proposals last autumn when the hon. Member for Cork was pressing upon the Government of the day the necessity of finding some remedy for the state of affairs which was likely to arise in Ireland during the winter. It was a pity his right hon. Friend did not, in concert with the Liberal Party, seek to devise a remedy in the direction he now proposed. If he had done so there need have been no evictions, no Plan of Campaign, and he ventured to think there would have been no Coercion Bill this year. It was also remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman should not have made a better bargain with the Government in return for his supporting against his natural instincts their Coercion Bill. But there was a fundamental error running through the whole of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. If he had given free scope to what he could not but think was the instinct of his own mind — namely, against coercion, he would have placed the Government in a position in which they would have been compelled to give him better terms in order to muzzle him. There was another error running through the speech of the right hon. Gentleman—namely, that he hoped to settle the Irish Land Question without consultation with the Irish Members. He thought that was an unstatesmanlike and an unwise method of approaching this question; but it was a similar attitude to that taken up by the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) in regard to Home Rule. The attempt to legislate on either the Land Question or on that of local government without concert with the Irish Members would only lead to further difficulties. His right hon. Friend twitted the Irish Members with the action they took on the Bill of 1881, and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) considered at that time that the Irish Members were unnecessarily hostile in their criticism; but now, looking back at this period, with the knowledge that he had subsequently acquired, he had long felt that it was a great mistake on the part of the Government of that day, and of which he was a Member, not to have come to terms at that time with the Irish Members. Their failure to do so was the main defect of the Irish Bill of 1881, and he was free to confess that if the criticisms of the Irish Members had been more respected, many of the mistakes of the Bill would have been avoided. Most of the hostile criticism of the Irish Members had turned out to be correct, with the result that further legislation was now required. If the Government of the day attempted to settle this question without concert or consultation with the Irish Members, they would fall into the same difficulty. It had been said that this measure was only a stopgap in view of a coming scheme of land purchase. But bearing in mind the storm of opposition raised to the last land purchase scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), he did not think that the prospects of any sweeping scheme for converting the tenants of Ireland into owners were very bright. He was himself opposed to any universal measure of this kind. This Bill could not really be regarded as a stopgap. It was a Bill which provided the tenants with the only remedy they would have for the next three or four years at least. But the great objection that was entertained to this Bill was that it did nothing whatever for the struggling and industrious solvent tenant, who was called upon to pay too high a rent. No explanation of this had been given in this House, but the proceedings in the other House threw some light on the subject. Lord Salisbury never opened his mouth on this subject without showing how greatly he misconceived the meaning of the Land Act of 1881. Lord Salisbury defended the Government for not dealing with the case of the solvent tenants on the ground that these tenants were bound by contract to their landlord, and he went on to denounce the Land Act as establishing dual ownership in land. But since the Land Act of 1881 established dual ownership, it abrogated the old relation of contract between landlord and tenant. The system of judicial rents was not a necessary incident of dual ownership, because dual ownership was created in cases in which tenants did not apply to the Land Court. It was a misnomer now to speak of the two parties as landlord and tenant; they were not such in the English sense of the term, but they were co-owners, each possessing a distinct interest in the land, and they ought to be called co-proprietors. Under the Act of 1881 the Land Commissioners had fixed 180,000 judicial rents, making an average reduction of 18 per cent. It was claimed that many of the rents so fixed had ceased to be just owing to the fall in prices, and in the Report of the Cowper Commission there was overwhelming proof that the average values of produce had fallen in the last three years no less than 18 per cent; and, in addition, that there had been a great deterioration in the value of the land of Ireland since 1879, owing to a succession of wet seasons. The right hon. Member for West Birmingham was mistaken in supposing that later reductions were not more than from 10 to 14 per cent. The average reduction of the last three years, as compared with previous years, was no less than 30 per cent; and this was shown by comparing the rents in both cases with Griffith's valuation. In view of that depreciation, was it fair that the whole loss should fall on one of the co-owners—that the tenant should bear the whole of this great depreciation in values? As the condition had completely changed since 1881 it was not only fair and right, but it was in accordance with the principle of the Act of 1881 that judicial rents should be revised. The case might be illustrated in this way—Suppose two tenants —A and B—of adjoining farms of the same size and value, A holding under a rack-renting landlord, and B holding at a fair rent 20 per cent less than A; and suppose that three years ago A went to the Land Court and had his rent reduced to B's level; it was not thus necessary for B to go into the Land Court, for his rent was a moderate one; but now, when prices are gone down and when the Land Court is making much larger reductions, B goes into Court and obtains a reduction of his rent 30 per cent lower than A's judicial rent. How is it possible to defend the difference which now again exists between the rent of A and B. Leaseholders would get reductions of 30 per cent more than those who had their rents fixed more than three years ago; and such inequalities must give rise to the gravest dissatisfaction. Unless such cases were dealt with by a general rule there could not be contentment, and the measure must fail. He, therefore, implored the Government to reconsider this part of their scheme. There was no remedy under the Bill for the inequality until a man was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the equity clauses would not give satisfaction or work justly. Arrears were to be spread over future years, and this would revive the worst practice of the worst landlords in Ireland—namely, that of allowing arrears of rent to accumulate round the necks of tenants until they were reduced to the position of slaves. Instead of reducing rents, landlords would point to these clauses of the Bill as indicating the course they ought to pursue; tenants would be encumbered with arrears until there was no recourse but bankruptcy; and then it would be said the Bill provided a remedy. He hoped that some Member of the Government would be able to get up and say that they were willing to make a concession in the direction pointed out in the Amendment. If the Government were prepared to do so, he did not think his right hon. Friend would proceed further with his Amendment, and all Parties would endeavour to make the best of the Bill. He reminded the Government that they had fallen far short of the recommendations of the Commission. The recommendations urged upon the Government were made by a Commission of their own selection, and no Member of which represented the National Party of Ireland. The Members were warm supporters of the Government, and would scarcely have reported as they had done unless they had reasons to suppose that their recommendations would be acceptable to the Government. He ventured the suggestion that these recommendations were in accordance with the wishes and feelings of the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) who, while expressing his objections to the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork last year, showed some sympathy with its object, and during the winter used his best efforts to induce landlords to reduce their rents, and had indicated that the Government were prepared with large proposals. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) regretted the causes of the right hon. Gentleman's resignation, and could not forbear expressing his opinion that perhaps there might have been another cause for his resignation than his unfortunate illness. At all events, it was quite certain that since his resignation a change had come over the policy of the Government. They had never heard from the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary any single recommendation to the landlords to be lenient, and until last night there never escaped from his lips a single word of sympathy with the suffering Irish tenants.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): You are entirely in error.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was very happy to hear that correction, but the right hon. Gentleman had never exhibited the same standard of good feeling towards the Irish tenants as his Predecessor had done. On the other hand, he had thrown himself with great zest into the policy of coercion. The House had now before them the whole policy of the Government with regard to Ireland—on the one hand a Coercion Bill, the most severe and the most stringent ever passed in this country. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, he had studied every one of the Coercion Acts since the Union, and he said, without hesitation, that this Bill was the most stringent of any that had ever been passed in this respect. It was aimed chiefly at combination among tenants, and he did not believe any previous Acts had gone that length. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said that this Bill was directed only against crime, but in the end of the debate on Friday night the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) had let the cat out of the bag, and had told the House that the Bill was directed against combinations. They had now a supplement of that policy in the Bill before the House, which, he ventured to say, was insufficient for its purpose, unworthy in its workings, and would not give satisfaction to the tenants of Ireland. Looking at the policy as a whole, he said it was an unwise policy. It would aggravate the evils it was intended to cure, and it would widen the gulf between landlords and tenants, which it should have been the wise policy of the present Government to bridge over and efface.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) said, he trusted the right hon. Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw-Lefevre) would allow a humble Member of the Government to thank him for the assistance he had promised to give them, and to express a hope that it would be of a more effective character than he had given by his speech on the second reading. He (Sir John Gorst) did not complain so much of the criticisms of the right hon. Gentleman, because he had scarcely said anything which had not been urged already; but he did complain of the joy which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed because, as he said, the Bill had received such a mauling and had been riddled by shot from stem to stern. The Government had a right to complain of the way in which the right hon. Gentleman reviewed the remarks of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), apparently for the purpose of showing that, while he agreed in all that the right hon. Member for West Birmingham had said, he disagreed with him in this—that he had made up his mind not to vote for the Amendment, and so wreck the Bill upon the second reading. The Government had also a right to complain that the right hon. Gentleman, after dragging in the Crimes Bill and endeavouring to persuade the House that that Bill and the Bill before the House disclosed the whole policy of the Government, had omitted all reference to the Purchase Bill which had been repeatedly stated by the Government to be the supplement of their other measures. He (Sir John Gorst) thought the Government had some right to the candid and generous support not only of the right hon. Gentleman, but of his late Colleagues, with the single exception of the former Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. John Morley), because the Government were engaged in endeavouring to alleviate some of the evil consequences of the land legislation of 1870 and 1881. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out the evils and anomalies inseparable from the fixing of judicial rents for a term of years which had directly arisen from that legislation, and he (Sir John Gorst) thought an attempt to meet some of the evil consequences which we should have to deal with for some years to come, many of which had not been foreseen, deserved, on the part of those who were desirous of the good of their country and not of Party advantage, a candid consideration. But he would like to turn aside from the speech just delivered, which he regarded as merely one of those political Party utterances which officials and ex-officials had to make from time to time in that House, and to consider for a short time two remarkable speeches which those who were present in the earlier part of the evening had the advantage of hearing from two Gentlemen each of whom professed to represent the farmers of Ireland—the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). The speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo was one of those speeches calculated to make every Englishman who was sincerely desirous of redressing the grievances of the Irish tenants despair. He (Sir John Gorst) could not understand, after such a speech, how the right hon. Member for Central Bradford could seriously urge that Her Majesty's Government ought to take the Representatives of Ireland, who sat below the Gangway, into their confidence, and endeavour to pass any measure which would satisfy them. He might be very simple; but he always thought that the hon. Member for East Mayo represented the Irish tenants, with a sincere desire to benefit their condition, and not, like some of his Colleagues, with a desire to make capital out of the difficulties of their condition and to embarrass the Government of the day. [*Parnellite cries of* "Withdraw!"] He did not withdraw his statement, although, perhaps, his idea might be due to perversity of mind, or to his being too prone to suspicion. The hon. Member, though he stated in the course of his speech that this Bill contained most of the propositions which in 1881 had been unsuccessfully proposed by those who were now his Colleagues, denounced the Bill root and branch, and stated that he was prepared to take the responsibility of voting with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs, and destroy the measure on the second reading. There was one clause which the hon. Member ventured to except from the universal condemnation, and that was the 1st clause, extending the benefit of the Land Act to leaseholders. He (Sir John Gorst) could not understand how the hon. Member could reconcile to himself the desire to see the benefits of that clause extended to the leaseholders of Ireland, with the vote which he was about to give, which would deprive the leaseholders of the benefit of that clause for 12 months to come. The hon. Member also forgot to add Clause 2, because it was another of the propositions which the hon. Member and his Colleagues had urged on the House of Commons in 1881, and which, at least, deserved as great an amount of approbation from those who represented the tenants of Ireland as Clause 1. But it was quite evident, from the speech of the hon. Member, that, whatever might have been the motives which animated that speech, he was determined to see no good in any of the suggestions which emanated from the Government. Instead of advocating the second reading of the Bill, and endeavouring to improve it in Committee, by adding those parts which were lacking, it was evident that the hon. Member was determined to oppose the Bill and denounce it in every clause. He (Sir John Gorst) was particularly struck with the hon. Member's observations regarding Clause 4, which substituted a written notice for the execution of an ejectment. That clause certainly did away with a considerable amount of suffering, and he should have thought that a proposal of that kind did not deserve the epithet of "infamous" applied to it by the hon. Member. Then the hon. Member for East Mayo dealt with Clause 6. As far as he could make out from attention to the debates, and from a perusal of the Bill, there was no difference in principle between the hon. Member for East Mayo, the hon. Member for South Tyrone, and the Government on the question of town parks. It was a question of definition and of detail which ought not to be imported into a debate on the second reading. As to Clause 22 giving the County Court power to stay evictions, he thought the hon. Member for East Mayo might at least have appmitted that, as far as the clause went, it was beneficial and was conceived in the interests of the tenant; certainly it did not deserve the general denunciation with which he treated the Bill. The hon. Member also stated that the relief which was given to the glebe tenants was inadequate; but he thought the criticism of that clause by the hon. Member for South Tyrone was, at least, more sensible, and he should hope that the hon. Gentleman represented more truly the feeling of the Irish tenants. He could not help noticing that when the hon. Member for East Mayo spoke of the Bankruptcy Clauses, he gave the House to understand that they were framed in the interests of the landlords. It was rather singular, however, that the same clauses should have been objected to by the hon. Member for South Tyrone on a different ground. The hon. Member for South Tyrone thought that they would prove too strong a temptation for the insolvent tenant; that they were so advantageous to him and so disadvantageous to the community at large, that it was a pity to hold out such a temptation to him. But turning from the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo to the speech of the other Representative of the Irish tenants, he did not think it would be said that the hon. Member for South Tyrone indulged in any unreasonable eulogy of the Government Bill. There was this difference in the two speeches to be noted. The hon. Member for South Tyrone made the speech of a man who was desirous of helping the Government to frame a very satisfactory measure. The hon. Member had made a large number of able and most important criticisms on the provisions of the Bill. He (Sir John Gorst), however, did not understand the hon. Member for South Tyrone to have any rooted objection to the principle of the Bill, or any objection to it which would justify him in destroying the measure on the second reading; and, therefore, the answer which could be given to the whole of his observations was that, when the Bill was in Committee, the various points which he had brought forward could be fairly considered, and Amendments carrying out his views could be framed either by the hon. Member himself, or by others, and the House would then be able to decide whether any of those Amendments were so capable of being carried into effect as to deserve insertion in the Bill. [*Laughter.*] He did not understand the derision of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who was a Member of the Government which began, in 1881, a revolution in the land system of Ireland of which they had not yet seen the end. That measure, he (Sir John Gorst) thought, was passed by the Government of the day, not only without making provision for the consequences of the revolution which they initiated, but even without foreseeing a great many of those consequences. They had changed that single ownership of land, which had been the system of Great Britain and Ireland for many years, into a system of dual ownership; and they never seemed to have considered or provided for all the difficulties and complications which had arisen, and which would arise in future years, from that change. An attempt was to be made by the Government next year to undo the effect of the legislation of 1881 in that direction, by restoring the single ownership of land. [*Laughter.*] The hon. Member laughed, and he (Sir John Gorst) dared say that such an attempt might not succeed; but, whether it succeeded or not, the dual ownership of land would continue in Ireland for very many years to come; for it would not be until a great many yearly instalments of money had been paid, if they ever were paid, that the dual ownership of land would end. What he wanted to point out was, that the existence of that dual ownership of land entailed a considerable number of difficulties and complications which were not provided for, but which would have to be provided for by legislation from year to year. There was nothing impossible in dual ownership of land. Single ownership was what they were accustomed to in this country; but dual ownership prevailed in many other communities and States and was found more advantageous than single ownership. Over a great part of India the ownership of land was dual; and the cultivators of the soil were very much in the same position as the tenants of Ireland were in now. They had rents fixed for considerable periods, and the landlord was the State itself. But in that case, an immense amount of legislation and an infinite number of provisions had to be made in order to enable that system to work equitably. The State fixed the rents, and not only so, but from time to time, when the tenants were unable to pay it, had to make considerable remissions from those rents to enable them to keep themselves on the land; and it was probable that the House, if the dual ownership of land in Ireland continued to prevail, would have to engage in a great deal of agrarian legislation which it had not yet dreamt of, and would have to consider many matters which had hitherto been strange to it. Although the proposal of the Government with reference to what were called the Bankruptcy Clauses of that Bill had been received by thoughtless persons with a considerable amount of derision, there was in existence in India and at work for many years past in the Deccan, a system which bore a most singular resemblance to the clauses of that Bill. The condition of the ryots in the Deccan was very similar to that of the Irish tenants at the present moment. They were unable to pay their rents, and had fallen into the hands of the money lenders, and many of them were on the verge of bankruptcy. An Act was passed temporarily, which had been renewed from time to time, which gave the Courts much greater power than was given to the Courts by this Bill. It gave the Courts, among other things, power to call upon all the creditors of the tenants for accounts; it gave power to suspend all process so as to give the tenant time to pay his debts; it gave power to reduce the amount of the tenant's indebtedness by enforcing a composition on all the creditors; and, finally it gave that very power which had been made an object of derision that evening—namely, to put in a trustee to carry on the farm for a time for the benefit of all concerned. And that Act had now been at work for many years and it had saved thousands of tenants from the evictions to which they would otherwise have been subjected. The Government had been taunted with not having stated, on the second reading of this Bill, what modifications they were prepared to assent to; and the hon. Member for East Mayo had challenged them to say whether it was the Bill which had been introduced that was to be read a second time, or the Bill which had been shadowed out by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham. There could be but one answer to that question. The House could only read a second time the Bill which the Government had introduced. The forms of the House would not allow of any other course being taken; and it seemed to him quite unreasonable to ask the Government, even before any definite Amendments had been put upon the Paper, to say whether they were ready to adopt them or not. All that the Government could do was that they would be prepared to consider favourably any Amendments which were suggested to them by Members of the House who were sincere in their support of the Bill.

They must, however, be suspicious regarding Amendments suggested by those who had previously announced their intention to destroy the Bill if they possibly could. The principles of the Bill had been very clearly enunciated by the Government. It was a temporary measure, which was intended to afford relief to the class of leaseholders who suffered hardships under the Act of 1881. It was also intended to check harsh and cruel evictions, and it was intended to provide for the interval before the introduction of a measure which, it was hoped, would solve those difficulties which a judicial rent had failed to meet. He put it to hon. Gentlemen opposite who had passed the Act of 1881, whether it was generous to meet such a Bill in a Party spirit like that which had been displayed by the right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs and the Member for East Mayo. He was convinced that it would be more in accordance with a calm and philosophical spirit, if they passed this measure and relieved the Irish tenants from suffering.

Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I confess I was genuinely alarmed during a portion of the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir John Gorst), lest you, Mr. Speaker, should call him to Order for travelling into a very interesting description of a Bill which is not before the House, but which, he said, would probably come before us next year. The hon. Gentleman, however, relieved us from that fear, when he suddenly reverted to a defence of the Bill, or, at least, the Bankruptcy Clauses of the Bill before us, basing his justification of them on his Indian experience, and especially on certain legislation which is known as the Deccan land legislation. He told us that the particular provision he wished to justify bore a remarkable likeness to some of the provisions of this Deccan land legislation. I think the hon. Gentleman has a little let the cat out of the bag as to the Bankruptcy Clauses of this Bill, which, perhaps, under his advice has been copied from what he describes as the Deccan land legislation. But, Sir, the real difficulty in discussing what the hon. Gentleman has called the principles of this Bill is the very remarkable manner in which the measure has come before Parliament. I do not think that upon any occasion a measure has been proposed to Parliament which has gone through, before its first discussion in this House, the number of changes to which this Bill has been subjected. It was brought in in the House of Lords early in the present Session — in fulfilment of the promise made last year before the appointment of the Royal Commission. The Bill as then introduced in the House of Lords we had an opportunity of seeing, and the country also had an opportunity of seeing, and I think anyone who remembers the outcry at that time will bear me out when I say that from landlord and from tenant the original Bill met with almost universal opposition. Well, Sir, what happened then? The Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, and was committed *pro formâ*, and, after committal the Bill emerged under the authority of Her Majesty's Government totally differing from the first edition. We then had an interesting discussion in the other House on the Bill as altered, and when it came from the final Committee stage in the House of Lords it was again entirely altered. Many of its provisions were either entirely struck out, or changed. As it passed the Committee, the measure was not like the first Bill or the second Bill, but was in many respects an entirely new measure. Finally, on Report, the Bill was materially changed again, and it has come down to this House as a fourth Bill, not in the least like the first, very little like the second, in many respects differing from the third; but it is presented to us as the deliberate view Her Majesty's Government take of the solution of this great problem, with regard to which they had not in the least made up their minds in March, as to which they had adopted several material changes between the month of March and the month of June, and which the House is now told it is to accept as expressing the principles—to use the word of the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken—of the Government on this most important subject. Sir, it must have occurred to everybody to ask those who offer a Bill of this kind, dealing with these important interests, and which has been so frequently changed during the last two or three months—it must have occurred to everybody to ask whether it is safe even now to accept what we have to discuss as the final view of Her Majesty's Government. It certainly is not, in many respects, because yesterday we heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland of two more Amendments which it is proposed to introduce into the Bill, greatly altering its construction. Therefore, as I said before, are we to take this Bill as a final and determined proposal of Her Majesty's Government, or is it put on the Table, subject to very great amendment, still open for discussion? And what is, I think, more important, may we expect to have soon the judgment of Her Majesty's Goment on the main questions which have already been discussed for two days in the House, and which I think raise almost throughout the Bill questions of the greatest importance? Now, Sir, will the House allow me to refer to the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) yesterday? That speech, no one could call a speech hostile to the Government. It was a very carefully delivered speech, and following it very closely and studiously, as I did from first to last, I could not help observing the anxiety which was shown on the faces of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the extent of the criticism which my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham was offering, and as to the extent to which they would have to yield or not to yield to that criticism. Sir, I may, perhaps, be allowed to point out to the House what were, not the suggestions, for they were far more than that, but what were the criticisms which my right hon. Friend offered on the Bill, and in what respects he invited the House to alter its provisions. Sir, there were no less than six important changes which my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham said he should require to be made in the Bill in Committee, and without which alterations, he spoke of the Bill as an altogether imperfect and unsatisfactory measure; and the question which we are entitled to ask the Government is this—will they state to the House on Thursday, when it is understood that this debate is to come to a close—will they state to the House, before the second reading of the Bill is taken, in what way they have received the criticisms of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham, and whether we may or may not expect that the changes which he has so strongly urged on the House will be incorporated in the Bill? Now, Sir, I will venture to re-state to the House, in the words of my right hon. Friend, and not in my own words, what it is that he thinks the Bill should contain which it does not contain now, and what should be omitted from the Bill which it does now contain. I will pass by the smaller criticisms of my right hon. Friend, and will apply myself only to the large points as to which he endeavoured last night strongly to impress his opinion upon the House and the Government. I will take the points in the order not of the Bill, but of the statement of my right hon. Friend; and I will again say that it appears to me that the Government are bound—I do not say to-night, but before this debate closes—to state clearly to the House how it is proposed to meet the criticisms of my right hon. Friend—to state whether they will, or will not, make the changes in the Bill which he has urged upon them. In the first place, my right hon. Friend put it very clearly to the House that the relief which it is proposed to give to Irish tenants who are not in a position, owing to the fall of prices, or for other reasons beyond their control, to continue under the obligations which they have been under as to rent, that the relief which is proposed to be given in the Bill is altogether inadequate, and that a very much larger relief should be given, and that, too, to classes of tenants who are altogether unprovided for in the structure of the Bill. My right hon. Friend impressed on the House—and no one reading the Bill can fail to see that he was right—that nobody can be relieved under the provisions of the Bill as it stands unless he first has failed to pay his rent; and, next, unless proceedings have been taken against him to bring about his eviction from his holding. What my right hon. Friend pointed out was this—that those who have so failed to pay their rents are only a fraction of those who are unable to pay their present rents out of their earnings, and that as much regard, or even more regard, ought to be had to those tenants who have paid their rents, and who have done so perhaps at great sacrifice, who may have been obliged to spend their little capital in the strict fulfilment of their pecuniary obligations, and who, therefore, will practically, perhaps, be unable in the future to carry on their business—that far more regard is due to them than to those who have at once refused to pay their rents, and who have been brought under the operations of actions through the Courts, and for whom the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th clauses provide. Sir, my right hon. Friend insisted upon that, saying—I quote his exact words—that, in his opinion, relief should be given by way of reduction of rent to solvent tenants who are paying rents which are not now fair, and who are unable to obtain reasonable abatements. These are more deserving of the sympathy of the House than any other class of tenants. They should have the liberty of going, too, into Court, and of having their position reviewed. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) will, I feel certain, confirm what I say, when I state that no relief is offered to solvent tenants under the present Bill—that the only tenants to whom relief is offered are those who are not solvent and who have been brought under the operation of the Law of Ejectment. We have heard to-night from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, and from the hon. Gentleman who last spoke (Sir John Gorst), a good deal about the proposals which have been made during the debate; but I wish to point out to the House that this most crucial and important proposal of my right hon. Friend has not been alluded to by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson), or the hon. Gentleman who last spoke. Therefore, I hold that it is absolutely necessary, in order to the efficient carrying on of this debate, that, considering the important speech of my right hon. Friend, and the care with which this part of it was elaborated—for he repeated these points two or three times in the course of his address—I say it is absolutely necessary that Her Majesty's Government should reply to the speech of my right hon. Friend, and particularly upon this point, before the debate closes. It has been absolutely unnoticed, and, considering the official position of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, I think hat it ought to have been noticed by him; but he made no reference to it whatever. Well, now I will take the second proposal of my right hon. Friend. My right hon. Friend, in the second place, said that, in his opinion, relief should be given to landlords who are suffering from the burden of family charges created under the former land system. Well, to that also not a single word in the shape of reply has been given by either of the Members of the Government who have addressed us. It is a subject which is very much treated of in the Report of the Royal Commission. It is referred to at great length in the evidence, and it is referred to also in the Report itself. It is a subject on which the Government cannot pretend that they do not understand the arguments which have been adduced why such relief should be extended to the landowner. But the Government have treated this proposal of my right hon. Friend with precisely the same silence with which they treated his former proposal. Now I go to his third point. My right hon. Friend, in reference to the 1st clause, said that perpetuity tenants should have the right of going into Court for relief. Well, I cannot say that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland entirely passed by that proposal; but he distinctly negatived it. He gave reasons that were satisfactory, to his mind, why no such relief should be given. He did not argue the matter at any length, but merely passed it by lightly, refraining, however, from submitting to the House any proposal on the subject. My right hon. Friend then took a fourth objection to a very important clause in the Bill. He objected strongly to the Proviso under which tenants under lease can receive no relief if the improvements of the landlord have been unexhausted to the extent of four times the rent. To that my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham attached great importance, and he pressed it on the Government as an Amendment that ought to be admitted; but here again we have absolute silence on the part of one Member of the Government, whilst on the part of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland we have it contended that no such concession can be made, but only because leases on this condition had been granted on the English—not on the Irish system.

Then the fifth proposal of my right hon. Friend was one of very great importance indeed. It has been referred to by everyone who has spoken; and it is the question of the front door and the back door. I think I shall not be misunderstood when I use these words, as the simile has been used and accepted on both sides of the House. My right hon. Friend pressed upon the Government this principle—that the same relief should be given to tenants sued for rent and liable to lose their holdings under *fi. fa.* as is given where notice of ejectment has been served. Now to this proposal the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland did not offer quite such an absolute negative as he did to the other proposal; but he put this question—"Show us how the thing is to be done?" I think he said—"Formulate, if you can, an Amendment which will carry out that proposal." He could not dispute the justice of the proposal, because it is evident that if the landlord has two ways of ousting his tenant from his holding, and only one way is barred by this Bill, it leaves the other untouched, and if eventually only one way is closed, the harsh landlord, who up to that time has availed himself of that way, will have no hesitation in adopting the other. He may have adopted the former method simply because it was more convenient, and may be content to adopt the less convenient one when he finds that it is absolutely necessary. What is the reply of the hon. and learned Gentleman? "Oh," he said, "what have you to suggest as the method of carrying out what I consider to be virtually an impracticable proposal?" Now, what are the words at the beginning of the 22nd clause? They are—

> "In any proceedings for the recovery of a holding to which this section applies, for the non-payment of rent, if the Court in which the proceedings are pending is satisfied by the evidence before it that the tenant of the holding is unable to satisfy by an immediate payment in full the landlord's claim for arrears of rent for which the proceedings are brought and for costs, and that such inability does not arise from his own conduct, act, or default, and there is reasonable ground for believing that, having regard to the interests of both the landlord and tenant, an extension of time to pay ought to be granted, the Court may put a stay upon the execution of the judgment of the Court for such time as the Court thinks reasonable."

I suggest to the Attorney General that the best method of carrying out my right hon. Friend's suggestion would be to leave out in the first line of the section the words "for the recovery of a holding," and to make the necessary consequential Amendments later on. The clause, if these words were left out, would run — "In any proceedings to which this section applies for the non-payment of rent, &c." You have only to give the same facilities for putting a stay on the proceedings in an action for debt followed by *fi. fa.*, as is proposed for putting a stay on the execution of judgment for eviction. Therefore, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman really and seriously asks us to suggest a manner in which this can be carried out, I would say to him at once omit the words—"For the recovery of a holding." I do not think it would be impracticable to do this, and upon this point I have consulted a lawyer who has great experience in these matters, and who agrees with me that such a provision would be perfectly easy to work. If that is so, it seems to me that the difficulty is solved. If the Government have any difficulty about these words, they will be able to raise it in Committee. That is the fifth proposal of my right hon. Friend. Now I come to the sixth. My right hon. Friend, in spite of his sympathy with the Law of Bankruptcy—a sympathy that is very natural, considering that his was the successful task of re-modelling bankruptcy in this country—after well weighing the effect in Ireland of making bankruptcy the only door through which a tenant can pass to obtain relief from the payment of his rent, came to the conclusion that the Bankruptcy Clauses should be omitted altogether. He said if they were so omitted, and if relief were given in the way he suggested, where the tenants were solvent, and had not been subjected to legal proceedings, and had not become insolvent, the problem would be solved. Now, my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham, whose authority in this matter and whose weight with the Government are very great—because without him just now they would be in a very poor plight—is not the only Member who during this debate has taken exception to these provisions of the Bill. Almost exactly the same provisions have been taken exception to, and almost exactly the same omissions have been suggested by the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), who made a most powerful speech, with some of which I did not agree, but with the greater part of whose criticism of the various points of this Bill I most heartily agree. The hon. Member took five out of the six objections of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham. He omitted one of least importance; but out of the six objections I have just explained to the House the hon. Member for South Tyrone raised five, almost in the same words, and using almost the same language, as my right hon. Friend. Now, neither the hon. Member for South Tyrone nor the right hon. Member for West Birmingham have been acting with us during the present Parliament, and therefore I can quote them with perfect impartiality; but what I want to insist on, and to urge upon the House, is that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give us promptly, before this debate closes, an answer to these six objections of my right hon. Friend, and these five objections of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. I trust they will do that; they will, if they desire the country to see what are their real proposals. If they leave the matter alone, and if we go into Committee without knowing what the opinion of the Government is, except on small points of detail—and I will not allude to any of these, for though they may be of importance, they are still, relatively speaking, only small points—I say if they do not tell us what is their view upon these large questions, then, Sir, the second reading of the Bill will be a mockery. It will really express nothing. It will say—"Yes; we have changed our minds three or four times; and our strongest Friends have pressed further changes upon us, and we decline altogether to say whether we accept these changes, or whether we decline them." Under those circumstances, I can, therefore, only say that this debate will be altogether inconsequential, and that the country will not be satisfied as to the proposals of the Government. My right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) has brought forward a Motion perfectly sound in itself, but as to which we shall have great difficulty in knowing in what position Her Majesty's Government is placed, unless they will frankly and simply answer these six questions. I can only say that if they do answer these six questions in a manner satisfactory to the objects of those who have put them, the strongest arguments against the second reading of the Bill will have fallen to the ground. No one, Sir, can accuse me of having put these matters to Her Majesty's Government in a factious or a Party way. I am strictly and literally adopting the arguments, and almost the words, of two important supporters of Her Majesty's Government in pointing out the faults of the Bill; and that being so, I trust I shall not be met by any statement to the effect that I have treated the matter in an unfair spirit to Her Majesty's Government. If the Government decline to meet these simple questions in the spirit which we are entitled to expect from them, I hold that there will have taken place a circumstance of great misfortune—a want of attention to those Parliamentary Rules which are perfectly well understood in Debate—and that the progress of this Bill is not likely to be as satisfactory as either side of the House could wish.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Thursday.*

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) [SALARY, ADVANCES, &c.]

RESOLUTION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming adjourned Debate on Question [11th July], "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—

> "That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the salary, remuneration, and allowances of any Commissioners that may be appointed in pursuance of any Act of the present Session, to make better provision for the administration of the Acts relating to the relief of the destitute poor in certain parts of Ireland, to authorise the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland to make loans, and the Treasury to make a free grant, to the Board of Guardians or Commissioners of any dissolved or altered Union under the provisions of the said Act."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): There must be some misunderstanding about this. It was understood that the Resolution would be taken on the same day as the Distressed Unions Bill, and therefore it has not been blocked. I maintain that it cannot be proceeded with until we go on with the Bill, and I should like the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to explain how it is that this Order is now being taken?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I would point out to the hon. and learned Member that unless the Resolution is taken first, the Bill cannot be proceeded with. No harm can possibly be done by taking this Resolution now, because if the Bill is not proceeded with this Resolution will fall to the ground.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Very well.

Resolution *agreed to.*

PRISON (OFFICERS' SUPERANNUATION) (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[Bill 233.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: This Bill is for a very simple purpose. Before the year 1877, there were a large number of local prisons in Scotland under separate management in different counties, and when these prisons were abolished, arrangements were made for the superannuation of the officers. It has been found highly inconvenient, where two or more Local Authorities have had to pay a share of the pensions of these officers, that the amounts should be annually collected separately. The object, and the one object of this Bill, is to enable the authorities to commute the amounts of the annual payments they require to make. I think I need say no more in recommending this Bill to the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The position of Scotland in the matter of the superannuation of prison officers is somewhat remarkable, and I wish to know why an exceptional position is taken up as to that country, and why, when a Bill is pending for Ireland, Her Majesty's Government, in that measure, should propose to deal with the subject in an entirely different way? I do not say that the Government are not dealing with this Scotch question in an admirable manner; but I complain that so far as Ireland is concerned, the Government propose to abolish the Richmond Prison without consulting the Dublin Corporation, and to throw upon them the whole burden of the charge. Of course it would be irrelevant, and I do not intend to discuss the Irish Question; but I think it is a remarkable thing that this Bill has been brought in to deal with the Scotch question in such a very different manner from the way it is proposed to deal with the Irish Question. As I understand it, the proposal affecting Ireland is that an entire block of buildings shall be done away with, and that the Dublin Corporation shall pay the expenses of commuting the superannuation allowances and other expenses, without any consideration being given to this Local Authority. The proposal in the present Bill seems to me to be of an entirely different character. It seems to show that, in dealing with a Scotch question, the Government are willing to give the Local Authorities some consideration. I think that is a proper thing to do. We have asked for that in our case, but have never got it, nor have the Government ever said that they will consult the Local Authorities before doing away with the block of buildings I have referred to.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

SHERIFFS (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

[*Lords.*]

(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[Bill 262.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Edward Clarke) (Plymouth): I ask the House to agree to the second reading of this Consolidation Bill, the object of which is to gather into one Statute a number of provisions that are now scattered over the Statute Book in a great many Acts of Parliament, and which are, of course, very inconvenient for the purpose of reference. If there were any objection to the Bill, I should not now seek to go on with the second reading. I have not heard of any objection, and I therefore trust that the House will allow the measure to be read a second time. I will not put down the Committee stage for a week, so that if in the meantime any objection is raised, I may know the nature of such objection, and may endeavour to meet it.

Mr. T. M. HEALY Longford, N.): Why does not this Bill apply to Ireland?

Sir EDWARD CLARKE: I will deal with that question upon the Motion to go into Committee if the hon. and learned Gentleman desires it.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): What change in the law does the measure effect?

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY: This matter has evidently come upon the hon. and learned Member himself by surprise; for, judging from his manner of moving it, he does not appear to have been able to give the smallest study to its provisions. I have gone over the Bill with great curiosity. It was delivered to me with some documents relating to friendly societies. It seems a very admirable Bill, and I am not prepared to oppose the second reading. It involves an important change in the law. I do not rise in opposition to the second reading; but I do desire to have some information. The Bill deals with a subject of even more antiquity then the question of Coroner's Law, or than any other proposal for codification possibly can do. As I say, I believe it to be a desirable Bill; but I fail to see why, when we are simply dealing with a matter of construction and arrangement, you should leave Ireland out of this codification and improvement of the law. Now, as the Irish Office has very little to do, except to answer Questions—a function which is so admirably performed by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman)—I think we have a right to ask that they should go into this matter, and should extend this Bill to our country. It will not extend to Ireland as it is now drafted, because a great many provisions differing from Irish Law could not be made to apply. I do maintain, however, that the law affecting the Sheriffs is in our country in the same state of entanglement as it seems to be in Scotland, and ought to be elucidated. I will give the Government a very substantial reason for doing this, and it is that whenever you in England come into conflict with the Sheriffs, you do so upon a question of debt; but that, so far as Ireland is concerned, it is not only in matters of debt that you come into conflict with the Sheriff, but also as regards the land struggle in that country; there is not a day, there is hardly an hour in which in some form or other you are not brought into collision with this official. Anyone who possesses any sort of knowledge upon this matter knows that there are actions pending with the Sheriffs in almost every county, and the only wonder is that there are not a great many more. I appeal to the two legal Representatives of England in this matter. Certainly, no Conservative Government was ever represented by two Gentlemen more courteous or better informed, or more capable of discharging their duty. We would submit to them that when passing measures of this kind for their country, they should remember that it is their constant boast that they are dealing with a united Kingdom. If we are a united Kingdom, surely Irish law should be taken into consideration when such measures as this are before the House. The Irish Law Officers, I venture to say, would only be too glad to look into this matter, and give the Government the benefit of their advice. What I complain of is this, that while in England you have what I may call a scientific study of ancient laws, with a desire to codify and improve them, the Irish Law Officers apply themselves to nothing but the development of the criminal side of the law against the people, with no desire whatever to make any improvement in that law, and to prevent friction and anything of that kind, which, in a well-ordered community, should be the first duty of the governing body of the country, and especially of the Executive officers, who have the most onerous duties cast upon them to attend to.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I cannot, of course, discuss with the hon. Member at this moment whether or not any particular Bills should be passed for Ireland. This is a Bill to consolidate the law with regard to Sheriffs in Scotland. Of course, I agree that it is desirable to assimilate the law of Ireland to that of England and Scotland; I am quite sure that the Irish Law Officers will be willing to promote that object, and when I am appealed to on the subject I shall be quite ready to give my co-operation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time and *committed* for *Tuesday* next.

CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND) PROCEDURE (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 196.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): In the absence of my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) I beg to move the Amendment standing in his name.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not competent to move a clause standing in the name of another hon. Member.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to move that the Debate be now adjourned.

Dr. CAMERON at this point entering the House—

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member's clause has been reached in his absence; but perhaps the House will now allow it to be moved.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): The reasons in favour of the clause which I rise to move were explained on going into Committee on the Bill. At present, the position of an untried prisoner in Scotland is much harder than it is in this country, and it is to remove in some degree the distinction that I propose the clause standing in my name. One of the witnesses who came before the Royal Commission was the right hon. and learned Gentleman the present Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald), and the right hon. and learned Gentleman gave the strongest evidence in favour of a change in the law such as is now proposed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman at the last stage of the Bill, however, argued against my proposal; but it seemed to me that in his argument he only showed that, like Hudibras, he could "on every hand confute, change hands, and still confute." I am bound to say that the arguments which he used on the Front Bench are quite different from those used by him before the Royal Commission. Every objection was urged when the question was before the Royal Commission, against the proposal which he made, that prisoners should have access to their agents and other assistance of the kind; but the right hon. and learned Gentleman at the time met every one of those arguments with the most perfect success. I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman to carry out what were then, and what I believe are still, his opinions on this matter. The right hon. and learned Gentleman now says that he must be guided by public opinion, and that this is not ripe for the change which I propose in the law. But I deny that altogether. I say that public opinion is as ripe with reference to this proposal as it ever was for any Bill ever brought before the House of Commons. The right hon. and learned Gentleman is carrying out his opinion on the question of procedure reform in Scotland, on which he is perfectly competent to pronounce an opinion, and I ask him to carry out in favour of prisoners and in the interests of justice another alteration of the law, the justice of which he has himself defended and himself acknowledged. Now, the right hon. and learned Gentleman proposed when the Bill was last before the House to introduce a clause giving untried prisoners in Scotland under Statute the right which they possess under the present rules; but I suppose he has found it difficult to embody in a clause provisions such as he spoke of. It was on hearing that proposal that I did not move this clause in Committee, and it is because the right hon. and learned Gentleman has not put down his Amendment that I move my clause on the Report stage. As a matter of fact, it carries out, very much better than the clause referred to, the opinions expressed by the right hon. and learned Gentleman before the Royal Commission; it carries out literally what he proposed. The right hon. and learned Gentleman argued in favour of the principle before the Royal Commission, and he said that there was no reason why the prisoner should not have at his elbow legal assistance at the time of emitting his declaration. I remind the House that in Scotland a prisoner may be arrested and kept in prison for a week before committed, during the whole of which time he may be refused access to his friends and legal adviser, and that he would be subject to an examination the result of which can be adduced against him to prove his guilt, but which cannot be used in his favour if it contains anything to his advantage. The clause which I propose has for its object to remedy these hardships, and I now propose that it be inserted in the Bill.

New Clause,—

(Prisoners before committal to be allowed access to law agents.)

"Where any person has been arrested on any criminal charge, such person shall be entitled immediately upon such arrest to obtain the advice and assistance of any properly qualified law agent, whom he may employ, and such law agent shall also be entitled to be present, when such accused person is being examined by, or is emitting any declaration, before the Sheriff, or other magistrate,"—(*Dr. Cameron,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOTT (Roxburgh): I rise to say a few words in support of the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). I have always thought that the Scotch procedure, although satisfactory to the Scotch people, is extremely hard upon the prisoner, as between the arrest and the committal the accused person has no opportunity of consulting his legal adviser. I think that it would be considered intolerable in England that such a state of things should exist. The English law assumes a man to be innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and I cannot understand why that view should not also be taken in Scotland. In addition to what has been said by my hon. Friend, I should like to point out that, when evidence was taken before the Royal Commission, a Scotch Judge gave it as his opinion that it was unfair in itself, though required by the ends of justice, to deny an accused person access to his friends or law agent until he has been before the magistrate. In that opinion the other Judges agreed. I do not want to weary the House at this hour with further arguments in support of the contention that, in the interests of right and justice, a person when once arrested should be allowed to consult his friends and legal adviser. I think that words ought to be inserted to include advocates as well as law agents. As I have said, our procedure is much harder in this respect than it is in England and Ireland, and I do not think that the ends of justice require that such inequalities should exist.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): My hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) seems to have more confidence in my judgment when I was a young man than he has now. I can assure him that the Royal Commissioners, who had before them those very able and telling arguments, to which my hon. Friend has referred, were totally unconvinced by them and absolutely refused to accept them. I was then a very young man; but am now not quite so confident in my opinion as I was at that time. If I believed that public opinion was with us I should be in favour of this clause; but I would call the attention of my hon. Friend to this, that I have proposed to give the prisoner the power of using the declaration as evidence of the statement he made when first charged with the offence, which to an innocent person will be a most valuable thing, and which he could but have if the statement were made by the advice of the law agent. I think my hon. Friend can very well recognize that, if this Amendment be passed at all, it cannot be passed in the form in which it stands. I shall be extremely moderate in my opposition to the clause, holding the views which I do on the subject; and if my hon. Friend presses the Amendment, I, for one, must feel that I cannot properly resist his proposal. I hope he will recognize that, in accepting the clause, there will be need on my part to take care, by the addition of words, that there shall be no difficulty about it elsewhere.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I merely intervene to tell the hon. Member (Dr. Cameron) that the Representatives of Irish constituencies had several Amendments on the Paper to carry out this principle in the Coercion Bill for Ireland. Our endeavours were, however, defeated, and we have now in the Irish Coercion Bill a principle which this House will not tolerate with reference to Scotland.

MR. ASHER (Elgin, &c.): I think my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate has exercised a wise discretion in practically assenting to this clause, though I believe he underestimates the amount of feeling in Scotland on the subject, because I have no doubt the general opinion is that it is somewhat hard for a prisoner to be excluded so long from professional advice as is the case under the present system in Scotland. The present rule was originally intended in the interest of the prisoner. The declaration which is taken from the prisoner has undoubtedly been regarded as a privilege to him. What happens is that the prisoner is taken before the magistrate and duly warned that he is not under any obligation to answer questions, and that if he does answer his statement may be used against him. Of course, the statement may be of advantage to the prisoner by enabling the Public Prosecutor to see if there has been a mistake in the charge, and where that is the case bringing about the discharge of the prisoner without further inquiry. That, I think, undoubtedly constitutes an advantage to the prisoner; but, on the other hand, I am bound to say that it is a great hardship for him to be excluded from professional advice for so long a period as obtains under the present system. I think the advantage the prisoner will derive from having professional advice is greater than that which he derives under the present system, and therefore I trust the right hon. and learned Gentleman will allow the clause to be added to the Bill.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): Under the present system the prisoner may be seven days in prison, and be committed to trial before he can receive advice from the law agent. I would, therefore, point out to the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate that in framing an addition to this clause it would be useful also to confirm to the prisoner the right of giving bail, because the object of the seven days' imprisonment before he can see his law agent was to give to the prosecution ample time to discover the facts of the case.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause read a second time, and *added* to the Bill.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College), who had given Notice of the following Clause:—

(Bail to be competent before committal for trial.)

"Any person accused of a crime which is by law bailable shall be entitled immediately upon his apprehension to apply to the court, by whose warrant he has been arrested, for and obtain liberation on his finding caution in common form to appear at any diet or diets which the court may fix for taking his declaration, and also for his appearing and answering to any criminal charge which may be made against him: Provided always, That due notice shall be given to the accused and his cautioner at the domicile for citation, as set forth on the bail bond on which he is liberated, of all diets appointed by the court either for taking the declaration of the accused or for the trial of the charge which may be made against him;"

said: The next clause which I propose for the acceptance of the Committee has for its object to allow the prisoner the right of being bailed before he is committed to trial. At the present time a prisoner may be kept for seven days in gaol, and during which time, and until he has been committed for trial, he cannot be bailed. Now, it appears to me that, before there is such evidence as will justify his committal, he should be at least in as good a position as he is placed in by the law if a sufficient amount of evidence is given against him to justify his committal for trial. The right hon. and learned Lord Advocate says he intends to deal with the whole question of bail in a short measure. I will not deny that the law of Scotland on the subject of bail is such as demands a revision; but such as it is it confers important rights on prisoners. Bail in Scotland is not a matter at the option of the magistrate; it is a convenience which the prisoner is entitled to demand of right, and the rates of bail are fixed so as to meet the condition of men belonging to various classes of society. Now, Sir, it may be said that the subject of bail requires revision, and that this is not a time to extend the privilege to uncommitted prisoners. I cannot admit that argument. It appears to me that whatever the state of the Law of Bail in Scotland is, its condition is such that it has been allowed to go on for many years past without complaint; and it appears to me that uncommitted prisoners should enjoy at least as many safeguards for their liberty and convenience as prisoners who have been committed. I simply ask this House to place uncommitted prisoners in the matter of bail in the same position as committed prisoners, and that when the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate comes to effect a general revision of the law on the subject, he will place the Law of Bail in Scotland in a position satisfactory to himself. When he does so, the law will be equally satisfactory in the case of uncommitted and committed prisoners. We are told that a prisoner getting out upon bail will make it his business to destroy evidence which may be brought against him, if it is possible; but I would point out that any prisoner who gets out on bail may do that. There can be no more difficulty in compelling a prisoner who has been admitted to bail to re-appear for his examination than there can be to compel a prisoner to come up for trial. Without elaborating the subject at this hour of the night, I must say I can see no sound reason, in fact, quite the contrary, why an uncommitted prisoner in the matter of bail should be in a worse position than one who has been committed. I therefore beg to move this new clause: "Bail to be competent before committal for trial."

Clause (Bail to be competent before committal for trial,)—(*Dr. Cameron,*) *brought up*, and read the first time.

Question proposed, "That the said Clause be read a second time."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): If the hon. Gentleman would consent to add these words — "Provided always, That the Court shall be entitled in its discretion to refuse bail until the person accused has been committed for trial," I should have no objection to the clause. I would remind the hon. Member that in this country magistrates frequently refuse bail on representation being made by the prosecutor. It is done, of course, to prevent evidence being destroyed, or witnesses being got out of the way. Such a course obviously is calculated to defeat the ends of justice altogether.

DR. CAMERON: I understand that what the right hon. and learned Gentleman says is the practice in England; therefore I will accept his proposal.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I am sorry to intervene in this matter; but I wish to point out that in this country, in preliminary proceedings for misdemeanour, the magistrates have no right to detain persons in custody when represented by counsel or solicitor if application is made for bail. I understand that the statement of the law by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate is that a man is absolutely of right entitled to bail on committal for such offences as misdemeanour, but is not entitled to it before his guilt has been *primâ facie* admitted by the Bench of Magistrates. I hope this Amendment will not be admitted without having a clear statement as to what is the law of England and Ireland on this subject.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: I now move my Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

To add at the end of the proposed new Clause—"Provided always that the Court shall be entitled in its discretion to refuse bail until a person accused has been committed for trial."—(*Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

DR. CAMERON: There seems to be some difference of opinion as to what is the law of England in the matter. Perhaps the right hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) will give some information upon the point.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth): I understand the law of this country to be, that if a man is arrested and brought before the magistrates, they may decline to accept bail, if they choose.

MR. CHANCE: If he is charged with misdemeanour?

SIR EDWARD CLARKE: Yes.

MR. CHANCE: When he is committed for trial for misdemeanour, he is entitled to have bail.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): The next Amendment I have upon the Paper I do not intend to move, namely—

"At the trial of any person accused of any crime aggravated by such person having been previously convicted of a crime which may competently be libelled as an aggravation, it shall not be competent for the prosecutor to prove such previous conviction until the jury shall have returned a verdict convicting the accused of the crime or crimes with which he is charged, but upon such verdict being returned, the prosecutor shall then be entitled to put in, and, if necessary, prove, the conviction or convictions libelled by way of aggravation."

Clause 3 (Procedure on resignation, death, or removal of Lord Advocate).

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I beg to move in page 2, lines 28 and 29, to leave out "appoint his deputies without having first taken the oaths of office," and insert—

"Take the oaths of office before any Secretary of State or any Lord Commissioner of Justiciary."

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause 15 ("Money" to include coin, bank notes, &c., &c.).

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I beg to move in page 5, line 4, to leave out "post office orders or postal orders." The Amendment refers to that part of the clause dealing with money or bank notes which may be mentioned in the indictment. An addition was made to the Bill in Committee of these words which I propose to leave out. It seems to me that it would hardly be a proper thing to describe as money post office orders or postal orders. It seems to me that where a man is indicted for having stolen a certain amount of money, current coin only should be implied, and that if post office orders or postal orders have been the subject of theft the fact should be expressly stated. I do not think we should introduce under the direct term money articles which are not properly known as money, and which, if stolen, the prosecutor ought specifically to describe.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 4, leave out "post office orders and postal orders."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I am not particularly wedded to these words in the clause. I put them in the other day on the suggestion of an hon. Member, and it is now suggested by another hon. Member that they should be struck out. No doubt, in a strict way of speaking, post office orders and postal orders are not correctly described as money, but they might be very easily understood as coming under that description.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): These words were put in by me at the suggestion of one of the legal societies. It seemed to me that it would be a convenience to have these words inserted; but it is not a matter of very great importance. I do not, however, see that a prisoner would gain anything by the adoption of this Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of Mr. CALDWELL, Amendment made, page 5, line 7, by leaving out "post office orders and postal orders."

Clause 17 (Petitions for warrants and arrest thereon).

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): As consequent upon leaving out Clause 11, I beg to move in page 5, line 21, to leave out "fifteen and sixteen," and insert, "and fifteen."

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 21, to leave out the words "fifteen and sixteen," and insert the words "and fifteen."—(*Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald.*)

Question, "That the words 'fifteen and sixteen' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the words 'and fifteen' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I beg to move, in line 22 of this clause, to leave out from "and" to the end of the clause. I understand that the Lord Advocate accepts this Amendment.

THE LORD ADVOCATE: Agreed.

Amendment proposed, in page 5, line 22, to leave out from "and" to the end of Clause."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Clause 18 (Declarations and previous convictions).

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox); I beg to move the Amendment which stands next on the Paper in my name. I understand that the Lord Advocate objects to the first part of the proposal—namely, to the words—

> "Where a judicial declaration has been omitted by an accused, it shall be competent for the accused to found upon that declaration as part of his defence."

I will leave those words out, and will move to insert the following after the word "used" in line 35—

> "Previous convictions against an accused shall not be laid before the jury, nor shall reference be made thereto in presence of the jury before the verdict is returned; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the Public Prosecutor from laying before the jury evidence of such previous convictions where by the existing law, it is competent to lead evidence of such previous convictions in support of the substantive crime charged."

In Scotland it is competent where a prisoner is charged with any crime, to prove before the jury that the prisoner has been previously convicted of the same or a similar crime. The effect of that in Scotland, of course, is simply this—that a prisoner's character may be known to be bad by the jury, so far as one of the most important allegations against him is concerned. If a prisoner has once been convicted of a crime, it is almost impossible for him to escape if he is again charged, whatever the character of the offence. We think that the practice in England is more correct, and that crime should be proved upon its merits without reference to the character of the prisoner. It is a fact that those cases of conviction which I have observed where the evidence has been particularly ineffective have been almost invariably cases where the person charged was a reputed thief. If the Amendment is accepted by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate I will say no more.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I have no objection to this; but I should prefer that it should not be put in here, but that it should be inserted before Clause 64.

MR. CALDWELL: Then I will move it before Clause 64.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I now move to leave out Clause 30.

Clause 30 (Procedure where accused desires to plead guilty).

Amendment proposed, in page 9, to leave out Clause 30.—(*Mr. Caldwell*)

Question proposed, "That the Clause proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The object of this clause is to meet the case of certain prisoners who know that they have no defence. They may be prepared for a verdict of guilty, and they know that if that verdict is not taken, they may be kept for three or four weeks whilst a case is being prepared against them—they know that that period will not be taken into account in the sentence which they will receive. The object of the clause will be effected on the application of the prisoner's counsel. I hope the hon. Gentleman will withdraw his Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 33 (Certain objections only competent at first diet).

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I beg to move the addition of the following Proviso:—

> "But no unreasonable delay shall be allowed to take place between the time of the accused pleading guilty, and his being brought up for sentence."

Amendment proposed,

> In page 10, at end, add,—"But no unreasonable delay shall be allowed to take place between the time of the accused pleading guilty and his being brought up for sentence."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE LORD ADVOCATE: Agreed.

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 34 (Supplementary lists of witnesses).

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): The next Amendment is one which I shall feel bound to insist upon. It is to leave out Clause 34 in page 10. According to the law of Scotland at present, when an indictment is served, the Crown is bound to serve with it a list of the witnesses. I move to omit this clause, and I think the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate will consent.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): Agreed.

Question, "That Clause 34 stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Clause 36 (Written notice of special defence).

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendment made:—In page 11, line 28, after "diet" insert—

"Or unless cause be shown to the satisfaction of the Court for a special defence, not having been lodged till a later day, which must in any case not be more than two clear days before the second diet."—(*Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald.*)

Clause 39 (Notice of peremptory challenge six days before trial).

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I beg to move to leave out the clause. This is an important Amendment. The object of the clause is to do away with the right of challenging juries at bar—a custom which has existed in Scotland from time immemorial—and I cannot understand why the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate desires to curtail the privileges of the accused. In place of giving my own opinion upon this matter, I refer the Committee to a report of the Faculty of Advocates, who may be taken as the defenders of all that is right and proper in legal matters in Scotland, whether civil or criminal, in which they hold that the challenge of jurors should still continue to remain as at present.

Amendment proposed, in page 12, to leave out Clause 39.—(*Mr. Mackintosh.*)

Question proposed "That Clause 39 stand part of the Bill."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The sole object of this clause is to save a large number of jurymen from being unnecessarily brought from long distances as they sometimes are—it is to relieve them by enabling them to escape being called. It may be objected to by some people, but there are a great many of our country people by whom it will be received with a great deal of satisfaction. The only body that has said a word against it is a body the Members of which are not liable to serve on juries.

MR. ASHER (Elgin &c.): I think there is some misapprehension on the part of many persons as to the effect of this clause. It is described as a clause that would take away the right of challenge, but that is not the case. It will require the prisoner's agent to intimate his objection to a particular juror a short time before the trial, and the result will be that that particular juror will not be required to attend. The right of challenge in Scotland, as everyone knows, is a right that is rarely exercised. On those occasions, when in consequence of popular excitement, or for other causes, it would be desirable to exercise the right there would be no difficulty whatever in getting information as to who are on the panel and intimating the challenge in the manner proposed by this clause. Desiring to see the right of challenge preserved to a prisoner, I cannot share the feelings of some persons upon this matter.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I can quite understand how Lord Advocates, present, past, or future, may wish to have the procedure as to challenge curtailed as much as possible, for they are in the position of prosecutors. The hon. Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) has drawn attention to a report of the Faculty of Advocates in which they unanimously disapprove of the curtailment of the right of challenge in the case of prisoners. At present, the prisoner may challenge the jury when the jury are being put into the box. That is the present law, but also according to the present law he is bound to give notice nine days before the trial takes place. It is a matter of importance whether the prisoner should exercise the right nine days before the day of trial or not. In addition to the view of the Faculty of Advocates I may say that the Sheriffs have petitioned in connection with this matter, and they of course are the local justices in Scotland. They say that the periods are too short, and that the present system of challenge should be retained, because in some particular instances the accused might otherwise suffer. Here you have on the one hand a certain section asking for a clause which shall limit the rights of prisoners in the case of challenge, and, on the other hand, you have the Faculty of Advocates, who are an unbiased body, and who are in favour of retaining the existing law. Here you have independent authorities saying "leave the challenge as at present," and I would point out to the Committee that, according to the law as it now stands, the prisoner may challenge the jury on the day of the trial if he has given notice nine days before the trial, but that under the present Bill there must be a notice of six days. That is a most important difference.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): When this clause came up before the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate made a concession by reducing the number of days for which notice of the challenge was necessary. He reduced it by three days. That would very much mitigate the inconvenience. There is no doubt a great inconvenience to jurors in being summoned when they are not wanted. That must be apparent; but, at the same time, I would not minimize the advantage of the right of challenge to a prisoner. In one important case in the West of Scotland the right of challenge was exercised to my knowledge with very great advantage recently. It is not always possible for the prisoner to exercise the right of challenge within a short period when he is brought up from the country, because he may not in a very short period be able to arrange for his defence. It is true that a prisoner in Scotland is entitled to a gratuitous defence, but a defence of that kind is often of a very perfunctory character, and in many cases the defence of a prisoner is not arranged until the last moment. If my hon. Friend goes to a Division on this Amendment I should certainly support him.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): When this clause was in Committee I advocated the restriction of the period of six days to three, and that having been ultimately agreed to I should certainly have been disposed to adhere to the arrangement then made. Since then, however, it has been strongly represented to me by people who are entitled to speak on the subject that we really are taking away an important privilege from prisoners. As a matter of fact, the state of things is exactly as my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) has stated—that is to say, that the defence of a prisoner is frequently only arranged at the last moment. The prisoner may not have the advantage of legal advice until perhaps the very day of the trial, and I think that the experience of everyone who has any acquaintance either with civil or criminal trials is that the consideration whether a juror is to be challenged or not usually arises at the very last moment, and sometimes it may be a matter of very considerable consequence. For that reason I should be very glad if my right hon. and learned Friend would reconsider this point. I sympathize very much with him in his desire to diminish the burden at present imposed upon jurors, and I hope he will adhere to all the provisions in that direction. Still, however, I think we are taking away a valuable right, which at certain times might be of great consequence to a prisoner.

Mr. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): I am bound to say that I look upon every Amendment proposed — every Amendment of the Criminal Law—proposed by a Member of the Unionist Party with suspicion in view of the course they have taken in connection with the Irish Coercion Bill. But I am bound to say that to-night I find that two or three hon. Members of that distinguished Party have entirely turned over a new leaf and seem to be anxious to bring about a reform of criminal procedure in favour of the prisoner. I am very glad to see that that change has taken place, and I trust it will go on developing until these hon. Members become once more real Members of the Liberal Party. I am bound to say that when I see the attitude of hon. Members on the Front Opposition Bench I am also filled with suspicion, because I am told by an old Parliamentary hand that they are generally wrong. I have great respect for the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the Elgin Burghs (Mr. Asher); but giving full weight to that respect whilst listening to his arguments, I must say I think the objections to this clause are so great that I cannot but wonder at anyone in this House having any doubt upon the point. It is all very well for the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate to put the matter as a question of the convenience of jurors. That is not the question. The important question is the right of challenge, and anyone who has had experience of trials knows that very often the right is not exercised until the moment before the prisoner is put upon his trial. I tell the House that the proposal that the right of challenge is to be put on the footing of six days' notice by post to be sent by some agent six days before the trial is, to my mind, one of the most extraordinary things which have ever been proposed. And to say that this is a proper hour of the night at which to discuss such a question is to advance a proposition I do not agree with. This seems to me to be a most important question, involving as it does the right of challenge; and I hope the Committee will support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh). I am satisfied that if the clause is permitted to stand it will have an important effect in limiting the right of challenge.

Mr. A. R. D. ELLIOT (Roxburgh): I would point out to the hon. Member who has just sat down that a good many of us have been trying to improve the criminal procedure in Scotland long before the hon. Member had a seat in this House. Hon. Members do not seem to observe that what we are dealing with is the right of peremptory challenge only. Everyone who reads the clause to the end will see that a prisoner has a right of challenge as before for cause shown, when persons come up to be balloted for on the jury. Hon. Gentlemen who have spoken represent the views of large places like Glasgow; but I can say from my own knowledge that in small places the burden thrown on jurymen is considerable, and is very much complained of. We, who are interested in keeping up the popularity of jury trials without unnecessary injustice to the accused, must see that no greater burden is imposed upon jurors than is necessary. I therefore take the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate's view of the matter.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I have no wish to intervene in the discussion of this measure; but there has been an understanding entered into that the Truck Bill should be taken to-night, and as there is every probability of the question now before the House occupying a considerable amount of time, I am under the necessity of moving that the further consideration of the present measure be postponed. It would not be reasonable for us to postpone the Truck Bill after having entered into an understanding that it should be taken now. Are hon. Gentlemen prepared to come to a decision upon the matter now under discussion?

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I would give the right hon. Gentleman warning that some of us have a very strong feeling upon this matter, and that we wish to discuss it.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Then I move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): It would be much more convenient if we could divide upon the clause before going on with the Truck Bill.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: So far as I am concerned, I should be very ready to agree to a Division being taken upon the point now under discussion; but hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway declare that they want to discuss the point further.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): Some of us certainly desire to discuss the question further, particularly those of us who are interested in the Northern Counties of Scotland.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

TRUCK BILL.—[Bill 299.]

(*Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Warmington, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Esslemont.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I rise to move that this Bill be re-committed. There are a number of Amendments upon the Paper, some of which are of a complicated character; and I assume that their discussion in Committee will be more satisfactory than it can be before the whole House, inasmuch as it will be less formal and less searching. Another reason for the Motion I am about to make is that the Bill, when in Committee, was so much altered as to be absolutely unintelligible to anyone before it was reprinted; and it is on that account that the clauses now on the Paper were not proposed in Committee.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be re-committed."—(*Mr. Chance.*)

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I trust the hon. Member will not persist in his Motion to re-commit the Bill, which can only be fatal to the measure. The House has been very indulgent with the Bill; we have had it before us morning after morning. Under the circumstances I hope he will not press his Motion, which I shall feel bound to resist.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): There are three or four reasons, in my opinion, why the Bill ought not to be re-committed. In the first place, there is a clause proposed by an hon. Member to deal with the whole question of the payment of wages. That subject has already been discussed in Committee, and I think that if we were again to deal with that matter in Committee it would be impossible to pass the Bill through the House. There are also two other clauses relating to contracts, all of which I think can very well be disposed of on the Consideration. I trust the hon. Member will not think it necessary to press his Motion for re-committal of the Bill.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): I would also add my request to that of the hon. and learned Attorney General that the hon. Member will not press for the re-committal of the Bill.

Mr. CHANCE: I think the sense of the House is against me on this Motion; and, therefore, as I have no desire to waste time, I ask leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I do not know whether the words of the hon. and learned Attorney General were intended to have reference to the clause standing in my name; but I may mention that my clause relates only to the weekly payment of wages. I propose this Amendment on account of the dangerous strike which occurred in Belfast. As a rule, wages in Ireland are paid weekly; but that is not the case with all employers in Belfast. This custom has produced great excitement and social danger, which reached such a pass that none of us could tell at what moment it might break out into an actual riot. I was appealed to for advice in the circumstances, and I gave it that the men should return to work, and petition Parliament in the belief that they would get redress. Now they have petitioned this House, and have stated that they are obliged, in consequence of the practice at Belfast, each fortnight to resort to credit, by which they are subject to loss; they have also pointed out that if the employers paid them weekly it would not throw upon them any additional cost for clerks; they ask that their wages should be paid weekly, as other labourers and artizans are paid in Ireland; and I have reason to fear that if they are exasperated by refusal of their demands they may resort again to strike, from which danger might result. My own opinion on the subject may be gathered from the Amendment I have placed upon the Paper. From the other Amendments on the Paper, and from what I am informed by the hon. Member for East Belfast (Mr. De Cobain), whom I have consulted, and other hon. Gentlemen, I claim that there is unity of feeling in Ireland on the subject of weekly payment of wages; so much so, that I shall be surprised if any one Member for Ireland raises any objection to this proposal. I claim that you should consider the wishes of Irish Members in this respect, and give them the same effect as they would have if we had a Parliament of our own, in which the principle I advocate would undoubtedly be adopted. I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), a few days ago, whether the clause would be accepted in the event of there being a general agreement with regard to it; and the right hon. Gentleman, with his accustomed ingenuity, informed me that, if my facts were proved and there was unanimity, it would have its effect upon the opinion of the Government. For my own part, I should have no objection to the payment of the bulk of the wages in a week and the balance at the end of a fortnight.

New Clause:—In page 1, after Clause 2, insert the following Clause:—

(Weekly payment of wages in Ireland.)

"Where a workman is employed in Ireland for wages calculated by time, the period of the payment of such wages shall be weekly,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I venture to think that, whatever hon. Members below the Gangway represent in this House, they have very little claim to be Representatives of the commerce of Ireland; but I wish to put the case from a commercial point of view. I have studied this question of strikes in Belfast, and have looked at both sides of the controversy. I think, on consideration, the House will admit that the shipbuilding trade in Belfast is sufficiently handicapped, without having an additional burden cast upon it. Shipbuilders in Belfast have to import all their iron and coal, and pay freight, which does not fall upon English and Scotch shipbuilders. The hon. Member proposes that wages should be paid weekly. The present practice is to pay the wages fortnightly; there is what is called a blind Monday and a pay Monday, and I can assure the House that the returns for the blind Monday show a very much less number of absentees than the Monday on which wages are paid. I hope the House will not agree to the Amendment of the hon. Member.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): When this Bill was originally drawn it did not regard the time for payment of wages, my notion of a Truck Bill being that it should provide simply for the payment of wages in cash. I have no wish to oppose the clause proposed by the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton), especially as it is generally supported by Irish Members, and the objections to weekly payments have solely related to England and Wales; but I do not consider that it comes within the limits of a Truck Act to legislate on this matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I agree that, strictly speaking, the question of weekly, fortnightly, or other pay is not directly connected with the question of truck. The principle of legislation in respect of truck, as we understand it, is the due payment of wages in money without deduction of any kind. When it was pointed out that an evil existed with regard to the time of payment, I did my best to frame a clause to meet the case. But I found the greatest difficulty in my way. There are upon the question of pay four or five different clauses bearing on the question to be considered, and I point out to the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton) that his clause only refers to a part of a great question. Of course, if the House feels that it is in a position to deal with this isolated matter of the employment of workmen or payment of wages by time in Ireland, I shall offer no objection. If hon. Members can agree upon a clause to be put into the Bill, well and good; but, otherwise, I think the result would be that the Bill would not become law. We hope, however, that both England and Ireland will gain the advantage of the work that has already been done, and I appeal to the hon. Member not to press this clause, unless he feels that he can satisfy the House that they ought to deal with the particular point which it involves. Of course, the question is much narrowed in the clause by its limitation to Ireland; but I think, notwithstanding that, it would be wiser to reserve even that part of the subject to a better opportunity, and that we should endeavour to pass the Bill as it now stands, without reference to the question of wages.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I am afraid the Attorney General has forgotten the title of the Bill which we are now discussing. It is a Bill not only to amend, but to extend the law relating to truck. It is clearly the object of the Bill that the workman should get his wages put into his hands in the way that will most benefit him. By the deferring of his wages the workman is forced to get credit, and he can only get credit at certain places, which are probably connected with the works at which he is employed, and in that way the object of the Act is defeated. We, on these Benches, have been told that we have very little claim to represent the commerce of Ireland; but I may remark that the hon. Gentleman who says that represents but a small agricultural constituency, whereas the Mover of this Amendment is the Representative of the great commercial constituency of Belfast. I myself happen to know something about the shipbuilding trade, and about Belfast, where it is largely carried on. The hon. Gentleman does not seem to be aware that there are at present nine vessels of over 3,000 tons building there, and that the yard has always plenty to do. The hon. Member has told us that there is a great difference between the attendance of workmen as between the blind Monday and the pay Monday. I think the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from the argument of the hon. Member is, that it would be better not to pay the workman any money at all. The definition of "workman" in the Bill is, that it includes any workman as defined by the Employers and Workmen's Act of 1875; and I would point out to the House that an agricultural labourer or servant is not a workman within that definition; and I defy the Attorney General, or any other Member of this House, to get up and say that the definition of the term "workman" in this Bill, or the Truck Act, would include agricultural labourers. The definition only includes men who do manual labour. The workmen in Belfast are paid wages calculated by time, and the case of the opponents of the clause is that it would be impossible to pay the men every seven days. I think we are entitled to ask the opponents of the clause to give a single example of workmen being paid in Ireland, except at Belfast, at a greater interval than a week. I also defy the opponents of the clause to point out a single case, except that of this shipbuilding yard in Belfast, where fortnightly payment exists, and where this clause would work any harm. That being so, and the Representatives of Ireland being unanimous upon the point—I believe there is only one Representative, and that of an agricultural constituency, who opposes this clause—why should we not be entitled to have our way? There is another reason. It is a simple reason, but still an important one; and it is this—6,000 Orange workmen have been out on strike. They have a considerable grievance, and nothing could be more satisfactory to them, especially at this period of July, than that a message should go from this House to the effect that their reasonable claim is to be dealt with fairly and squarely. I have no doubt that if such a message as the adoption of this clause were sent, we should hear little of rioting by these men during the coming week. I hope all these circumstances will be considered, and that for the sake of fair play and justice the House will agree to the clause.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I should like to say a very few words in contradiction of the statement that the Irish Members are unanimous in favour of the clause.

MR. SEXTON: You are not an Irish Member.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to finish my sentence. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Armagh (Sir James Corry), who has more knowledge, perhaps, of the shipbuilding interest and of the commercial aspect of Belfast than any other Member, is most distinctly opposed to the adoption of this clause.

MR. SEXTON: He pays his own workmen weekly.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: That may be so. The hon. Member for East Belfast (Mr. De Cobain) is also in favour of the rejection of the clause. I only quote the opinion of two Members, who certainly have more knowledge, or quite as much, of the commercial concerns of Ireland as anyone else, to prove that the Irish Representatives are not unanimous in favour of the views of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. SEXTON: The right hon. and gallant Gentleman has stated that the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Belfast (Mr. De Cobain) is opposed to my clause. As a matter of fact, the hon. Member for East Belfast has an Amendment upon the Paper, providing that workmen in Ireland, engaged by time, shall be paid weekly.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): The hon. and learned Attorney General opposes the discussion of the clause, or opposes the discussion of the wage question at all, in order to simplify the Bill, and to secure its enactment. Now, with regard to the question of wages I have had a good deal of experience, and certainly my own view is very much in favour of the payment of weekly wages. At the same time, such payment is not universal. It is universal in Ireland except in one or two cases. Are we going to pass this clause in order to force one or two firms, who have good reasons of their own for paying fortnightly, into the plan which is followed by everyone else? I am afraid that if once we get into the question of the payment of wages we shall quash my hon. Friend's Bill altogether. I have a clause which relates to the question of the payment of wages and the credit to be given; but I am quite prepared, if it is the wish of the House and of the Government, to withdraw the clause altogether. Let me point out that the question of fortnightly wages is not so much one of credit; because as soon as a man gets a sovereign there is no question of credit at all. The advantage of weekly wages is that, generally speaking, it is better for a man to have less money in his hands every week than to have double the amount in his hands every fortnight. I doubt whether it is proper to discuss this question upon this Bill. I am very much afraid that the question would lead to endless discussion, and that my hon. Friend's Bill would, in consequence, go to the wall.

MR. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.): As an employer of labour, I desire to say it is almost the universal practice for the employers of labour in Ireland to pay their *employés* weekly. In almost every trade with which I am connected that is the practice. My own firm adheres to that rule, and, moreover, pay their *employés* on the Friday, instead of on the Saturday. In no case has it been found that an *employé* suffered by receiving his wages on the Friday. I think it would be exceedingly wrong that there should be any departure from the present system of payment. I believe that the departure from that system would lead to the demoralization of the people and of the poor workers of Ireland; for if they are obliged to wait for their wages for a fortnight and then get a lump sum, they will spend their earnings in a manner which will, perhaps, not be beneficial to their households. I consider it would lead to the general welfare of the poor workers of Ireland that they should be paid weekly; and, therefore, I strongly and firmly support the Amendment of my hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton).

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I desire to urge upon the consideration of the House one point which is of great importance. The subject-matter of the Bill is not the period for paying wages, but solely the mode of paying them. The whole scope of the Bill is to perfect the law and place heavy penalties upon those who pay wages in any other way than in the current coin of the realm. This clause is an attempt to control the making of contracts as between employers and employed. The question is one full of difficulty, and we are not in a position to deal with it. We have no evidence before us to show how it will work in different cases. I think it is very desirable that, in general, wages should be paid weekly; but in a great many cases weekly wages may be impracticable. I think that the wisest course would be to leave the whole question of the period of payment over until next Session, and then let a Bill be brought in, or let a Select Committee be appointed to take evidence and see what fair restrictions may be imposed. If a Bill is brought in, then let that Bill be referred to a Select Committee. I think it is clear we can only deal with the question effectively by taking evidence in regard to it. Certainly, if the House desires that this Bill should be passed during the present Session, it is as well that such questions as these should not be raised upon it.

MR. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.): I have had some experience in connection with general business in Belfast; and I have built ships with Messrs. Harland and Woolf, whose shipbuilding works have been referred to. We have always paid wages weekly, and I have a very strong feeling in favour of that principle generally. But if there is another practice elsewhere, there generally is a good reason for it. The reason I believe why Messrs. Harland and Woolf pay fortnightly and not weekly is that the bulk of the wages they have to pay is calculated upon piecework. Now, piecework cannot be touched by the clause of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). The clause would have the effect of bringing about two different systems of payment in the one establishment. There is no doubt whatever that there has been good reason for fortnightly payment in the past, and I believe we would do injury to this business which has been established in Belfast, and which is now being conducted under great difficulties there, if we ventured to interfere by legislative action with the method of payment which has been adopted by the enterprizing and able men at the head of this establishment. I hope the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) will not press this clause, simply for the reason that he will be interfering with one of the few new industries that have been established in Ireland, and which has done something in the midst of the decay of so many other Irish industries to improve, enlarge, and advance its prosperity.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): My hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) is quite unable to accept the suggestion that he should withdraw his clause. There was a strike in Belfast, which developed into a disturbance of the public peace. There were no less than 6,000 men thrown out of work, and those men appealed to my hon. Friend for his advice. His advice to them was that they should state their case to the House, and he thought that it would receive the careful attention of hon. Members. The men returned to their work; but the consideration upon which they did return was that my hon. Friend would bring their case before the House, and press it upon the consideration of hon. Gentlemen. Under these circumstances, my hon. Friend would be guilty of nothing short of a breach of faith with these men if he did not press this matter upon the House. So far as the withdrawal of the Amendment is concerned, I think I have given a reason by which my hon. Friend is entirely precluded from withdrawing it. Now, I must express my gratitude for the manner in which the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) discussed this matter. So far as I understood his observations, they came to this—that if there was a strong and particularly unanimous opinion on the part of Irish Members in favour of this proposal, he would not persist in any opposition to it. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) replied practically to the same effect, as he said that if there was unanimity amongst the Irish Members on this question the Government would favourably consider it. That in Parliamentary phraseology means, of course, that they would accede to our demand.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: What I said was that if the House considered it right to deal with this question I would offer no opposition; but I added that I certainly did not think it desirable to deal with this matter upon this Bill.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I do not think, after all, that my interpretation of the hon. and learned Gentleman's observations was very unfair. Now, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet (Colonel King-Harman) quoted the opinion of two Irish Members in opposition to the clause; but, strange to say, one of those Irish Members, as my hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) pointed out, adopts the practice which my hon. Friend wishes to make universal. Now, as to the second Irish Member, the statement of his opinion by the hon. and gallant Gentleman was traversed by the fact that he has actually placed upon the Paper an Amendment to the very effect of the Amendment of my hon. Friend.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: May I be allowed to explain. I meant to mention the hon. Member for North Belfast, and not East Belfast. It was a slip of the tongue.

Mr. SEXTON: But the hon. Member for North Belfast pays his men weekly.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: I am well aware of that, but the hon. Member informs me that he is against weekly payment being made compulsory.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I think there is, practically, unanimity amongst the Irish Members on this point. I attach no importance whatever to the opposition of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). The pretensions of that hon. Gentleman are getting a little too large. Why, he is not content to stand, as he did this evening, as a mighty *minotaur*, threatening both the Government and the Irish Party; but now he, the Representative of a rural constituency, opposes the wishes of the workers in town, and I have no doubt he imagines he adorns everything he touches; but I wish he would leave some slice of Irish affairs outside the Scotch purview of his perfervid eloquence. Another objection has been raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Falkirk (Mr. Sinclair); but his objection is more tenable. The hon. Gentleman has some acquaintance with the matter, while the hon. Member for South Tyrone is absolutely ignorant with regard to it; but I think, on consideration, the hon. Member (Mr. Sinclair) will find his objection cannot be sustained. The hon. Gentleman is, no doubt, well acquainted with the practice in the yard of Messrs. Laird Brothers. The objection of the hon. Member is, that there are two classes of labour in this shipbuilding yard at Belfast; that one class of men is paid by piece and the other class by time; and that if we pass the proposal of my hon Friend we shall have two systems of payment. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman is aware of the fact that in the yard of Messrs. Laird Brothers there are the two classes of workers and two systems of payment. In fact, I understand that wages are paid weekly in the case of time employment, and fortnightly in the case of piece employment, in most of the shipyards of the country. For all these reasons I hope the House will accept the clause of my hon. Friend.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): I cannot allow this question to pass without a few words. This clause means an interference with engagements made by one firm, and one firm only. We are proposing to deal with this firm without giving them any notice, or any opportunity of being heard through any Member of the House. That firm employs a large number of men—I believe something like 6,000. They have recently opened large engineering works. They have to compete in the manufacture of their engines with engineers in Glasgow, with firms who pay the men in their employ by the fortnight. Why should Messrs. Harland and Woolf, because they live in Belfast, be interfered with, and made to pay their *employés* in a different manner to their competitors? It is true that in other firms the lower class of workmen—those, for instance, who are paid a guinea a-week—get their money sooner; but the men who receive 35*s.* and 40*s.* a-week get their pay fortnightly. The clause says that the period of payment for such wages shall be weekly. I wish to say that it is impossible for the proprietors of any large works to prepare a pay sheet for 6,000 men, and pay them the very day after the wages are due. If this were passed, it seems to me that it would produce confusion.

An hon. MEMBER: As a Member of the Admiralty, will the hon. Gentleman say what is the practice in the Government Service?

MR. FORWOOD: In the Dockyards they pay their staff weekly. The books are made up on the Tuesday, and the men are paid on the Friday following.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I presume, as the hon. Member read the whole of his speech, we may take it that his statement has been sent to him by Messrs. Harland and Woolf to be read.

MR. FORWOOD: I had not a word of notes in connection with this subject.

MR. MOLLOY: Then I was mistaken. I was probably led into the mistake by the fact that the hon. Gentleman kept his eyes on the paper. It seems to me that this is a matter of Messrs. Harland and Woolf against the whole of Ireland. Though the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General said that some other persons were in a similar position to Messrs. Harland and Woolf, he, personally, was not in favour of it. Well, the Irish Members are willing to agree to anything that is generally satisfactory, and will not do any injury to anyone. Therefore, if the Attorney General does not speak in a positive manner, as representing the Government, the House, I trust, will be willing to accept the Amendment of my hon. Friend. However much we may prefer to have this clause for other people than those referred to, we may rest assured that it will not prejudicially affect other firms. It will do no harm whatever; it will not affect anything in England; and, that being so, the matter becomes purely one of Irish legislation. We have shown that it is the practice throughout the whole length and breadth of Ireland to pay weekly. Hon. Members who object to it cannot point to any but a single case in Ireland where fortnightly payments are made. Well now, Sir, the shipbuilding yards on the Tyne and elsewhere pay weekly wages; and I will point out to the House the danger of refusing the Amendment of my hon. Friend, and I do it seriously. I quite admit, as has been said by the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, that this trade has developed very largely in Ireland, and that it is a very important factor in the commercial prospects of the country. As surely as this Amendment is refused will those men go on strike again, and from information which has been supplied to me I am convinced that if they do the strike will be much more serious than hon. Gentlemen seem to consider. In the first place, the Government will have to meet with the excitement and anger of people who will think that they have been tricked by this House. They may be wrong; but they certainly clearly understood that the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary upon this subject, some time ago, was an answer favourable to their position. That being so, these 6,000 men will look upon it that they have been tricked by the Home Secretary. That is the frame of mind in which they will enter on a strike again. I would ask what was the result of strikes in Ireland in former times? Why, the result of strikes has been to drive away the whole of the trade from the country—it has been driven away, and it has never come back. If you refuse this Amendment—which you have it, on the authority of the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill, does not affect or injure anyone in the least degree—and when you have it from the hon. Gentleman that he does not object to it, if the House does not, and when you have proof from the good-natured silence of hon. Gentlemen generally that the House is content to follow the system pointed out by my hon. Friend, I say that by resisting this Amendment you will be placing in jeopardy one of the best industries in Ireland, and will be bringing about strikes of a character such as you have never had before in that country. What pains me more than anything else is that you are putting in jeopardy this trade—that you are incurring a possibility of absolute loss to this trade in Ireland, which will be an injury ten times as great as any which could be effected by the introduction of such an Amendment as that proposed.

Colonel GUNTER (Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash): I would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite if they have no agricultural labourers in Ireland? Because what I understand is, that it would be easy to accept this Amendment if it only applied to Belfast. Is the hon. Gentleman aware that in England, for agricultural purposes, men are very frequently hired by the year and paid yearly wages? I should like to ask the hon. Member if there are no men in the same category in Ireland who will be passed over if we adopt this Amendment?

Mr. MURPHY (Dublin, St. Patrick's): The hon. Member asks if there are labourers employed by the year in Ireland, and I answer him that there are labourers so employed in that country, employed by the year and by the quarter. This discussion is continued as if the matter in hand related only to Belfast; but my opinion is that it relates to the whole of Ireland. I rise just for the moment to speak on behalf of the working classes throughout the whole of Ireland. The custom of paying weekly wages is not altogether universal throughout the rest of Ireland, although the hon. Member for the Birr Division of King's County (Mr. Molloy) seems to suppose so. In works in which I myself have been engaged—railway and public works—the custom is to pay fortnightly, rather than weekly, sometimes to the great advantage of the working classes. The reason I interpose in this debate at this late hour is that I desire to point out that I employ sometimes from 1,000 to 2,000 men in districts extending over 30 or 40 miles, and that I experience no difficulty in paying my men by the week. I wish to say this as representing an industrial constituency, and as having had such experience.

Colonel HILL (Bristol, S.): I will not detain the House one moment; but I desire to say a word in favour of the Amendment. As an employer of labour, connected with the shipbuilding industry which has been so frequently referred to, I wish to express approval of the system of paying men, not only in Ireland, but all over England, weekly wages. So far as the shipbuilding trade is concerned, there can be no possible difficulty in paying the men by the week. The practice of my firm for many years has been to make up the men's wages on the Thursday evening, and pay them on the Friday. I attach great importance to the men being paid on Friday, so as to give their wives an opportunity of going to market on the Saturday, which they cannot enjoy if the men are paid late on Saturday evening. I venture to express a hope that this system of weekly payment will be obtained throughout the whole of the United Kingdom. I think a man should receive his wages as soon after he has earned them as possible.

MR. SEXTON: As a matter of fact, I do not think the agricultural labourer would come under this Amendment at all. ["Yes, yes!"] Well, it does not matter. I know that domestic servants and agricultural labourers are paid at longer intervals than once a week, and I did not wish to interfere with those persons. I shall be glad to alter the word "workman" in my Amendment by inserting "mechanic" or "artizan."

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 121; Noes 69: Majority 52.—(Div. List, No. 296.) [2.20 A.M.]

Clause read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."

Amendment proposed, in the said proposed Clause, to insert after "workman" the words "other than servants or husbandmen."

Question, to insert those words, put, and *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle) moved to insert a new clause, in lieu of Clause 3.

New Clause:—

(Wages of workmen.)

"The wages of a workman, whether he be paid according to the work done, or according to the time during which he is employed, shall accrue due and be payable as follows (that is to say):—

"(a.) The wages shall accrue due fortnightly, or at such less intervals of time as may be provided by the contract;

"(b.) The wages shall, save as hereinafter mentioned, be payable and paid fortnightly, or within seven days after the end of the fortnight in which they accrue due, or at such less intervals of time as may be provided by the contract;

"(c.) In the case of wages that are not paid within the week in which they accrue due, it shall be lawful for any workman, during the first six weeks of his employment, to obtain, at the end of each week in which there would otherwise be no payment due to him, a fair and reasonable sum as subsistence money, such sum being equal to at least fifty per centum of the sum it is estimated will have accrued to him during such week;

"(d.) Nothing herein contained shall apply to the payment of money due to any workman employed in or about any slate quarry, slate mine, or metallic mine, not being a stratified ironstone mine where the contract is for periodical settlements, dependent on the work performed or the quantity obtained, provided that such settlements are made within quarterly periods, and fair and reasonable advances of subsistence money are contracted to be made from time to time to the workmen, such payments having relation to the work that it is estimated such workmen will have performed;

"(e.) Where wages which have accrued due, but are not yet payable, are paid in advance, no profit, discount, or interest shall be charged on such advance;

"(1.) The employer shall comply with this section, and shall not take any profit, or discount, or interest, or make any charge or deduction whatever, or impose any condition for or in respect of any payment of part of wages required to be made by this section;

"(2.) Every contract made in contravention of this section shall, so far as it is so in contravention, be illegal and void, and the workman may recover his wages under such contract as if the illegal portion thereof had been made in conformity with this section;

"(3.) Every employer who, by himself or his agent, acts in contravention of this section, shall be liable to the penalties imposed by section nine of the principal Act, as if he had been guilty of such an offence as in that section mentioned,"

—(*Sir Joseph Pease,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I would make an appeal to the hon. Baronet not to press this Amendment, the discussion of which would occupy much time.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I shall be obliged to ask the House to negative the proposal of the hon. Baronet, because the acceptance of the Amendment would really wreck the Bill.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): The quarrymen of North Wales are deeply interested in this question of more frequent and regular payment of wages, and look to this House for treatment of the question without delay; so I trust it will be dealt with next Session.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I trust the hon. Baronet will allow the clause to be withdrawn. It is a very long and complicated clause, and I know that several clauses that will be ruled out of Order were on the Paper when this clause was put down.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Preston): I trust that the clause will be dealt with by the House, and that this Bill will not be encumbered with it.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE: This clause was on the Paper the whole time during which the Bill has been before us, and it was only because the Bill came on at an unreasonable hour, and in my absence, that the Amendment was passed over. I replaced it, however, on the Paper the moment I found that the question of wages was to be considered on Report. I beg to point out that the clause is well drawn, and after much conference with the representatives of both labour and capital, and deals with the subject completely. I do object, at so late an hour as this, to deal with questions affecting labour and capital; but if we are to do so, then I shall feel it my duty to press my Amendment.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): The Committee has fixed weekly wages in Ireland, and I think it would be unfair to prevent the same rule applying in Scotland; because if we are to have quarterly and monthly payments as hitherto, a great many of the evils now existing will continue.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I shall be glad to know whether the Government would be prepared to deal with this question next Session?

Mr. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck): If the Government will deal with this question next Session, I, for one, will join in the appeal to the hon. Baronet to withdraw his Amendment in favour of one which I have placed on the Paper, and which I have every reason to believe will meet the wishes of the working classes in England and Scotland. My proposal is that where wages are calculated by time the period for payment shall not exceed two weeks.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I rise to move the clause which I have placed on the Paper to exempt workmen from payment to provident funds which is frequently required of them by their employers; and I trust the House will see the desirability of relieving them in this respect. I think I am justified in saying that, at the present time, the majority of workmen have made provision for sickness and death in the various societies which have developed in recent years. But it is frequently the case that workmen when they are hired are called upon by their employers to subscribe to other funds than those to which they have subscribed for, perhaps, a long series of years. I think the House will consider this a great hardship in the case of men who are liable to be discharged at a moment's notice and cut off from any further participation in the funds towards which they have been compelled to subscribe, and without receiving a farthing in the way of compensation. In order to remove this hardship and injustice, and to prevent a considerable number of workmen from being compelled to pay twice over, I trust the House will accept the clause I am about to move.

New Clause:—

(Exemptions from payment to provident funds.)

"It shall not be lawful for any employer or his agent to make it a condition of the hiring of any workman, who has at the period of hiring made provision against sickness or death in any trade union, friendly, or other society, that he shall be liable to deductions from his wages for contributions towards any provident or any other fund from which such workman will not be entitled to derive any benefit after he has ceased to remain in that employment, or to make any such deductions from his wages during any period of his hiring,"

—(*Mr. Cremer,*)—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I must ask the House to object to this Amendment, which, if it were agreed to, would ruin permanent relief funds. The evidence taken on this subject is before the House in the Report of the Committee on the Employers' Liability Bill. I trust the hon. Member will not proceed to a Division on the clause.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 30; Noes 103: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 297.)

[2.40 a.m.]

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *deferred* till *Thursday.*

MOTION.

METROPOLITAN POLICE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary Matthews, Bill for further amending the enactments relating to Offices, Stations, and Buildings for the Metropolitan Police Force, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary Matthews and Mr. Stuart-Wortley.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 321.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Three o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 13*th July,* 1887.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS I. — PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, Votes 13 to 16, 18 to 20, 25, 26; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 1—R.P.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Withdrawn*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) * [97]; Office under the Crown (Vacating of Seats) * [72].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Third Reading*—Education Department Confirmation (London) * [298]; Elementary Education Confirmation (Christchurch) * [296] and *passed.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

(1.) £150,000, to complete the sum for Surveys of the United Kingdom.

(2.) £12,206, to complete the sum for Science and Art Department Buildings.

(3.) £6,090, to complete the sum for British Museum Buildings.

(4.) £11,708, to complete the sum for Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade.

GENERAL SIR **GEORGE BALFOUR** (Kincardine) asked if the Government would obtain Admiralty Reports with regard to the condition of the new harbour works of Peterhead and Dover, for the expenditure on which that Department account?

MR. **SHAW LEFEVRE** (Bradford, Central): I should like to ask a question of the present Government as to whether it is proposed to go on with the harbour works at Dover?

THE **CHAIRMAN**: That question does not come under the present Vote. The question may be asked with regard to it as a matter of courtesy; but it is not relevant to the Vote.

MR. **T. E. ELLIS** (Merionethshire): I wish to direct the attention of the Government to the question of the harbour works at Holyhead, not that I object to the expenditure which has taken place there already, but because I wish to bring to the notice of the Government the necessity for additional expenditure. Since the year 1835 various Committees have sat to consider this matter, and different Governments have spent something like £2,000,000 in constructing a harbour at Holyhead. The work has now become one of national importance; and what I wish to call the attention of the Secretary to the Board of Trade to is that the value of those harbour works have very much lessened, owing to the non-completion of a portion of the scheme. In the new harbour there are two rocks, one of which, the Platters, is rather dangerous, and so long as these remain there it is impossible for the new harbour to be really utilized, because vessels cannot pass them. When storms arise there is usually a block of vessels in the old harbour, while the new harbour is only partially available, owing to the danger and obstruction of these rocks; and what I want to ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade is, whether he will take steps to carry out the original scheme, so as to get rid of those rocks and to make the harbour what it ought to be—namely, a splendid national harbour, worthy of the great amount which has been spent upon it?

THE **SECRETARY** TO THE **BOARD** OF **TRADE** (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The question of Holyhead Harbour has received the serious attention of the Board of Trade for some time. I would point out to the hon. Gentleman that the Vote has been increased by £12,500, and that that increase is to be accounted for by the fact that Sir John Hawkshaw has recommended dredging for that part of the harbour used by the mail packets, in order to facilitate the entry of those packets into the harbour. I am aware of the complaints which have been made by the Steamship Company. I quite admit that the harbour might still further be improved. It is suggested that the rocks alluded to by the hon. Member should be blasted. I must, however, point out to the hon. Member for Merionethshire that works of this kind involve considerable outlay, and that I am not prepared, on the part of the Board of Trade, to undertake this work at once. The work, when undertaken, will have to be extended over a certain number of years. I trust we may be able to devote an amount of money for the improvement of the harbour, which I agree requires improvement.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: The value of the increased amount which the hon. Member states has been spent upon the old harbour is very much lessened by the fact that the new harbour cannot be utilized. The very complaint is that the old harbour becomes so full, and that this is the case particularly when northwesterly and northerly winds are blowing. Any amount you may spend on improving the old harbour is very much thrown away, unless you devote money to the completion of the new harbour, by blasting the rocks to which I refer so as to procure an increased accomodation of 40 or 50 acres.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: The hon. Member is, perhaps, not aware that the works in the new harbour have cost somewhere about £1,500,000. That is a large amount; and I do not think that I could pledge the Government to a further expenditure just yet. We think that by extending expenditure on the improvement of the new harbour over a certain number of years we may be able to put it in a state which will satisfy everybody; but, certainly, to do what the hon. Gentleman opposite proposes would cost more money than we can now spend.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: With regard to the question I put just now, Sir, I understand from you that, at all events, as a matter of courtesy, I may be permitted to ask the Government for information. I wish to do so for the reason that last year there was a new Vote for Dover Harbour immediately following the one the Committee are now discussing. There was last year, and there is also this year, an item in the Votes in regard to the employment of convict labour and for the convict prison in Dover. Those items have reference to the proposed Dover Harbour indirectly, as it is proposed to employ convict labour in the work of construction. But it would not be competent probably to raise the point to which I am referring upon this Vote. At any rate, I do not know that I should be so much out of Order in raising the question of Dover Harbour on that Vote as upon the Vote now under discussion. But, Sir, following your advice, if only allowed to do so as a matter of courtesy, I should like to ask whether the omission of the Vote this year for the new harbour at Dover indicates that the Government have abandoned that project, and are not going on with it further?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I do not think it would be correct to say that the Government have altogether abandoned the idea of making a harbour at Dover; but when the Estimates were being prepared, and in view of the opposition last year to a similar Vote that was then on the Estimates—namely, £1,000—which was subsequently withdrawn, that Estimate being for the making of certain borings with a view to the preparation of plans to be submitted to Parliament as an estimate of the cost of carrying out the works, it was felt that, at all events for the present, the work of proceeding with the harbour proper should be suspended. I do not say the works are abandoned; but the Government feel it desirable to give very full consideration to the matter before putting into the Estimates any further sum; and, therefore, they are not in a position to submit to Parliament any estimate of the total cost, or any figures on which Parliament can rely. With reference to the question put by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) as to Holyhead Harbour, he was answered by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms). An expenditure of £12,500, I think, is the total estimated sum required for dredging, and that was sanctioned by the Treasury, at the earnest request not only of the Steam Packet Companies, but on the strong recommendation and after careful inspection by Sir John Hawkshaw. I understand that there was a difficulty in entering and making use of the harbour in consequence of the silting up of a portion of it. We have already, last year, spent a large sum in improving the pier, and putting down a large quantity of chain—1,000 tons, I think—as a preliminary measure running it along the face of one of the piers, with a view to preventing damage by the washing of the sea. Therefore, so far as the entrance to the harbour and the convenience of ships is concerned, I think the Government have made sufficient preparation for the purpose of securing safety and easy access to the harbour itself. With regard to the question put to me by the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir George Balfour) as to the Reports of the Admiralty, I sympathize with his views, and I think that the preparation of such Reports would conduce to the improvement of the work of the Department. I will undertake to call attention to the matter.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: I thank the hon. Gentleman for his present utterance and for previous utterances upon this question; but I would ask his attention to the fact that whether we take the question of Dover Harbour into consideration under this Vote, or any other Vote——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I have already ruled that the discussion of that subject is inappropriate to this Vote. The question has been allowed to be put by courtesy, and the required information has been given. Any discussion on the point will be out or Order.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: You are aware, Sir, that I always obey your instructions. I will not further discuss that matter. I only wanted to ask for information with regard to Dover Harbour. I felt before dealing with that subject that I ought to wait until the proper Vote comes before us; but I found that there was no Vote having reference to Dover Harbour which would be brought before us. I do not see that there will be any opportunity of raising the question. The Estimates of this year are changed—they are different to those of last year. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) stated, we had a special Vote for Dover Harbour last year, but this year we had not, so that Parliament has not an opportunity of asking for information on the subject. I have always been opposed to Dover Harbour being gone on with; but, as I am not allowed to make any further remarks upon this matter, I will ask the Secretary to the Board of Trade if he will be kind enough to give us such information as Earl Granville prepared and put into the hands of the present Board of Trade? That is the document which the Secretary to the Board of Trade used in preparing the Report which we are informed is being prepared.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I will consider the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Gentleman; but I would point out that the Report in question is not the Report of the Board of Trade, but of the Dover Harbour Commissioners. It may be in possession of the Board of Trade, and I will see if it is possible to print it, and present it as a Parliamentary Paper.

Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON (Essex, Epping): I do not wish to transgress your ruling, Sir; but I should like to ask you as to where you think it would be possible for us to raise this question of Dover Harbour? In what Vote shall we be able to question the Government as to the abandonment—if it is an abandonment—of their expenditure for this object?

The CHAIRMAN: As there is no money asked for in Supply for this harbour, it will be impossible to call attention to the matter in Supply. If the question is entered upon at all, it must be by independent Motion.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: If hon. Members will look at page 236 of the Estimates, they will see that on the question of convict prisons there arises an opening by a Vote of £5,000 for barracks for convicts to be employed on Dover Harbour, and I take it that it will be competent to raise this harbour question on that Vote.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Perhaps I may be allowed to ask a question of considerable importance with reference to Dover Harbour. I find that in Vote 12, Sub-head 3, there is a Vote for £5,000 for a convict prison at Dover. That convict prison was in connection with the Dover Harbour works for the purpose of employing convicts during the construction of Dover Harbour. I would ask you, Sir, whether, when that Vote comes on, it will be competent for us to raise the question of Dover Harbour?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would rather wait until the Vote comes on before answering.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.): I think the hon. Gentleman who raised the question of Holyhead Harbour has a good deal to complain of with regard to the answer he received from the Secretary to the Board of Trade. If the question had been asked by an Irish Member, and it had had reference to a purely Irish matter, I should not have been astonished at such an answer being returned; but coming, as the question does, from the hon. Member for Merionethshire, and having reference, as it has, to important works in Wales, I am exceedingly surprised at the nature of the answer. It appears, from what the hon. Member the Secretary to the Board of Trade says, that the Government have already spent £1,500,000 in the improvement of the harbour at Holyhead; and because the Government have spent that £1,500,000 the hon. Gentleman tells us that they are not prepared to spend any more in order to make the harbour really available for the purpose of shipping. What are the facts which are put forward? Why, the facts are that, though so much money has been expended, the harbour is not available for the passage of heavy ships except at full tide. It is a fact that a single rock has been left at the entrance to the new harbour, and that it is impossible for steamers from Dublin to enter the harbour except at those special seasons. £12,500 is to be expended upon the harbour works; but it has been shown that this is a matter of very little consequence indeed; and I would ask the hon. Member the Secretary to the Board of Trade to explain that enormous expenditure of £1,500,000. How is it that, after such an expenditure, for the sake of a few extra thousands the whole of it is to be allowed to remain practically useless? I would ask the Government, as one of those who have often felt the inconvenience of being obliged to land in the outer harbour on cold rough nights, to spend just a few more thousands in order to make the inner harbour thoroughly available. I would appeal to them not to adopt a cheeseparing policy in such a matter as this. It seems to me that we have had no sort of satisfactory explanation for the refusal of the Government to spend another £10,000 or £12,000 in order to make the new harbour serviceable for the purposes for which it was originally intended. We have had reason to complain of the manner in which the Government, through the Irish Board of Works, have dealt with these matters in Ireland, and we are always prepared for refusals to requests which come from this quarter of the House; but we are extremely puzzled to account for the attitude the Government take up in reply to an appeal in reference to works at Holyhead. We wonder that they have not been more generous in their reply. It is all very well to say that the completion of these works should be spread over a large number of years; but I venture to say that such a method of proceeding would not be real economy at all. It would be real economy to complete without delay the works which are necessary to enable ships coming from Dublin and elsewhere to come into the inner harbour and thereby to protect themselves from storms or dangers which may arise in bad weather. The £1,500,000 which have been spent on the inner harbour are lying absolutely derelict, and might just as well have been sunk at the bottom of the sea as have been expended on the works on the inner harbour. Until the rock to which reference has been made is removed, the whole expenditure is practically useless. I maintain, therefore, that it would really be a work of economy to remove that rock out of the way. Let the Government spend £20,000, or double that sum, if necessary, in that work. I would ask the Government to say when we are to expect that this work will be completed; and I would also ask if the Government can give us any approximate estimate as to the amount required to bring about the completion of the works?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I fully recognize that it would be a great advantage if we could complete the works in the manner the right hon. Gentleman suggests; but in order to do that we shall not only have to blast the rocks, but, having done that, we shall have to remove the fragments from the bottom of the harbour. In order to carry out works of that description a considerable sum of money would have to be expended—far more than the amount suggested by the hon. Member. The acreage of the outer harbour is 267 acres, and I would point out that there is a roadstead of 400 acres of deep water. It is a remarkably fine harbour, and one which up to the present time has been used with perfect safety. I admit that it would be better, if possible, to remove those rocks, and no doubt if we have the money to carry out the work we shall probably do so. I am not able to give an exact estimate of the price of the cost of the works which will have to be undertaken; but I can assure the hon. Member that £10,000 or £20,000 would go nowhere in removing these obstacles. The hon. Member must remember that the Board of Trade are fully alive to the necessity of doing something, but they have not the money to carry out the works at once.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to ask the hon. Gentleman who represents the Board of Trade whether he will be willing to consider the suggestion I made one or two years ago as to the desirability of removing from the Vote the item on account of Harwich Harbour? The condition of Harwich Harbour financially is set forth in the Report which is supplied, and which this year is very much the same as it has been for a long series of years. The assets of the Conservancy Board consist of stores valued at £35, and a wreck-buoy, anchor, and chain of the value of £10, or, in all, £45. These are assets, but unavailable assets. There is a balance due to the harbour master of 1*s.* 1½*d.* The liabilities amount to £14 10*s.* due to the harbour master, the conservator's travelling expenses £20, a balance due to the treasurer of £11, and sundry small accounts making up a total of £58. That is the liability, and what I have stated are the unavailable assets. Now the system adopted in connection with that harbour is this. The Conservancy Board are in debt to the Government, and they make a pretence of paying something or other to the Government every year; but the money they pay in that way is really money supplied to them for the purpose of making the payment. You have this absurdity—that you have had Votes in Parliament in the shape of Treasury advances to the Conservancy Board to the amount of £17,000; the Public Works Loan Commissioners have advanced them £10,000—that is to say, they have had £20,000 of public money, and they are paying back in the present year to the Public Works Loan Commissioners on account of instalments a loan of £205, and a total interest of £98. But they do not make that out of the revenue of the harbour—they get it out of this Vote. In the present year they are to have £225. Under this system, the conservators simply receive from the Government with one hand in order to pay back with the other; and instead of acknowledging that they are hopelessly insolvent, and that they never can meet their liability to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, a system is adopted which simply deceives the public. I would suggest that the loan of the Public Works Loan Commissioners should be wiped off, as many loans have been wiped off before, and the absurdity which I have described which is being perpetrated year after year in connection with this Vote should not be continued.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: Two or three years ago we voted £1,000 to the Admiralty for the purpose of making inquiries and preparing Estimates on Dover Harbour. May I ask what has become of the money spent, and what information the Government can give as to Dover Harbour? Information has already been asked for on this point, and I trust I may be allowed to put that question to the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. JACKSON: I think the hon. Member refers to £1,000 which was put in the Estimates for last year.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: No; it was in the Estimates before then.

MR. JACKSON: I would remind the hon. and gallant Member that the Vote was not proposed last year. I am afraid I cannot remember the items put down in previous years.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: My recollection does not tally with that of the hon. Member.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £21,150, to complete the sum for Peterhead Harbour.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): This harbour is a Scotch harbour, and I should not be doing my duty if I did not call attention to it. I feel very strongly on the question as to the manner in which these harbour works have been conducted. There are some items here which we ought not to pass without information, and I would recommend to the Secretary to the Treasury that he should publish this information in detailed form. The original Estimate for this harbour was put at £250,000; it was then doubled, and now it is, in the present Estimates, increased to £750,000. I think information as to every penny of this expenditure should be given, for that is the only way in which we can get the matter placed upon the proper footing. I am convinced, if things go on as they are at present, we shall run up an expenditure of £1,000,000 before we know where we are. That will be the result, unless measures are taken to stop unnecessary expenditure. The Merchant Company of Edinburgh have made a large fortune out of the land which has been paid for this harbour; land which was only valued at 2*s.* 6*d.* an acre has been paid for at a much higher rate. The information which such a Report as I suggest would contain would be found highly valuable, not only in connection with this harbour, but in connection with other harbours, as it would show the manner in which expenditure is made, and, by comparison, would show where economies are to be effected.

Mr. ASHER (Elgin, &c.): The land necessary for the construction of this harbour has been taken under the compulsory powers of an Act of Parliament passed two years ago. Those who take the land simply pay for it what is ascertained by arbitration to be its proper value.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): In connection with this matter I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Vote whether this Estimate of £745,000 is likely to be the final Estimate; because the amount paid in the Votes in the first instance for this particular work was £500,000? That sum has gone up now nearly another £250,000. The way those Estimates are drafted, especially the original estimate for land, is, apparently, a matter of haphazard. The amount has sprung from £500,000 in one year to £745,000; and I maintain that in connection with large figures of this description on which this House is expected to rely, to have increases such as this is a matter which requires explanation. We have never had any explanation of the increasing figures shown with reference to this service. Another point in connection with this harbour is this—that in other parts of the Estimates, take page 277, under the item of, I think, £5,000, you will find that provision is made for a prison which is to be erected for the accommodation of the convicts who are to have the harbour works on hand. Here is another illustration of the bad system which was pointed out at the last meeting of this Committee by the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). It is almost impossible to gather, from any one of these Votes, the outside figure which will represent the total public expenditure in connection with any particular service. I should like to ask upon what ground is the Estimate shown at the bottom of page 53 arrived at; whether or not it is a final Estimate; secondly, I should like to know why it was that the first Estimate of £500,000 was found to be inadequate? I should also like to know what were the other items in different parts of the Estimate which are connected with this service? This sum of £50,000, on page 277 of the Estimates, is one of those items to which I refer. I fancy there may very likely be others which I have not been able to trace. Perhaps the official in charge of the Vote will give me an answer upon these points.

Mr. JACKSON: I entirely sympathize with the objections which are taken to the very large increase in the estimated cost of these works; but I think it is right to point out to the Committee that the sum of £500,000, which was first stated as being sufficient to construct the breakwater or harbour, was the sum arrived at on evidence given before the Sub-Committee in 1884. The item was taken from the Report of that Committee, and I believe was the estimate made by Mr. Stevenson, the engineer, as the amount for which these works could be carried out. There are no details at all forming the basis of that figure; and I feel bound to say that Parliament appears to have entered upon the work apparently satisfied to accept figures which they themselves must have known to be more or less approximate.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: If those figures were approximate we should have known it.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I imagine that Members of the House of Commons must have had before them the evidence given before the Sub-Committee, and the figures which form the recommendation of that Committee in the figures forming the estimated plan which had been put before the Committee. It has been estimated that the work can be carried out by convict labour for £745,000, and that the work will take about 23 years to complete. When the engineer-in-chief, Sir John Coode, was appointed chief engineer, it became his duty to submit to the Treasury more detailed estimates of what he considered would be the cost of the works. It is very difficult to gauge the cost of works carried out upon a large scale; and for this reason, and judging from what usually takes place in connection with Harbours of Refuge, I should be very sorry to pledge myself that even this sum of £745,000 will in itself be sufficient to carry out the work. But it must be borne in mind, and it is only fair to remind the Committee, that this work is undertaken with the double object; first, and I believe and foremost, may be put the object of finding employment for our convicts. I believe that opinions, more or less, will prevail that even though the employment of those convicts does not result in a very large saving in the cost of the work, there are other advantages accruing from the employment of convicts which are considered to be of great value to the State. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal asks whether there are any other charges? Well, in addition to the charges to which he has referred, there are some charges in regard to law and engineering matters in connection with applications to Parliament which do not appear, and which have been previously paid. [Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: How much do they amount to?] I am sorry I have not particulars as to the total sum with me; but I am not quite sure that the total sum could have been placed before the House during the past two years, as some of the estimates, I believe, have only just been sent in. I believe all those charges are nett. The total estimate for the prison was £57,400, and the £745,000 was made up in this way. It was estimated that the north breakwater piers would cost £133,174, that the north pier would cost £547,272, and the retaining wall or quay £5,324, making a total of £685,770. In addition to this, there is a new road, which is to cost £300; land and buildings 132½ acres, exclusive of land for railways, estimated to cost £21,000; and certain moorings in addition estimated to cost £2,850—this was not included in the original estimate—and £36,000 for railways for the purpose of bringing down stone from the quarries. I think I have now given to the Committee all the information which is at my disposal. I submit that in connection with works of this kind it is difficult to estimate expenditure with approximate accuracy. I may be allowed to say this, that this question has been most carefully considered at the Treasury, because it was felt that the control which was being exercised was by no means either efficient or complete. The whole question has been most carefully gone into, and we have arranged that no expenditure is to take place without careful inspection, and investigation, and justification by an engineer from the Admiralty. I believe we have put the question in such a shape now as to provide that, at all events, whatever is expended the value of the money shall be obtained. We are doing our best to keep a check upon the expenditure, and to take care, as far as possible, as time goes on to see that the amount of work which is being done bears a fair proportion to the total estimated cost, and in that way to try and keep the expenditure within reasonable limits.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: For the first time, the Government has failed to send one of its Members to endeavour to give a comprehensive explanation of the circumstances of this Vote. The Admiralty is responsible with regard to this Vote, and the Civil Lord of that Department is charged with it. I hold that one ought to have had information upon a subject of this kind from the Admiralty. We have been talking for the last hour upon a subject altogether connected with the Admiralty. That Department certainly has charge of these Votes. On page 53 you will see that there is a similar Vote in which the Admiralty have to account for the money, and it is upon that ground that I make these remarks. May I ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he can give information with regard to the different details bearing upon the construction of Peterhead Harbour? From the beginning I have been opposed to the construction of this great harbour; and as I expect that the House of Commons will one day stop the work before it is completed on the scale at present contemplated, I suggest that the most useful portion of the work be gone on with.

Mr. JACKSON: I will meet the hon. and gallant Gentleman's view, and will arrange that once a year a Report shall be submitted by the engineer-in-chief as to the works at Peterhead, showing what work has been done, so as to keep Parliament informed, not only as to the work which is done, but also as to that which it is proposed to complete.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: That is all very good; but I warn the Secretary to the Treasury that he will not get the detailed information he needs. No doubt, such a Report as he mentions would be valuable; but if he relied upon it, he would simply be putting himself into the hands of the engineers, and might then expect the expense to go on without the power of checking it.

Mr. ASHER: I hope the Secretary to the Treasury will not give countenance to the idea that any part of the works which appear in these Estimates are not to be executed. I would remind the Committee that the formation of this harbour was decided upon after very long and careful consideration, and I can understand the opposition of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir George Balfour) seeing that he was himself favourable to this money being spent at Stonehaven, instead of at Peterhead. [General Sir George Balfour: No, no, no!] I know the hon. and gallant Gentleman was extremely anxious to see those works executed at Stonehaven, and not at Peterhead, and it is obvious, therefore, this is a sore subject with him.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: That is a mistake. I am not sore about it in that way.

Mr. ASHER: But there is no doubt that these works were decided upon after mature deliberation. A Royal Commission reported in 1879 that the employment of convicts on large public works, so as to combine reformatory with penal treatment, was an essential part of our penal system. This training afforded convicts a better chance of obtaining honest and useful employment when discharged from their prisons than they had previously possessed. In 1881, in consequence of the works on which convicts were employed becoming completed, a Committee was appointed to reconsider the whole question, and the report of that Committee, which was unanimously presented, was to the effect that it was quite essential, as part of our penal system, that convicts should be employed on public works. It was pointed out that some large public works such as these at Peterhead should be commenced, as the work the convicts were then engaged on were nearly finished. The question arose whether it was not proper that Scotch convicts should be employed on public works in Scotland, and a strong Departmental Committee which was appointed to inquire into the matter, having gone all round Scotland, and having taken evidence as to the various places where it was suggested that these large public works should be established, including Stonehaven, which the hon. and gallant Member (General Sir George Balfour) is interested in, unanimously reported that Peterhead was the best place for such works. The result of the inquiries of the Committee was submitted to Parliament, and for the purpose of commencing this large national undertaking an Act of Parliament was passed. It appears to me that it would be a very great misfortune if the idea were to get about that these works are not to be completed to the full extent of the plans which have been adopted after most careful consideration.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: The hon. and learned Member (Mr. Asher) is under an entire misapprehension with regard to my position in this matter. I did not apply, and I never had any intention of applying, to have these harbour works constructed at Stonehaven. Whatever has been done has been done by the Government themselves. I have uniformly urged that a number of small harbours should be constructed around the coast of Scotland where they would be of use to the fishermen, and I hold that it is the greatest folly in the world to build this large harbour at Peterhead, when for the money which is being devoted to it, it would have been possible to procure 10 or 12 useful harbours on different parts of the coast. I have always said that the works at Peterhead are a great folly and mistake, and the Government now see that the view I have consistently expressed from the first is being justified by the facts. This great harbour is not at all likely to be of commensurate use to the amount of money spent upon it; but I do not wish to occupy the time of the Committee by going further into the matter.

Colonel HILL (Bristol, S.): I entirely approve of the employment of Scotch convicts on this most useful work of constructing a harbour of refuge at Peterhead. I think it most desirable that convict labour should be utilized upon such National works; and if I am not out of Order, I would venture to suggest one of the best sites upon which works of this description could be undertaken for the benefit of the convicts of the West of England and Wales——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It would not be competent for the hon. and gallant Member to go into that question on this Vote.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I cannot help bearing in mind the remarks upon this subject made by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) when he told his constituents the other day that it was utterly impossible for any Private Member in the House of Commons to understand these Estimates. The Votes and items are mixed up in such a way that confusion is rendered doubly confounded. The manner in which the duties of the various Departments, particularly those relating to the engineers, have been arranged is enough to puzzle the clearest brain. I find, in connection with this harbour, that it is to be built by convict labour. Well, the manner in which convict labour is applied to Public Works of this description, whether in Scotland or in Ireland, in the present day simply leads to procrastination to an extreme extent. We know how the great Public Works in Cork Harbour have been carried on—we know the number of years they have been in course of construction. I do not rise for the purpose of calling attention to the enormous amount of money to be expended on Peterhead Harbour. That has already been explained by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson); but I wish to call attention to a particular point in connnction with this Peterhead Harbour. In order to employ convict labour, you have, in the first place, to build a convict prison on a site of your works for the accommodation of the convicts, and for that purpose you have to purchase a certain amount of ground. Well, I find that the sum of £5,000 has been paid for the ground on which to build the prison in which the convicts who are to be employed on the Peterhead Harbour works are to be housed. Well, in the last Appropriation Account dealing with this subject, we find that the expenditure for the purchase of land under this item was £13,000—that was the grant; but the expenditure was only £9,718 14*s.* 9*d.* Well, Sir, of course, when it is found that more money has been given than has been absolutely wanted, when a saving of £3,281 5*s.* 3*d.* has been effected, Members could not but look forward upon it as extraordinary, and when inquiry was made and reasons were asked for those making the inquiry were put off in an extremely plausible way. They were told that the money had been saved owing to such a good bargain having been made in the purchase of the land. But on inquiry into this matter, it subsequently turned out that, practically speaking, there has been no such saving at all, and that what really had happened was this, that this money was not saved at all, but that this heading, which states that the item was for the purchase of land and works, was inaccurate. The fact is, the item was for the purchase of land, there having been no works carried out. I wish to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, in the first place, what works are being carried out on this land for which an expenditure of £5,000 stands on the Estimates? I also want to know why the money which was advanced for the purchase of this land on which the prison is to be built——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Member is raising this question prematurely. The Vote upon which he will be able to discuss this matter is Vote 20 in Class 3, the Vote for the construction of prisons. The hon. Member's remarks must be reserved until we reach that Vote.

Dr. TANNER: Perhaps I am not putting it as clearly as I ought to, Mr. Courtney; but I find here in the Report of the Committee on Public Accounts it is stated that this matter is somewhat mixed, a portion of the expenditure having been transferred from the Harbour Account to the Prison Account. I desire to have an explanation of the Accounts mixed up in this way.

The CHAIRMAN: These Accounts have been committed together, and have been brought before the Public Accounts Committee by the Controller and Auditor General. The amounts are voted separat ely,, and the discussion of the Votes for the construction of convict prisons must be taken under Class 3.

Dr. TANNER: Am I to understand that, in spite of the mixing up of these two Accounts, I shall have to defer the question I wish to raise until we come to the Vote for Scottish Prisons?

The CHAIRMAN: Any question relative to the convict prisons must be deferred until the Prison Vote comes on.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): May I ask whether any of the money now voted will go to the service of the prison? Are we to understand that none of the money now voted will be devoted to the service of the prison, as has been irregularly done in previous years?

Mr. JACKSON: I am quite familiar with the item to which the hon. Gentleman refers; but I do not know that I can quite admit the correctness of the term irregularity. I quite remember the circumstance of this amount being brought before the notice of the Public Accounts Committee. As the hon. Gentleman knows it was found in this instance that by taking a larger quantity of land than was at first contemplated the land could be obtained at a less price per acre, and that, therefore, in making the purchase of the land which was necessary for the prison a larger quantity was taken than was absolutely required for that purpose, but which was necessary for other portions of the work. It is quite true that there appeared to have been some, more or less, confusion between the two Accounts; but the hon. Member must know perfectly well that whether the total sum was paid through the Prisons Account or through the Harbour Account was quite immaterial,

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: No, no.

Mr. JACKSON: The hon. and gallant Gentleman who says "No" would surely not contend that the Government, having to bear the responsibility of purchasing land for the purpose of building a prison and constructing a harbour, and assuming that land to belong to one person, should negotiate for the two pieces of land separately, having separate valuations and exercising their compulsory powers in two instances instead of one. Surely he must see that it was an advantage to deal with the purchase as a whole, charging the respective portions of the outlay to the respective works. It appears to me that that was the ordinary business-like course to take in a matter of this kind. I think the question was all made clear to the Public Accounts Committee, and that although there happened to have been some confusion, the result in the end was that the land which otherwise would have to be acquired by the two Departments, was acquired at a less cost by simply purchasing it in the first instance for one Department, and apportioning the cost between the two Departments afterwards.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: To my mind, the manner in which these accounts have been managed, the manner in which the money has been expended, amounts to nothing short of a departmental crime. The error consists in the failure to obtain special Treasury sanction for the appropration of funds from the purpose for which voted to a different, though, perhaps, better purpose, so as to enable the Auditor General to report thereon.

Sir JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury what is the meaning of this item, £28,000 for the "purchase of land and works"—the first item under that head? Does it mean that in purchasing the land we also purchased the works, or that we executed the works? I wish to know how much we have actually spent on purchasing the land, and how much we have spent upon works? I find that this sum includes £1,950 for salaries. Now, supposing £10,000 were expended on the purchase of land, that leaves us £18,000 for work done. If we are spending in round numbers £2,000 a-year on salaries, which only represents £18,000 of work, I would ask the Government to tell me what it means? It seems to me that £2,000 is much too large a proportion to pay for salaries to engineers, accountants, clerks, and such like technical people. It seems to me that this is a most extravagant way of doing business, and I trust the Committee will receive further information with regard to it.

DR. TANNER: I should also like to know whether, under the head of salaries, the £800 originally paid to Sir John Coode will appear?

MR. JACKSON: Yes; the salary of the engineer-in-chief is charged. I see by referring to the sub-head that his salary is put down at £800.

DR. TANNER: That is not what I allude to. I want to know if the arrangement with Sir John Coode on his appointment as engineer-in-chief was that he was to get a £1,000 down as engineer of the works?

MR. JACKSON: I think the hon. Member is rather confusing the arrangement made for the progress of the works with that relating to the completion of the plans.

DR. TANNER: Then my question would apply to the completion of the plans?

MR. JACKSON: The £1,000 paid under that arrangement does not appear here, because that matter has been already settled. If the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir John Swinburne) would take the trouble to read sub-heads A and B, he would there find the whole of the details he is asking for. He will find that £28,000 is put down for the purchase of land and works—that being the head under which the items are charged. He will find under Sub-head A in the Estimate for 1887-8 that the sum of £28,000 is for labour and materials, and that nothing is included for the purchase of land. He will see that last year the sum was £28,000, but that of that amount £8,000 was for the completion of the purchase of land required for the works and railways. The item for salaries includes the salaries of the engineers who are there in attendance on the work, and I do not think we can very fairly estimate proportionately to the amount of money spent on the works the value of the services of these gentlemen. Of course, it is necessary to employ engineers. They have been engaged, and they have had handed over to them charge of the works, and one is an engineer-in-chief, while the other is an assistant engineer. The engineer-in-chief visits the works periodically, and is solely responsible for the conduct of the works; the other, the assistant engineer, is resident on the works, and is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the works on the spot.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: It seems to me that the answer of the hon. Gentleman is exceedingly unsatisfactory to one who knows the facts in connection with this Vote. He speaks of Sub-head 1 as showing that last year £8,000 was taken for the purchase of land, and £20,000 for labour and materials, while this year a sum of £28,000, which is equal to the two items of last year, is taken exclusively for labour and materials. No one knows better than the hon. Gentleman that the sum granted by Parliament last year for labour and materials was not altogether appropriated for that purpose, and that £8,000 was devoted to the purchase of land. The distinction which he draws, therefore, is futile, and does not bind the Treasury to spend the money in the manner in which they ask the Treasury to spend it.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE: Taking the hon. Gentleman's own estimate, it is an extraordinary idea that we are to expend upon salaries 10 per cent of the amount we spend upon the whole work, and yet that was the state of things last year—supposing the whole amount was expended on labour and materials. It seems to me that no business man would think of making such an outlay as that. It seems to me that if these salaries are fixed, the sooner the works are completed the better. I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman if he would state whether the £20,000 was spent last year on labour and materials?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I have not got a copy of the Appropriation Act with me at this moment, and, therefore, I am unable to give a precise answer to that question. But I need hardly point out what the estimated sum is. If the total sum which is taken under Sub-head A is for the purchase of land and works, clearly it is available for either the one purpose or the other. The hon.

Baronet loses sight of the fact that at this particular time the works are only just in process of commencement, and that the comparison he makes—or, rather, the complaint he makes as to percentage—is not a fair one. I presume if the hon. Baronet were about erecting a large building himself, he would consider it necessary to employ an architect. If the operations he proposed effecting were estimated to cost £750,000, I take it that he would endeavour to obtain the services of the best engineer he could find, and it could hardly be supposed that he could obtain the services of an engineer of eminence, and get him to give his whole time and attention, for very much less than the sum which is put down here for the resident engineer.

Sir JOHN SWINBURNE: There is an engineer over that one.

Mr. JACKSON: Precisely, with whom an arrangement has been made that he should receive a fixed salary, which salary certainly forms part of the whole charge. [Sir John Swinburne dissented.] The hon. Baronet shakes his head. All I can say is that I should be sorry to entrust so large a work to any but the most competent engineer I could find; and if we must have competent engineers, certainly, in the first year, the expenditure upon their salaries must of necessity compare unfavourably with the amount of work done. In future years, if Parliament sees fit to increase the sum at the disposal of the engineers, they will, no doubt, be glad to carry on their work much faster, and to show a larger result for the amount of money spent.

Sir JOHN SWINBURNE: The works have been going on two or three years.

Mr. JACKSON: Yes; but the railway is not yet completed, and the prison is not yet completed; and while these works are being completed, the salaries of the engineers are, of course, running on. They must of necessity go on. If the hon. Baronet himself builds a house, he must pay the salary of his architect whilst the foundation is being dug. The engineers must be paid from the beginning, even though at first there may be little to show for the money spent.

Dr. TANNER: The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury did not answer the point I raised as to labour and materials. We know actually, from the accounts rendered us last year, that, practically speaking, there was a certain amount of money placed to the account of labour and materials which was really devoted to the purchase of land. I really think the hon. Gentleman should give us some assurance that a blunder which was evidently committed last year will not be repeated this year, but that he will take care, in dealing with these various sub-heads, that the money advanced for one particular object will be devoted specifically to that one object, and will not be transferred off-hand from one sub-head to another. I trust he will take care that money granted for labour and materials should be expended on labour and materials, and that money granted for the purchase of land should be devoted to the purchase of land, and nothing else. I trust the hon. Gentleman will give us an assurance that these works should be carried out in a *bonâ fide* manner, and that next year we should see none of these mistakes which are observable in the accounts of last year, looking at them in the light of the present Estimates.

Mr. JACKSON: I would remind the hon. Member that I have endeavoured to explain to the House that this question has been most carefully considered. I trust that it has been put in a satisfactory position, and I promise him that I will give the point he raises my fullest attention.

Vote *agreed to.*

(6.) £131,105, to complete the sum for Rates on Government Property.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I want to repeat upon this Vote, and I also desire to do it upon many other Votes, my objection to the way in which these Accounts are presented. We have in the Civil Service Estimates an account of the rates upon Government property, amounting to a sum of £132,000, relating to the War and Admiralty Departments. The charge for rates on Admiralty buildings is £52,000, and on the property of the War Department £80,000, making together the total I have named. What I wish to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury is, why these accounts cannot be brought into the Army and Navy Votes? I do not wish to alter the administration—let there be no mistake about that. I have no doubt that under the Treasury valuer the best arrangement is made which can be made as to the payment of these rates; but, in my view the Army and Navy Departments should themselves be charged with the precise amounts that they cost. I would make the same remark with reference to the Post Office. I said last Wednesday that the Post Office Accounts were illusory and delusory, for the reason that they did not show what the Post Office costs, and that the idea that we are making those large profits out of the Post Office is incorrect when we remember that these large deductions have to be made from them. The charge for rates in connection with the Post Office should come under the Post Office Vote, and not under the present Vote. I am anxious to hear from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury his opinion upon this matter; and I trust that next year the course I suggest will be followed with regard to all Departments, so that the saddle may be put upon the right horse.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): The late Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) has made a suggestion which I have been advocating for the last 15 years. If the War Office receives fair treatment and a number of charges are removed from it which ought properly to be borne by other Departments, I shall be very willing to see it take over its due share of the Vote now under discussion, as has been suggested.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I would suggest to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that he should not wait till he finds himself on the Front Opposition Bench before attempting to initiate reforms or to advocate them. He has an opportunity of moving in the matter now, and if he will only avail himself of it he will do very good service. I hope he will not wait till he gets to the Opposition side of the House in order to force the hands of his opponents to get them to carry out the necessary reforms. I would ask the hon. Gentleman to explain if he can how it is that the rates in England and Scotland have gone up apparently uniformly, while, at the same time, they have gone down considerably in Ireland? The number of buildings have not diminished in Ireland, and I have yet to learn that the rates have decreased. Would the hon. Gentleman be good enough to inform the Irish Members in what particular the amount expended in Ireland in aid of local offices has been lessened?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): With regard to what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) has said, I endeavoured to make it clear when last we went into Committee of Supply, that I would try in the next Estimates, if I have the honour to be responsible for them, to arrange that the particulars which it is universally thought desirable to have furnished on the face of the Estimates, shall be given. I propose to carry that out as far as I can; but I would point out to the right hon. Gentleman that he has carefully, and I think wisely, made it clear to us that he does not wish to alter or change the administration, and that the particular Vote he referred to as an instance shows how difficult it is to meet his views and wishes entirely and fully. The right hon. Gentleman says that the Vote for rates in respect of the Post Office ought to be charged on the Post Office Estimates. Well, now clearly you cannot charge it on the Post Office Vote or on the Post Office Estimate, if it is to be administered by the Treasury. All I can say is, and I believe the right hon. Gentleman himself will agree with me that it would be undesirable to remove the care and control of the administration of the rates on Government property from the inspector who now has charge of them, and that the work would be much better done in one Department by one officer than if it were done by each Department for itself. But what can be, and what shall be done is this, the amount that is paid in lieu of rates on Post Office property shall be stated in a foot-note on the Post Office Estimates, so that the House will be able to see at a glance so far as we get can at it correctly, the total amount for each service. I think the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) gave me some very sound advice as to what I must avoid doing, and he asked a question with regard to Ireland, but I am afraid I can give him very little information, seeing that I have not the details of particulars for England, Scotland and Ireland as separate countries. I think, however, upon the face of it, it must be evident that the building operations which have been going on in England to an enormous extent under the Post Office Department, involving large acquisitions of property, account for the discrepancy the hon. Gentleman refers to. It is evident that the value of the Government property in this country is increasing. There was an enormous increase in the Post Office Vote in regard to the acquisition of new sites last year, to which my Predecessor has called attention. That all means new property, the value of property in the centres of large towns and cities is, I think, constantly increasing. I do not think the increase which is shown in this item for rates in the present Estimates at 3 per cent is at all excessive or out of proportion to the actual increase in the value of property which is going on in different parts of the country. If the hon. Member for East Donegal desires it, I will obtain information upon the point he has raised, and show precisely, as near as I can, the details of this matter, as bearing upon each of the three countries, and the causes which have led to any discrepancy which may be observable.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I desire information as to the diminution in Ireland.

Mr. JACKSON: Yes, I will find out about that.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: The hon. Member behind me refers rather severely to the attitude of Secretaries to the Treasury who have ceased to be responsible for the Estimates, and find themselves in opposition. I should like to put him in possession of one single fact, and it is, that I never had the honour of presenting to this House any set of Estimates whatever. When I came into Office the Estimates had been prepared by my Predecessor, and when I left Office I did so before I had had time to present the Estimates. Therefore, I do not think it fair that I should be criticized for having neglected to do that which I never had an opportunity of doing. I do not altogether agree with what the hon. Member opposite said. I admit that he must be largely in the hands of the permanent officials, but with the present mode of keeping accounts I see no difficulty in carrying out the reform I require. Take the amount for the Admiralty—namely, £52,000. I see no difficulty in accrediting this amount as an extra receipt in the Admiralty Accounts, and I see no difficulty in debiting the Admiralty Accounts with rates on property. I am contending that the Admiralty Vote should show what the country pays for its Navy altogether, no matter by what departments it may be administered. The hon. Member will recollect that this subject goes through a large number of Votes. There are transfers again and again from one department to another, and there are contributions from the Indian Government to be taken into account.

Mr. JACKSON: For War Office purposes.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: In aid of the War Office Vote. I think the same thing occurs in a great many other departments. In the Post Office Estimates this grant made in respect of rates on Post Office buildings might be entered as a receipt, and, instead of voting £226,105, we should then only vote the balance of the account. The Vote should show the entire expenditure of the Admiralty and War Office, and each department should be responsible for the amount it spends. I shall bring this question up again with much greater freedom upon the Stationery Vote on the question of principle. I shall contend that each department should deal with its own stationery account. My point is not to alter the administration, but to provide that the Admiralty Estimates shall show the whole account for the Admiralty, that the War Office Estimates shall show the same, and also the Post Office Estimates. What I want to bring about is this—that Parliament may see what each department costs. The hon. Member opposite knows as well as I that the disclosures which have been made upstairs before the Committee on the Admiralty and War Office accounts show that, in consequence of certain items not being charged to the proper departments, enormous confusion prevails.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): It seems to me essential that the management of this particular item should rest with the Treasury, and that the Secretary to the Treasury should be responsible under the Vote for it. I do not, for my own part, see how he can be responsible for a small share of the Vote if the Vote is split up and taken under different heads or attributed to different departments, and great confusion would necessarily arise; and I think that confusion must be avoided, although I agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) that we should know what is the total cost of each separate department. I think the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury has met this very fairly by proposing to put, in the form of a foot note, at the end of the aggregate vote, in italics, these items voted in other departments in this way. That will enable the House to see the aggregate cost of each department. Under the head Post Office there is an item of £21,000 for rates on Post Office property. That item should not be included in the Post Office Estimate, but should be shown separately, and be added to the Post Office aggregate, so that the House can see the total cost of that department. I do not think it would result in more economic management if you were to split up these Votes, and not to hold the Secretary to the Treasury responsible for all those items.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: I hope the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will pause before carrying out the recommendation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler). I admire the right hon. Gentleman's abilities, and I sympathize, to some extent, with his objects; but I believe that by the system he advocates he would upset the whole Treasury mode of making up accounts. I have had some experience of accounts myself, and I think it would not be altogether a waste of time if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would rise in his place and show the House what would be the result of keeping complicated accounts by a system of double entry such as that proposed. If I am obliged to make observations displeasing to my right hon. Friend I am sorry, and if I attach any blame to him I regret it.

Vote *agreed to.*

(7.) £5,000, to complete the sum for Metropolitan Fire Brigade.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): It is stated in the newspapers that the Fire Brigade is so badly horsed that, in the event of a great fire occurring, it would be unable to send out engines for want of horses. I do not know whether that is correct; but, if so, it is a matter of great importance, and I shall be glad to hear a statement on the subject from the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON (Essex, Epping): I should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman whether there is any possibility of increasing this grant, because I can confirm not only what has fallen from the hon. Member opposite, that the brigade is deficient in horse power, but that many other materials are deficient which are necessary to efficiently dealing with fires in the Metropolis. As the Government grant forms one of the items of the Vote, perhaps my right hon. Friend will state whether the Government have any intention of increasing the amount.

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I have seen in the newspapers the statements to which the hon. Member refers, but I have no special knowledge on the subject. With regard to the question of the right hon. Baronet, I would point out that this sum is laid down by Act of Parliament of 1865, and I presume that this payment is in respect of the services rendered by the Fire Brigade in connection with the protection of the Government Offices; but, as I have said, the amount being fixed by Act of Parliament, it would not be possible to increase it without the sanction of Parliament.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I do not know whether the Statute gives the right hon. Gentleman authority to increase the grant, but as the £1,000 is paid for the protection of Government Works, it would be a most material thing if there is any truth in the allegation. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will inquire into the matter.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £134,662, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Erection, Repairs, and Maintenance of the several Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and for the erection of Fishery Piers, and the Maintenance of certain Parks, Harbours, and Navigations, and for Repayments to Baronies under 'The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883.'"

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I think that hon. Members representing Irish constituencies have some ground for complaint that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) is not in his place to answer with regard to this Vote; because it is almost impossible to ascertain what is the position of the Treasury in respect of the expenditure by the Board of Works in Ireland. With respect to every spending Department here, the position of the Treasury is more or less clear; but the Treasury Authorities themselves admit that they are not able to give the amount of check and control required by the expenditure under this Vote. In order that I may not be supposed to be speaking at random, I will refer to the answer given to the Public Accounts Committee on this very point. Mr. F. W. Hamilton, one of the principal clerks in the Treasury, was asked what real check the Treasury exercised on the expenditure of the Board of Works in Ireland, to which he replied—

> "I should think it is rather difficult to say. It is a Department which we consider to be directly under the Treasury, and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury answers for the Department in the House of Commons; but it would be going into a very large question to define the relations between the Treasury and the Board of Works in Ireland."

From that starting point the interrogatories were continued, and it appears that all sorts of things have been done in connection with this particular Vote, which would not for a moment be attempted on the part of any spending Department here, while the Treasury have very little information, and no control, over the action of those by whom the money is spent in Dublin. It appears that without obtaining any authority from the Treasury, not only the money voted in items A, B, and C, but also that which is obtained from what are called extra receipts, which ought to be paid into the Exchequer, is appropriated, and that they have even taken upon themselves, without Treasury sanction, to compromise an action at law. There is no other Department which would carry on its business in that way. The Treasury is supposed to have financial control over every Department of the State, and there is no reason why the Irish Board of Works should form an exception — at any rate, the Treasury themselves decline to attempt to define the relationship between the two Offices. It is only reasonable that we should have expected the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to be in his place to explain how this money is spent, and why any money is spent irregularly. Again the Vote, I see, is not presented in the same form as last year, as hon. Members will see by referring to page 61, where, under the heading that included maintenance last year, there now appears a charge for furniture and utensils; and similarly with other sub-heads. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to compare the figures of this year with those of previous years. Therefore, I say that our position with reference to this Vote is very unsatisfactory. There are also one or two matters of detail with regard to the Vote on which I should like to get answers from the right hon. Gentleman. Especially I would ask him, with regard to the Ulster Canal, on account of which there is,on page 64, a charge of £705, as against £1,221 for last year. Now, that is a saving of the sum of £500 on this work alone. I regard the Ulster Canal as a monument of incapacity which the Board of Works will do well to get rid of, and which causes very heavy annual charges. The Government also propose to take £1,200, as shown on page 61, for work to be executed by the Shannon Navigation Company; and they have also introduced a Bill in reference to the transfer contemplated. Under that Bill they will take powers to make over to the Company their property in the Ulster Canal, which at present they hold as unpaid mortgagees, and which has proved a very bad security. I ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury how it is that the amount for the Ulster Canal has been brought down to the sum of £705?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.): The only explanation I can give of the reduction of the Vote on account of the Ulster Canal is, that last year the expenditure was in excess of the average expenditure, the consequence of special works which are not to be executed this year. The works, I understand, were of the nature of repairs; £705 is the sum which we are advised would be necessary at the end of the year, and, of course, we ask for no more than we are advised will be necessary to discharge the obligations in connection with them. As the hon. Member says, we have introduced a Bill with reference to the Ulster Canal, which we hope to hand over to the Lagan Navigation Company, and in the passing of that measure I hope we may have the hon. Member's assistance, because we can, in that way, get rid, as he has suggested, of the responsibility in connection with the Canal. The Government have hitherto been unsuccessful in their endeavours to do this—I am afraid, owing to the opposition of the hon. Member himself. However, it would be very much to the advantage of those interested if the Canal were handed over to the Lagan Navigation Company, who would probably administer it better than has been the case hitherto. The hon. Member has asked me some questions with regard to the control which the Treasury has of the expenditure of the Irish Board of Works; and he has put his finger on certain cases, in one of which an action at law was compromised without Treasury sanction, and in another payment was made out of extra receipts. He has also referred to evidence given before the Public Accounts Committee—that it was not clear that the sanction of the Treasury had been obtained before the expenditure of money took place in connection with the visit of a Royal personage. I should not like it to go forth that there is any hesitation or doubt at the Treasury as to their duty of controlling expenditure for which they are responsible in connection with this Board. It is true that with respect to the items to which the hon. Member called attention mistakes have been made; but I believe it is also perfectly true that they have been made in these instances alone. [MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: In one year.] Yes; in one year. The accounts are subjected to the most rigid scrutiny by the Controller and Auditor General, and other gentlemen. The case in which the action at law was compromised without the sanction of the Treasury being previously obtained, was one of considerable difficulty; and I am not prepared to say or admit that the officer in charge, although exercising a power which was irregular and out of order, did not save money, and, under the circumstances, take the wisest course. I do not for one moment wish to lessen the efficiency of Treasury control; and, as far as my knowledge and experience at the Treasury goes, there is no hesitation or doubt whatever as to its being absolutely irregular to expend any money under this Vote without the Treasury sanction being first obtained; and, so far as I am able to judge, that is practically carried out in all cases. With regard to the answer of Mr. Hamilton before the Public Accounts Committee, to which the hon. Member has referred, without saying too much, it appears to me that Mr. Hamilton was dealing with a particular case in point, and must not be understood to mean that there was any weakness of control on the part of the Treasury. And, as far as I can, I shall always insist on a full examination of the subject before any action of the Board in the matter of expenditure is taken.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I shall always be anxious to effect economy in the Public Service; and in respect of the Ulster Canal, if the Government will consent to economize £12,000 in the Public Expenditure, I will consent to withdraw my opposition to the Bill—they will then get their measure, and the public money will be saved.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I observe that the official residences in Dublin cost the sum of £13,613. I have not a very great opinion of those who inhabit these residences; and I think, at least, their residences should be kept in repair at their own expense. I see that altogether there is a total increase of charge of £1,030 on account of the Viceregal Lodge, the Chief Secretary's Lodge, the Under Secretary's Lodge, and the Private Secretary's Lodge. I do not see why the Under Secretary and the Private Secretary should have lodges, and there should be an increased outlay on their houses, gardens, and demesnes. The whole thing smacks of a job. I have been to Dublin, and can see no reason why these things should be paid for by the public; and, under the circumstances, I shall move the reduction of the Vote by the amount of £1,030, which represents the excess of charge in this Estimate over last year.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £133,632, be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): My hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) has raised a question of principle on this Vote which I shall not discuss, although he only proproposes to reduce it by the amount of the excess over last year's Estimate. I do not know that we can get a better illustration of the extravagance of the Irish Government than is presented by the Vote before us. The sum voted this year for Palaces in the personal occupation of Her Majesty is between £12,000 and £13,000, and we are asked to Vote for Dublin Castle and the Viceregal residence no less a sum than £10,105. If hon. Members will look at the past accounts, they will be utterly unable to understand what becomes of the furniture in Dublin Castle. The maintenance of Dublin Castle, which is a furnished residence, and the figures I am about to quote are only a sample of what is expended every year, is £3,700; furniture and fittings, £2,100; fuel, lighting, service, and cleaning, £353. For the Viceregal Lodge and gardens, there is £3,100 for maintenance, £1,000 for furniture, and £370 for fuel and lighting. For the Chief Secretary's Lodge there is £900 for maintenance, £300 for furniture, and £155 for fuel and lighting. For the Under Secretary's Lodge, there is £600 for maintenance, £150 for furniture, and £120 for fuel and lighting. Now, the Chief Secretary has a salary of £4,500. I do not in any way grudge him the salary. He is, or ought to be, one of the hardest worked officials of the Government, but when, in addition to his salary, you give him £1,500 a-year for his residence in Dublin, you give him £1,000 a-year more than the Prime Minister. With the exception of the Lord Chancellors, the Chief Secretary for Ireland is the highest paid official in the Cabinet, and I think the attention of the House should be called to this circumstance. On page 67 the Committee will find all these sums put together, and by that they will get a very good idea of the enormous ordinary expenditure of the Irish Government, which is said to be at least double that for which a similar service could be carried on in this country. Where the control of the Treasury is with regard to it, I cannot say. I am sure the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will exercise all the control in his power, but I venture to tell him that the Irish Authorities will be too much for him, and that the officials in Dublin Castle will spend money under any circumstances. There is no Department in the State on which you spend more money, and get less for it than that which has in hand the ordinary administration of Irish affairs. I ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury for some information with regard to all these items.

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I cannot give very much information with regard to this expenditure. There is not a very large increase in the amount of charge as compared with previous years. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) who has been at the Treasury, knows perfectly well that this is not a Departmental but a Cabinet question; and if the whole system of administration of Ireland is to be altered, if you are to abolish the official residence of the Lord Lieutenant, that is not a question which can be raised on this Vote. It is a question of principle, and must be settled by the responsible Government. What the Treasury can do, and endeavour to do, is to take care that there should not be any unnecessary increase of expenditure, and that the expenditure which has been incurred shall be cut down if it is possible to do so. The right hon. Gentleman has pointed out that there is a considerable expenditure on this official residence in Dublin; but he will, of course, remember that it is used to a much larger extent than any of the Royal Palaces which are occupied by Her Majesty in this country. Whether the expenditure is large or excessive is a question entirely for the House to judge; I can only be expected, I think, to answer with regard to objections made on that ground, the question of principle being entirely beyond me. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) always goes to the point; he says he objects on principle to the maintenance of these offices. Well, of course, if the House comes to that opinion, the system will be altered; but I think that, at this particular stage of the proceedings, all we can do is to see that the Treasury shall exercise an efficient control over the expenditure.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.): I am astonished at the reply of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury. We have, for the Under Secretary's Lodge and Demense, a charge of £600 for maintenance and £150 for furniture; but I point out that this Under Secretary's Lodge is not occupied at all. There is no such person, at the present moment, as the Under Secretary for Ireland. [Mr. JACKSON: Yes.] I stand corrected. We have an increased expenditure, and a diminished responsibility. I ask, in connection with the Chief Secretary's lodge and gardens, what amount of time the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has spent in that habitation, for which we pay? We all know in Ireland that practically the right hon. Gentleman has Boycotted the country in consequence of the Galway midwifery case, and we think that, if the right hon. Gentleman does not live there, there ought to be a diminished expenditure on account of his residence. We find, practically speaking, that the Chief Secretary's lodge and grounds cost this year £1,355, and that there is only a very small diminution in connection with the expenditure of last year. Again, with regard to the Dublin residence and the Viceregal Lodge, we have in those cases a charge of £6,200, as against a charge of £583. Everyone connected with Ireland knows that the Lord Lieutenant has left the country for some time past, and that he has practically taken up his abode in London, leaving the affairs of Ireland to be managed by proxy. Both these individuals—the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary—spend a greater portion of their time out of the country; and I maintain that we should not pay an increased sum in connection with their residences in Dublin. I hope the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) will divide the Committee on his Amendment, for I consider these items are disgraceful in themselves, and they cast neither honour nor glory on the Irish Executive.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I wish simply to point out that I am not asking the Committee to vote on the question of principle. My contention is that it is ridiculous that there should be so great a charge for the lodges of the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary, having regard to the cost at which the palaces in the occupation of Her Majesty are maintained. No one seems to be responsible for this expenditure, and, under the circumstances, I think we ought all to protest against the increase in this Vote.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I trust the hon. Member for Northampton will divide the Committee on his Amendment. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) has not given one tittle or shred of reason or excuse for the increase of this Vote. The question may be one for the decision of the Cabinet whether we should do away with Dublin as the outward and visible sign of a hateful system in Ireland; but the Vote now asked for is a departmental matter, and we are entitled to know the reason of the increased charge for furniture and keeping up these residences. We found the other day that there was a great deal of unnecessary expense in connection with furniture in England, but it seems that the state of things in Ireland is twice as bad. For these reasons I shall support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): We have not been able to obtain any information with regard to this Vote, but I would point out to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that we have received instructions specially from our constituents to look after this expenditure, and whether the amounts are large or small we are expected to see that there is no waste. We find here a charge of £3,500 for additional furniture at Dublin Castle, and another item of £1,000 on account of the Viceregal Lodge which also includes furniture, and we have asked what necessity there can possibly be for this increased expenditure upon residences which are already provided for on a large scale. As I have said, we cannot get any information. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary who is responsible for the affairs of Ireland will not come here, and the right hon. Gentleman who is supposed to supply his place is apparently gone. I do not know that Irish Members would be doing their duty to their constituents, or that we should be doing our duty to those who send us here if we allowed this money to be voted without making an earnest protest against the way in which the House of Commons is treated in this matter. I do not think it is fair, I do not think it is treating the Representatives of the people even with common decency to refuse the information we have asked for.

Mr. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.): I would point out that as we Irish Members have never crossed the threshold of Dublin Castle, we are not in a position to say whether it is well furnished or otherwise, but we do object to the increased expenditure owing to the extravagance of that institution. As has been pointed out to the Committee, Dublin Castle is supposed to be permanently furnished; but, notwithstanding that, we have these large sums year after year for decorations and other matters. Anyone who visits the Phœnix Park, and looks at the residences of the officials, is surprised by the neglected and dilapidated appearance which they present, and if we ask the reason it is because they are left tenantless for the greater part of the year. We object seriously to this increased expenditure, and we feel it our duty to protest against a system which is at variance with the sentiments of the Irish people whom we are sent here to represent.

Mr. W. F. LAWRENCE (Liverpool, Abercromby): The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury did not seem to defend this Vote on very strong grounds. I certainly object to large sums being expended upon furniture of Public Departments, unless the necessity for such expenditure is shown; and therefore, when the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury got up to reply to the hon. Member for Northampton, and said that the question of the principle of the Lord Lieutenancy was involved, I must own to being greatly disappointed with his reply. We are not now discussing the question as to whether or not there shall be a Lord Lieutenant, but the matter of increased expeediture. I should like to have some reasons for this extra expenditure. I have no doubt that it is perfectly proper to expend this money; but I point out that we have not had any reason given for the increase.

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY for IRELAND (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): It is impossible for the Under Secretary, or anyone, to give detailed information as to how the money in all the Lodges in Dublin is spent for repairs, maintenance, and other matters. Hon. Members must be aware that the cost of repairs in one year will vary as compared with that of another, and it is impossible to explain exactly why the sum in one year is larger than a given sum in another. I would call the attention of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down to the fact that the sum total of the Vote shows a substantial decrease of about £13,000, and I think it must be obvious from that fact that there can have been no extraordinary waste which could have been prevented. In reply to the allegation that the Viceregal Lodge is not occupied, I may recall to the recollection of hon. Members that the Lord Lieutenant has been in Ireland a good deal, and His Excellency will return to Dublin in the course of a few days. I think the hon. Member who has moved the reduction of the Vote, whatever may be his opinion with regard to the Viceroyalty, must be aware that it would not be acceptable to the country if the Castle and residences in Dublin were allowed to fall into decay for the want of repairs. I trust we shall now be allowed to take this Vote.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I find that there is a charge for maintenance and supplies at Dublin Castle of £3,700, and also a charge of £2,100 for furniture in the house. I shall be glad if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will state what is the character of the furniture on which this sum is expended. Every year it costs £2,000 for furnishing the Castle; and I ask, is the furniture such that it requires to be replaced yearly? It is a monstrous thing that this constant charge for furniture, of which we have no explanation, is placed upon the Estimates. It is manifest that we must conclude that these large sums of money are not spent upon furniture, but jobbed away by officials at the Castle. I know the Under Secretary's Lodge in Dublin, and I say that it is monstrous to suppose that £600 a-year can be spent upon it, or anything like it. The demesne is not very extensive; and I say that it is utterly impossible that the money can have been expended upon it. For the Viceregal Lodge there is a charge of £1,000 for furniture and £1,300 for maintenance and repairs. It is manifest that the money does not go for these purposes; it must go for some other purpose. The furniture is removed, and I say that we ought to know what becomes of it. It must be either that the money is not spent on furniture or else that the furniture is afterwards sold off and replaced at the cost of the State. For the Chief Secretary's Lodge and gardens there is a charge of £900 for maintenance and repairs and £300 for utensils, in addition to the enormous salary of £4,500 a-year, and the item for coals for the house in which he never lives. I pointed out that last item to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and said that the quantity of coals charged for was enough to warm at least five houses of the size of the Chief Secretary's Lodge, and the right hon. Gentleman was totally unable to tell us how the money was spent. It comes to this, then, that in addition to the salary of £4,500, there is a further sum of £1,600 which the right hon. Gentleman receives, and for this £1,600 a-year there is absolutely no explanation whatever. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary cannot fairly contend that this sum is necessary to keep his house in repair. In my opinion, if he kept his house in Dublin in repair for a long residence in the country it would cost him about £200 a-year; but when the Public Exchequer can be drawn upon the cost of repairs amounts to £1,600. Allow me to say that the Chief Secretary's Lodge is an exceedingly small house, and that every year it costs for repairs and furniture one-fourth of the sum that it would require to build a house of the size. Under these circumstances, I say that we are entitled to further information before the Vote is taken.

Mr. JACKSON: The hon. Member for East Mayo has spoken as if he was desirous of getting information on this Vote which the Government refused to give him; but I can assure him that that is not the case. I admit that the House is entitled to obtain all the information which it seeks; and, therefore, I venture to make the suggestion that, in order to make a full investigation, the matter should be brought forward on the Report stage, and the Vote now allowed to be taken. ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Member cheers that remark; but on Report I will endeavour to be prepared with fuller information that will satisfy the House as to what the expenditure is for and at what times it is made. I hope the Committee will accept that statement and my expression of regret that I have not with me at the moment the details which are necessary to reply to hon. Gentlemen who have spoken on this Vote.

Mr. PICTON: I venture to make another suggestion—that we should pass by this Vote and take it up at the time when fuller information can be given and when we shall have the benefit of the presence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour). I think that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury has scarcely done justice to the objections which have been raised. He says that it is impossible to give an account of every chair and table supplied at the Castle. We are not asking for that; our surprise is expressed at the circumstance that this sum should be required every year for the same purpose. We are met with a scale of extravagance which does not exist, I believe, in any other residence of similar character; and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), in reply to our inquiries, tells us that it is unreasonable to expect information to be given at a moment's notice. But the moment for getting this information is when the Estimates are framed, and they have been drawn up for some time. It was well known that this Vote would be taken to-day, and one would therefore suppose that the hon. Gentleman would have employed his time in providing the information required. I think that the suggestion that I make is better than that which comes from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, and, with the view of enabling him to show us how he deals with this subject, I shall move that the Chairman report Progress; and unless the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will undertake to pass by the Vote for the present, I shall be obliged to press my Motion to a Division.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Picton.*)

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): I can hardly imagine that the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) is serious in making his Motion to report Progress. It seems to me that the offer made by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury is a very fair one, as far as it goes, although I would ask for further information, which, perhaps, he might give on Report, if he cannot now do so. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) has said that there is a decrease of about £12,000 on the total Vote; but I would point out that though this is so there is, under the head of furniture, an increase of £4,000. I have no doubt that a satisfactory explanation can be given of this, but I think the Committee ought to receive some explanation of this increase. The hon. Gentleman has promised to give the information asked for on Report. I hope he will also reply on this point. Under these circumstances, I think that hon. Members below the Gangway might now allow the Vote to pass and take up the discussion at the stage suggested by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Under Secretary for Ireland has told the Committee that there is a decrease of £12,000 on this Vote for the present year; but he forgot to tell us that this decrease is on public building. The Furniture Vote is increasing, and, as the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) pointed out just now, the point before the Committee is not the principle of the Vote, but whether it is to be £5,000 every year. Another point on which the Committee ask for information, and on account of which the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) asks for the postponement of the Vote, is that the Irish Votes, according to precedent, have always been taken together at a time when the Irish Members would have the opportunity of being present. Again, Lord Beaconsfield laid it down as a principle that whenever any Vote was being discussed the Minister of the Department to which it related should be present. I think, as a matter of respect to the House, we have a right to ask that the Cabinet Minister responsible for this Vote should be present when the Vote was under discussion. I ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to postpone the Vote, as requested by the hon. Member for Leicester, whose Motion I shall support if the hon. Gentleman does not consent to the proposal of postponement until a time when we have the Minister of the Crown present to whose Department this matter relates.

MR. JACKSON: I have expressed regret at my inability to give the information required at the present moment, and I now say that if it is the wish of the Committee I shall have no objection to postpone the Vote. I do not know whether the hon. Baronet who represents the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) was present at an earlier part of the discussion; but the hon. Gentleman would have seen that under Sub-head C there is a decrease of £5,535, while under Sub-head D there is an increase of £4,140. This is the result of a transfer from Sub-head C to Sub-head D, which explains the circumstance to which the hon. Baronet alludes.

MR. PICTON: I hope the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will not for a moment suppose that I lack confidence in any promise that he makes, because I have the greatest confidence that he will fulfil his promise in any matter relating to the National Business and expenditure of public money. I am glad to hear that the hon. Gentleman is willing to postpone the Vote, and I would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw the Motion for reporting Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £133,632, be granted for the said Services."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

(8.) £20,000, to complete the sum for Science and Art Buildings, Dublin.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): This Vote which is now before us has to do with the erection of the new Science and Art Buildings and National Library in Dublin. I want to know from the Government what the increase of £5,000 means? I put this question for the reason that some time ago the visitors, who inspected the premises and saw what was being done, gave it as their opinion that it was a very great mistake to curtail the amount which it was originally intended to expend in connection with the erection of these buildings. They did so, because in Ireland it is hoped that in connection with these very buildings a series of similar structures—of course not on quite so large a scale—will be erected throughout the country for the purpose of promoting technical education, which is one of the purposes for which these buildings are being erected. It was with the deepest regret that the Visitors found that the original designs had been departed from, and that, practically speaking, the work was to be curtailed. I find this year, however, that there is an increased expenditure of £5,000, and I sincerely hope that the Government of Ireland, which we consider a Government of commission and omission, will not be guilty of omission in this respect, but will push forward this Museum as well as they can. I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) if his attention has been called to the fact that the roof of the annex to these buildings has been found to be totally inadequate and insufficient—that, practically speaking, it has been found to be leaky, and that if any specimens are placed in the Museum they will be completely ruined in consequence? Again, the Visitors called attention to the Library. They considered the dimensions at present determined upon to be much too small. From time to time we see in connection with large public buildings that certain portions of the structures are totally inadequate for the purposes intended. That has been the case with the British Museum; it is the case even in connection with certain portions of this House. I maintain that the Report of the Visitors as to the Library attached to the Science and Art Buildings in Dublin ought to command a certain amount of respect and attention; and, accordingly, I ask the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) whether it is intended to provide increased library accommodation in the proposed buildings? There is one other fact to which I must allude, and it has reference to the electric lighting of these buildings in Dublin. The Visitors gave it as their opinion that it would be very advisable to adopt the principle of electric lighting, because, in the first place, it would ensure a better atmosphere; in the second place, it would not generate the same amount of heat as gas lighting; and, in the third place, it would not produce the same amount of deterioration in the articles exhibited in the Museum. I have merely risen to endeavour to get increased attention paid to this structure, because we in Ireland consider it of paramount importance that the building should be a considerable one, and that it should be a building from which may radiate in all directions the increased light which will promote a system of technical education of the greatest importance to the success of our country. I trust the hon. Gentleman will excuse my calling attention to these points.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I have no complaint to make of the hon. Gentleman (Dr. Tanner) in respect to the manner in which he has brought forward this subject. With regard to the question of the roof, I may say that the defect has been noticed, and will be at once remedied. As to the increase in the amount put down for this year, it may be well that I should remind the Committee that the building is being raised by contract. The contract is for £110,000, and £30,000 is the portion which we estimate will come in course of payment during the coming year. The question of electric lighting has been brought before the Treasury. There has been no decision arrived at, and, of course, it is as well that no decision should be arrived at until the building makes further progress. The work is being pushed on, and is being done in a very satisfactory manner. It is hoped that when complete the building will bear comparison with other public buildings.

Vote *agreed to.*

(9.) £8,866, to complete the sum for Lighthouses Abroad.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I should like some information about one item of this Vote. I see that £60 is charged for the maintenance and repair of the lighthouse at Cape Spartel, Morocco. Now, Morocco does not belong to this country; and, therefore, I want to know why this country is called upon to pay for the maintenance of a lighthouse, which probably may be of use to the ships of shipowners in Great Britain and Ireland, but which certainly must be equally useful to the ships of shipowners of other nations? I ask for an explanation of this item, because it seems to be an extraordinary thing that we should pay the expenses of this lighthouse.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): This lighthouse was erected by the Morocco Government, and, according to an Order dated 1865, the cost of its maintenance was to be borne by Great Britain and 10 other Powers. The annual charge on Great Britain is only £60. The first Vote was taken in 1866.

Vote *agreed to.*

(10.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £19,871, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries Abroad."

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I desire to move to reduce this Vote by the sum of £5,000 for the proposed Embassy House at Cairo. There was considerable objection on both sides of the House to the amount proposed in the Supplementary Estimates for this work. The subject has been very carefully considered in the meantime, and the Government have determined not to press this Vote.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £14,871, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, including Rents and Furniture, and for the maintenance of certain Cemeteries Abroad."—(*Mr. Plunket.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I was just about to rise to move the reduction of the Vote by this item. I am very glad to find that the Government have agreed to abandon this work. The House will recollect that the proposal to erect an Embassy House at Cairo gave rise to a good deal of discussion on the Supplementary Estimates, and that the House, by a very small majority, sanctioned the sum of £500 in aid of the cost of purchasing the land. I presume that the Government will be able to say that that sum has not been expended.

MR. PLUNKET: There will be, I believe, no difficulty regarding our obligations in this respect. The bargain was, I am informed, a very good one for us so far as regards the purchase of the site, and there will be no difficulty in adjusting matters.

MR. W. REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.): There are one or two items of this Vote I should like to refer to. Under Sub-Head D, for instance, I wish to call attention to the amount set down for the maintenance and repairs of the Embassy House at Berlin—namely, £725. I think that is an exorbitant amount, and I should like some explanation in respect to it. Further down, under the heading Copenhagen, there is an item of £120 for allowance to Minister in lieu of furniture. I think it would be more creditable and a great deal cheaper in the long run if the Government would propose to buy some furniture for this gentleman's house, instead of allowing him £120 a-year for all the years he is there. Then, under Sub-head H, Madrid, there is an item of £250 "for the maintenance and repairs of the building and of furniture in the chancery and chapel; architect's fee, £24." All through this sub-head you find items for the maintenance and repair of the Embassy Houses and their furniture. I should like to know how it is that the furniture has to be repaired every year in all these Embassies? It is a most extraordinary thing that money has to be voted every year for the repair of furniture. The furniture in this House is not broken every year; and it is an extraordinary thing that our Ambassadors abroad should have their furniture smashed and broken every year. I should like to have this point explained.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): It is a little difficult to pick out the items which are extravagant without having special knowledge of the circumstances. I have compared the items of our Embassy expenses with those of foreign Governments, and I find that ours seem to be in excess in every instance. It is impossible to base any clear argument on the figures given in the Estimates; and, therefore, I suggest to the Government that a Committee, similar to that which is now sitting upstairs in relation to the Army Estimates, should be appointed to consider these Estimates. We are simply occupying time now without any very good result to say that this item or that item is extravagant compared with the expenses of some other Embassy; but yet it does seem to me that one is not doing his duty to pass the thing when there is so glaring a difference between our expenditure in respect to some services, and that of the United States of America, for instance.

MR. PLUNKET: It is difficult to go through all the different items of this Vote. Although the expenses at Berlin may seem extravagant to the hon. Member, it is satisfactory to know that there is a net decrease on this Vote by £12,806. As to what has been said by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), I think that the explanation of the circumstances to which he referred is to be found in this—that whereas the Representatives of other Powers abroad have the advantage of the fees which are collected, in the case of this country the fees are paid into the Exchequer. During the present year, at all events, the Estimates for these Services have been kept down to as moderate a figure as possible.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I must contradict what the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) has said; the American Minister, for instance, never receives fees. The reason why we spend so much on our Embassy Houses is that we give our Ministers and Ambassadors far higher salaries than the United States gives theirs. The whole system is bad, and we ought to go to the bottom of the evil. If a man has a large salary he wants a large house, and if he has a large house he wants a large salary. We ought to do away both with high salaries and large houses.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Plunket), or some other Member of the Government, will say whether it would be possible during the coming year to have some complete investigation in relation to these Estimates such as is now being made upstairs in relation to the Army Estimates, especially as we have the means of comparing our expenses with those of other Great Powers. In every case in which I have compared the expenses, those of Foreign Powers are distinctly less than ours. I do not want to take up time by reciting the differences; but I think this a matter the Government might fairly consider.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I think this question is even now under consideration. Certain investigations are being made with the view of seeing whether this Vote can be reduced.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): There is one point I should like some little explanation upon. Under Sub-head A, I see that £4,700 is taken for rents, &c., in China, Japan, and Corea, in respect of which the Government of India does not contribute; and under Sub-head B £1,767 for rent of Legation and Consular buildings in China in respect of which the Indian Government does contribute. I want to know how it comes to pass that, towards one class of Consular buildings maintained by this Government, the Indian Government is called upon to pay a portion of the rents? You might as well call upon them to pay a portion of the rents of the Consular buildings on the South Coast of Africa. I should really like some explanation; it appears to be a very extraordinary fact, and one we should not pass by without, at any rate, receiving some elucidation of it at the hands of the Government.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) if he will indicate to the Committee what amount of financial control the Treasury really has upon expenditure under this Vote? Now, in order to illustrate the point I wish to bring out, I may be allowed to mention that with regard to Berlin it came out in evidence before the Public Accounts Committee some little time ago that for an article described as a washstand £50 was charged. There was absolutely no defence for the charge. The responsibility for placing the washstand in the Embassy was not very clearly fixed. How it came to be put there did not very clearly appear; but, at any rate, the charge was made, and it was met out of money voted by this House. There appears to have been some mistake about some portion of the business; and when the contractor who put it in was asked to take it back again, or when it was suggested he might take it back again, he declared that it would not be worth £10 to him, or, for the matter of that, £5, though he had charged £50 for it. If that is the way money is lavished away in Berlin, it is quite possible that in other portions of the world money is spent to as little advantage. When we inquire from the financial officials of the Treasury what control is exercised in cases of this kind, the answer is—"Oh, yes; we have estimates sent in, and they are supervised by the supervisor to the Department, and if they appear to be reasonable they are passed." But in this particular instance it does not appear that even the Minister himself, in the first instance, sanctioned the putting in of the washstand or the expenditure connected with it—in fact, he was perfectly willing to do without it. There is another point which illustrates the lavish way in which the public money is spent. It is perfectly impossible there should be anything like effective control over the details of expenditure of this kind, because when the liability is incurred there is a danger of the Representative who opposes it being disparaged if there is any haggling about small sums. There ought to be some system by which money's worth should be obtained for the money spent. In all conscience enough money is voted, and I think very ungrudgingly. There should be some explanation of the overhauling of this Vote by some local officer, or by some travelling inspector, or by somebody who shall be in a position to give the Treasury an assurance that the works undertaken are really necessary and reasonable, and are paid for at a reasonable rate. I do not want to dwell upon this item of £50; but I give it as an instance of the way money is wasted, and in which the Treasury is shown to be without any power of effective control. Security ought to be taken that in future we should not vote money blindly as we really do now.

Mr. PLUNKET: I am informed that this washstand was of rather a complicated construction, and that when part of it was taken away what remained did not prove to be very valuable; but I believe the total loss on the whole transaction was about £20. As regards the general charge of inefficient control, I can assure the hon. Gentleman that the complaints I have received are exactly in the opposite direction, for the Representatives of the Government abroad are perpetually complaining of the extremely severe control which is exercised over their wishes and their wants. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) has just told me that when he was at Constantinople he felt in a very unmistakable way the pressure of the control exercised by the Department. I can assure the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) we have surveyors who are perpetually going about, and we never allow any item without being fully satisfied of its necessity. As far as I am concerned the control exercised shall not be at all relaxed. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) has raised the question as to the rent of the Legation and Consular buildings in China. Perhaps it would be as well if that question were to be addressed to my hon. Friend the Under Secretary for India (Sir John Gorst).

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) will say as a matter of fact whether the washstand at the Berlin Embassy was not, in the first instance, placed there without sanction?

Mr. PLUNKET: No; I do not think that was so.

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for INDIA (Sir John Gorst) (Chatham): In reply to the question asked by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), I may say that there is a contribution made from the Indian Revenue of, I think, £15,000. That is made for certain Consular Services which are rendered by the Consular Body in China to the Government of India. The hon. Gentleman will remember that the Government of India has close relations with the Government of China in regard to the opium traffic, and it is chiefly in relation to this traffic that Consular Services are rendered.

Mr. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth): It may be some satisfaction to the hon. Member for North Fermanagh (Mr. William Redmond) to say that I happened to be at the Embassy at Berlin when the work on the roof or skylight referred to was being done, and that I can assure him that the money spent has been well spent.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(11.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £28,020, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Offices of the House of Lords."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): It may be said, speaking generally, that in this country the big salaries are much too big, and the small salaries much too small. It appears to me that there are very few persons who have so much too much as the Lord Chancellor. Now, I find under this Vote £4,000 is voted for the Lord Chancellor. That salary is for presiding in the House of Lords. The Lord Chancellor has two functions; he is a Judge, and he is President or Speaker of the House of Lords. As a Judge he receives £6,000 a-year, and as Speaker of the House of Lords £4,000 per annum. His salary, consequently, is £10,000. Although he may only be a short time in Office, when out of Office he receives a pension of £5,000 per annum. Now, all this is very excessive. There was a time when the Lord Chancellor presided as Judge in the Chancellor's Court; but at the present time he does nothing but fulfil his duties in the House of Lords. It is perfectly true that he is, I believe, technically President of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; but if he attends this Committee once or twice in a year, that is certainly as often as he does attend. He does, of course, preside over the House of Lords when it sits as a Judicial Court of Appeal; but if the hours during which the House of Lords sits as a Judicial Court of Appeal and the hours during which it sits as a Legislative Body are taken together, it will be found that the House does not sit, on an average, one-quarter as long as this House. It seems to me, therefore, that if our Speaker gets £5,000 per annum, it is very clear that the Lord Chancellor would, or ought to, be satisfied with £8,000 per annum. I leave the Lord Chancellor's £6,000 alone because I cannot touch it, for the reason that it is charged on the Consolidated Fund; but there is the £4,000 in excess of the £6,000, and, considering the pension and the very little he has to do in comparison with the Speaker of this House, I think it is very legitimate and reasonable to reduce his salary by the sum of £2,000. This will leave him £8,000 per annum, and also leave him the enormous, even colossal, pension which he receives. It may be said—no doubt it will be said—that the Lord Chancellor's judicial functions are important. But there are others who sit in the House of Lords on judicial matters, who sit there just as frequently as the Lord Chancellor, but who receive nothing. Lord Bramwell, for instance, sits there as a Peer, and if that Gentleman chooses to have himself made a Peer, as a lawyer he really must expect to do something for it. If he thinks it an honour and glory, let him pay for it. I am perfectly certain that £8,000 per annum ought to satisfy any reasonable man. I could find plenty of men just as good as most Lord Chancellors who would take the place for a great deal less. I beg to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £2,000 in respect of the Lord Chancellor's salary.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Item of £5,545, for the Department of the Lord Chancellor, be reduced by £2,000."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I am sorry to disagree with my Colleague on this matter. The Lord Chancellor presides in the House as Lord of Appeal day after day, and when he does this I think he earns his salary. I do not think the salary of the Chief Judge of the Chancery Division, who, to accept the position, must forego a very large professional income, is too much. But there is a complaint in reference to the appeals in the House of Lords which would induce me to support the Motion for the reduction of this Vote. Suitors have very great reason to complain of the exceeding delay between hearing and judgment. The other day I addressed a Question to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) upon this point. It turned out that these several appeals have been waiting judgment for many months

—two or three for over six months, and one for a longer period. This delay is absolutely ruinous to the suitors, and while I think that the Chief Judge of the Chancery Division should be properly paid, and that a lawyer eminent enough to occupy that position is not too highly paid at this sum, I do not think that suitors ought to be positively ruined by the long delay in the delivery of judgment.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 72; Noes 182: Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 298.) [3.40 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I now beg to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £2,100, which is made up of £500 in respect of the Clerk of the Parliaments; £600 in respect of the Clerk Assistant; £800 in respect of the Black Rod; and £200 in respect of the Yeoman Usher. Now, these gentlemen occupy equivalent positions to certain officers of this House. The Clerk of the Parliaments is the same as the Chief Clerk here; the Clerk Assistant in the House of Lords is the same as the Second Clerk in this House; Black Rod is equivalent to the Serjeant-at-Arms, and the Yeoman Usher is equivalent to the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms. Taking into consideration official residences and other details shown in the Estimates, I have estimated that the salaries of these gentlemen exceed the salaries of our officers by the amounts I have stated —namely, £500, £600, £800, and £200. I think the Lords of the Treasury and everybody in this House will admit that the duties of the officers of the House of Commons are as important and far harder than the duties of the officers of the House of Lords. I am not prepared to say that our officers are not underpaid. [SIR ROBERT FOWLER: Hear, hear!] But I cannot, as the hon. Baronet knows, move that their pay shall be increased—no private Member can do so. All I contend at present is that the salaries of the officers of this House should be the same as those in the other House, who hold equivalent positions. I am sure that I shall have the vote of the hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Fowler), because the real fact is that, if I were to carry this Motion, the result would be that the pay of our officers would be increased, because the Conservatives have a majority in this House, and they are not likely to cut off anything from the House of Lords. Therefore, those who are in favour of economy or for reduction of the salaries of the House of Lords may vote for my Motion, and those who are in favour of economy and not for reduction, but who desire that our officers' salaries shall be increased, may also vote for my Motion. I do not know whether this Motion will be accepted by the Treasury, but I have pointed out how everyone can vote for it. If my Motion is opposed I shall certainly go to a Division.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £25,920, be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I agree with the hon. Member for Northampton that our officers are underpaid, and on that I shall have something to say at the proper time; but I entirely differ from him in believing that the officers in "another place" are overpaid. He says that those who serve Her Majesty in high offices are overpaid, while a great many servants of the Crown in inferior positions are underpaid. I stated last year, and I repeat it now, that I do not know any servants of Her Majesty, with the exception of two, who are overpaid. I really think that my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) and the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke), who have the right of private practice, are too highly remunerated. With these two exceptions, I do not know anyone, from the Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor down to the humblest person in the service of the Crown, who is overpaid. I see present a great authority on this matter, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), who lately occupied the position of Secretary to the Treasury. I do not think he will tell the Committee that, considering the work he was called upon to do when he was Secretary to the Treasury, he thinks £2,000 a-year was too large a salary for him. Now, as to the amount of the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords, I might remind the Committee that the salaries are based on agreement between the two Houses. In former days certain fees were taken by the House of Lords, out of which they paid their officers. These fees were given up to the Consolidated Fund on condition that the officers should be remunerated according to a certain scale. The House of Commons, therefore, is bound in honour not to reduce the salaries paid to the officers of the House of Lords.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar): Surely this House is entitled to reduce the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords if it thinks fit. My hon. Friend the Member for London (Sir Robert Fowler) will remember that in former days the Paymaster General received fees and other emoluments from his Office, but that these were commuted for a salary, which salary has now disappeared, the Paymaster General receiving nothing at all. If it was competent for the House to do this in the case of the Paymaster General, surely it is competent to do it in the case of the officers of the House of Lords, though I am far from saying that I think the experience should be carried to the same extent. I, undoubtedly, agree with the hon. Baronet the Member for London that the Attorney General and the Solicitor General are very greatly overpaid; but I think, in addition, that the officers of the House of Lords are overpaid, and that our officers are underpaid. Surely in this matter there ought to be equality between the two Houses—either the House of Lords' officers ought to have more work to do, or they ought to be paid less. At present they have far less work than our officers, and are paid very much more. I cannot see on what principle we are to allow this gross inequality to continue to exist. It cannot be argued that the officers of the House of Lords ought to be paid higher salaries because they have the honour to serve a non-Representative Assembly, while our officers have the honour of serving those who represent the people. I hope my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) will go to a Division.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I am rather surprised that the Members of the Treasury Bench regard this question as one which does not require discussion. I think the case made out by my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) is unanswerable. Why, Sir, it is a universal complaint that the hours of this House now are so long as to test the strength of the very strongest man in the House. After all, Members of Parliament are in a very different position to the officers of the House, because they are able to leave the House—and do leave the House—for hours every evening, while the officials are not able to leave the House. I have seen you, Sir, go through an amount of fatigue, which not even the strong political differences between us have prevented me from sympathizing with you over. There are other officers of the House who suffer fatigue as great. Take the Serjeant-at-Arms and the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms, compare the fatigue through which these gentlemen go with that of similar officers in the House of Lords. Why, the officers of the Upper House are, comparatively speaking, lotus eaters in Elysian fields. To say that officers so differently circumstanced should have different and higher salaries is one of the most monstrous absurdities I have ever come across. What is the reason, is it because these gentlemen, being officers of the House of Lords, are to be regarded as superior beings to their brethren in the House of Commons? I think we have got past the day when the amount of gilt braid which an officer wears is to be any test of the amount of salary to be received from the taxpayers of this country. I am sorry we have not the advantage of the presence of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). We all admire the strong attitude the noble Lord has taken up in regard to economy; but surely this is just one of the matters in which economy may be promoted. Hundreds of thousands of pounds every year might be saved by economy in such matters as these. I know there are very conflicting opinions as to the strength at which our combatant forces ought to be kept. It is in salaries and in bloated pensions that economy must be attained. I am surprised that the proposal of my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) has so far been left without the courtesy of a response from the Government.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I hope it will not be for a moment thought that I meant any discourtesy to the hon. Member (Mr. Labouchere) in not rising before this. We are accustomed to this annual Motion, and really the question has been argued so often, and the facts been stated to the House so frequently, that it is not unreasonable to suppose that hon. Members are in possession of all of them. I may point out to the hon. Member for the Poplar Division of the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Buxton), who referred to the Office of Paymaster General, that although the salary of the Paymaster General has been abolished, there is no work which the Paymaster General has to do; therefore, the position of the Paymaster General is hardly a case in point. The salaries of the officials of the House of Lords are fixed by a Committee of the House of Lords.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: What right have they to fix them? We pay for them.

Mr. JACKSON: I may point out, further, that an arrangement was come to with the House of Lords by which the fees paid in respect of Private Bills and by suitors are paid over to the Exchequer. Supposing you say you have nothing to do with these salaries of the House of Lords, they would be perfectly justified in retaining the fees which they receive in the course of the Business which they transact in that House. [Mr. T. P. O'Connor: Monstrous!] The hon. Gentleman opposite applies strong language to the arguments which I am endeavouring to put before the Committee. What I say is this—that it is perfectly clear that this arrangement was come to between the two Houses; and I think no one can contend that it is an unreasonable argument that in consideration of handing over the fees that they receive the House of Lords should have some voice in deciding the salaries they were to pay their own officers. I would point out that there is another way of looking at this matter. The hon. Member has spoken of the heavy work which is imposed upon the officers of this House. To that statement no one can object; but though that may be a reason for increasing the salaries of the officers of this House, it is no reason for decreasing the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords. I have no doubt if the gentlemen filling the posts of officials in this House could have their duties lightened everyone would welcome the change. I trust, however, the hon. Gentleman will not call upon the Committee to go to a Division on this question. It is perfectly clear that the salaries are fixed by a Committee chosen from both sides of the House, and that the fees received in the other House are paid over to the Exchequer. I am not prepared to say whether these fees are higher or not.

Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I think the explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury has just given is not quite definite, and I should like to have from him a little more information. The question, if I remember rightly, is this. In former days the fees of the House of Lords covered all their expenses, and the House of Lords claimed the right to retain their fees and to settle the salaries of their own officers. As a matter of fact, they settled the salary of their Chairman of Committees and their superior and inferior officers, and when they had paid these Gentlemen there was a balance left which it was customary to invest as a fund out of which superannuations were paid. I think I am accurately describing the state of things which existed. But that system of things has entirely ceased to prevail, and at the present time the fact is that the fees which are received by the House of Lords do not by much exceed half their expenses. The expenses are given at £43,000, and the fees at £22,000. There is, therefore, now an exactly opposite state of things to that which formerly prevailed, when the public were not called upon to pay anything towards those salaries; and what is the result? Formerly the salaries were paid out of fees, and without the knowledge of the public; but now it has become absolutely necessary to put the salaries on the Estimates; because, unless you did so, and the salaries were voted by the House, there would not be a sufficient amount of money out of which to pay them. The Secretary to the Treasury must remember that formerly the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords received a salary considerably in excess of that paid to the Chairman of Committees in this House; but that was felt to be unjust, and the arrangement was altered within the last few years, and the salary of the Chairman of Committees of the House of Commons is now the same as the salary of the Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords. Well, taking that in the light of a precedent, as it now becomes necessary for us to vote the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords, it is surely advisable for us to vote those salaries in an intelligent manner—that is to say, we must consider, having regard to the amount of work done, what are fair and reasonable salaries. I should be very sorry, on the very limited information which we possess upon this matter, to criticize all the salaries of the officials of the House of Lords in detail. Before interfering with those salaries, they certainly should be subjected to more minute criticism than can be given on the spur of the moment; but it does appear to me to be monstrous that the Clerk of Parliaments should receive £3,000 a-year, whilst the Clerk of the House of Commons receives a much smaller salary. The work done by the Clerk of the Parliaments does not at all compare with the work of the Clerk sitting at the Table of the House of Commons. Unless I am very much mistaken the Clerk of the House of Lords sits after dinner during a very small fraction of the total number of days that the House is in Session, whereas the Clerk of this House has to sit here constantly until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): He has sat here, during the present Session, until 25 minutes past 2 in the morning.

MR. CHILDERS: My right hon. and learned Friend tells me that the Clerk of this House has to sit here until a period averaging to 2.25 a.m. Everyone knows that the work of the Clerk of the Parliaments is vastly smaller in amount than that of the Clerk to the House of Commons. Well, surely the time has now come when those holding the purse have the advantage in the matter; and if the Exchequer is called upon—which used not to pay those salaries—surely, I say, the time has come when we should use a rational discretion in settling these amounts. I would say, therefore, that unless the Secretary to the Treasury gives us better reasons than those which he has advanced at present, I do not see how we can resist the Motion of my hon. Friend. I hope the Secretary to the Treasury will corroborate strictly what I have said, for I must confess I have spoken from memory of what was the state of things some years ago.

SIR JOSEPH BAILEY (Hereford): These offices in the House of Lords are, at the present moment, held by gentlemen—gentlemen on whom no imputation has ever been passed. They are doing their work, so far as I know, admirably. They are gentlemen who have calculated their expenditure on, an understanding that they are to receive the salaries at present paid to them. They have undertaken the duties of their office at those salaries, and I think we should be doing them a great injustice if, without any notice at all, we were to reduce their salaries by the very considerable amount proposed. At the same time, I must say I was very much struck by arguments which came from the other side. I see no reason why the officers of the House of Lords should be paid higher salaries than the officers of this House, and I trust that whenever any of the offices in the House of Lords become vacant the Government will consider whether some economical arrangement cannot be made on the re-arrangement of the salaries of those officials.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has forgotten that the principal office amongst those to which he refers has lately become vacant, and that the whole of this controversy arises out of the fact of that vacancy having been filled by patronage, the salary being retained at its old amount. The Secretary to the Treasury is incorrect in stating that this is an annual Motion. It has not been annually raised, but is simply made in consequence of the arrangements adopted when the office of Clerk of the Parliaments became vacant not very long ago. When that office became vacant there was a general feeling that Lord Farnborough, then Sir Thomas Erskine May, should have received the appointment. If he had received the appointment no objection might have been made, as it would have been regarded as the reward of an honourable and illustrious career in the service of this House. But instead of that a gentleman was appointed who was already in receipt of £2,000 a-year from another position. The present occupant of the office has only held it for two years; therefore we may take it that, so far as he is concerned, the matter is still *sub judice.* With regard to what has fallen from the hon. Member for the City (Sir Robert Fowler), he seemed to assume the justice of the old doctrine that public servants are underpaid. I will not respond to his challenge as to the officer he referred to; but I would point out that the Secretary to the Treasury keeps much longer hours, and works a great deal harder, than any clerk in the House of Lords. There is no imputation against the gentlemen who discharge the duties of these offices. They are gentlemen of high character, and I have no doubt that the clerical duties in the House of Lords are discharged quite as well as those in the House of Commons. But what we ask for is that the officers of the two Houses should be treated on a level. If there were any real mathematical apportionment made of salary according to work, there is no doubt that the officials of this House would receive the higher salaries of the two, because they keep much longer hours, and do much heavier work. But I think that no one has asked for that. No one desires that there should be an inequality between the two Houses; but we do ask that there should be equality. I think that unless the Government will give us some promise that some investigation shall be held to see if those salaries cannot be brought into something like a fair principle, I shall, like my right hon. Friend the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), feel it my duty to vote with the hon. Member who has moved this Motion.

Mr. JACKSON: The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) is quite right in his statements as to the facts. He has referred to the circumstance that the fees in the House of Lords do not equal the amount paid to the officers of the House of Lords; but I would point out that there are two reasons for that. Since the time that those fees were taken in payment of the officers of the House of Lords, there has been a considerable reduction made in the amount charged to the public. That, of course, has all been to the advantage of the public. I may point out, further, that this year the receipts paid into the Exchequer only amounted to £22,000. That is a very small figure compared with the amounts which have been paid in on previous years. I notice that in 1882-3 the amount was as large as £39,008. The falling off is due partly to the reduction of the fees, and partly to the reduction in the amount of private business. No doubt, it will be the duty of the Government to carefully consider the position of affairs whenever a vacancy arises. I take it that no Member of the House would wish to interfere with the arrangements already made. The superannuations to which reference has been made are paid out of the Invested Fee Fund. I have given the Committee all the information I can. I promise that consideration shall be given to the subject, and no effort shall be wanting on our part to reduce these salaries whenever occasion arises.

Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): The hon. Gentleman has corroborated what I said, and I am obliged to him accordingly. Now, what is his promise? Let us have it very precisely. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury is not able to do so, will the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) promise us that whenever a vacancy arises the new official shall not be paid more than the salary which is paid to the corresponding official in this House? That is all we want, and if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury or the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury would give us that assurance, I appeal to my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere) not to proceed with his Motion. I think that what I suggest is a very equitable arrangement.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I will undertake, on behalf of the Government, that the subject shall receive consideration in the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman suggests it should be considered. I cannot undertake absolutely that on the voidance of any office the salary shall be fixed precisely on the scale on which the salaries of the officials of this House are paid. The right hon. Gentleman is aware that there are circumstances which might make that impossible. I will give him an engagement, however, that we will at once give our consideration to the whole question, with a view to the reduction of the cost of that Establishment, and with a view of placing the salaries of the officers of the House of Lords, whose position compares with officers in this House, upon the same level. The right hon. Gentleman will understand the hesitation I have in giving the positive engagement he desires.

MR. CHILDERS: I think the undertaking of the right hon. Gentleman might be accepted. So far as I understand the right hon. Gentleman, while not undertaking that in each individual case there shall be an exact parallel between the salaries of the officers of this House and the officers of the House of Lords, undertakes that the spirit of such a parallel shall be observed so far as possible. He promises that the future form of this Estimate shall be upon that basis, and I must honestly say I do not think we can ask more than that.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I will undertake to open negotiations with the other House, with a view to carry out this arrangement at once.

MR. LABOUCHERE: We have got something, but not quite all we want. I can perfectly understand the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) pledging himself as to what would be done in the other House. It seems to me that he will have a good deal of difficulty with his Colleagues in the other House; and, therefore, I think that the right hon. Gentleman will himself be glad if we were to strengthen his hands by a strong expression of opinion on the subject. If I may venture, for once in my life, to speak in the name of the right hon. Gentleman, I will urge the House to vote in favour of my Amendment.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): The proposition made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) seems to be one rather of compromise than of justice. He speaks of the officers of the House of Lords being remunerated on the same scale as the officers of this House. I object to such an arrangement entirely. The officers of this House do ten times the amount of the work the officers of the House of Lords do, and yet we are asked to assent to a proposition that the officers of the two Houses shall be paid at the same rate. I do not think such a proposition is a fair one, and I have always maintained that the salaries of the officers of this House ought to be raised, owing to the amount of work our officers have to do. I object to any understanding or arrangement which will put the two sets of officers upon the same level.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I do not want to detain the Committee long, but I must say a word or two upon this question. Let me, in the first place, call the attention of the Committee to the extraordinary difference in the situation that has taken place since the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury's first speech. The hon. Gentleman, when first he rose, led the House to believe, quite unintentionally no doubt, that all this money which the House of Lords was entitled to spend was derived from the fees obtained by the House itself. I know the hon. Gentleman is incapable of misleading the House; but certainly that was the impression left on this side of the House until the real facts of the situation were brought to light by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). Now, as to the question of fees, does the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury mean to imply that those fees are the private property of the House of Lords? These fees are given for public purposes and are public fees. Therefore, Sir, to talk of the fees paid in respect of the work of the House of Lords as a justification of the House of Lords is an abuse of the meaning of the word "fees." But, as a matter of fact, a great part of those salaries so voted by this House comes out of the pockets of the taxpayers, because £26,000 is paid, and £22,000 alone comes from fees. Let me claim the attention of the Committee to one or two facts in connection with this Vote. I find that the Black Rod receives £2,000, and in a note it is stated that this officer also receives emoluments as an Admiral on the retired list, and is provided with an official residence, and also receives fees for his own use as an officer of the Order of the Garter. Black Rod—an institution which is certainly more ancient than useful—gets, in addition to fees and emoluments and an official residence, £2,000. Take the case of the Clerk of the Parliaments. I say that in the mighty maze of jobs contained in these Estimates there is not a job more gross than that surrounding the office of Clerk of the Parliaments. The

Clerk of the Parliaments receives the salary of £2,500, and an allowance of £500 for a house—£3,000 a-year for about an hour and a-half perfunctory work daily during six months of the year. I defy hon. Gentlemen opposite who represent constituencies in which there are many agricultural labourers or working men to defend his vote in favour of giving £3,000 a-year to a gentleman who does work that in any newspaper office in London would be paid for at the rate of 30*s.* a-week. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite laugh. I suppose they think that it is something like blasphemy to apply anything like a marketable standard to the supply of individuals in the other House. To any question in which dockyard labourers, for instance, are involved, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer applies the most rigid commercial rules; but when a gentleman with gilt braid and sword and black rod, and a member of the aristocracy and a retired Admiral, is concerned, all the economical leanings of the Chancellor of the Exchequer disappear. For my part, I am entirely dissatisfied with the promise given by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. All he has done is to promise that he will use his best efforts. As my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has put it, we will endeavour to strengthen him in his efforts by defeating him in the Division Lobby. I maintain that the officers of the House of Lords ought not to be paid as well as the officers of this House. I maintain that they ought not to get half the salary of the Clerks of this House, for they do not do one-tenth the amount of work.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I think it is well to remind the Committee that the House of Lords, besides being a Legislative Assembly, is also a judicial tribunal, and sits during the day time during the Session, and also sits for the transaction of judicial work during the Recess. The officers of that House are employed not merely during the hour and a-half in which I believe the House of Lords occupies itself on the average daily in legislative work, but also during the day time from 11 o'clock till 4. The Clerk of the Parliaments is an important judicial officer, and it is necessary he should be a lawyer of some experience. Having said that I think that, on the whole, the House may be satisfied with the undertaking of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury —namely, that he will communicate with the officers of the House Lords with a view to establishing an equality between the salaries of the officers of that House and the officers of this House. It is obvious we cannot alter the salaries of the present officers, and a new arrangement can only be made whenever vacancies arise. I should like to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to another point—namely, the official residences of some of the officials of the House of Lords. When I was at the Office of Works I was extremely anxious to increase the accommodation of this House, and it occurred to me that some of the officers of the House of Lords who are employed a very much shorter time than the clerks of this House and other officers of this House might, perhaps, as well receive an allowance instead of official residences, and that their residences might be given up to public purposes. I find, for instance, that the Librarian of the House of Lord receives a salary of £800 a-year, and is provided with an official residence containing 12 bedrooms. He is a bachelor, and therefore it appeared to me it was not unreasonable that the residence might be devoted towards increasing the accommodation of this House. The Black Rod is, no doubt, an important officer; but he has an official residence almost as good as that of the Speaker of this House. It is a very extensive house, altogether out of proportion to the salary he receives. It appeared to me not unreasonable to ask the House of Lords that that house might be appropriated for Committee purposes, and in that way increase the accommodation generally of this House. I think there is a great deal to be done in this way without interfering with the dignity of the House of Lords or interfering with the work of the House of Lords. I mention these matters with a view to future arrangements.

Sir JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury would be prepared to postpone this Vote until he has had an opportunity of communicating with the Clerks of the other House. Perhaps he will also state what are the exceptional circumstances to which he alludes. If we look at this matter from a practical point of view, we know perfectly well that directly a vacancy arises in any one of these official appointments it is filled up immediately, and then we are told it is too late to alter matters, and we must wait until the officer dies or a vacancy is created in some other way. I suggest to the Government that they should postpone the Vote until they have had an opportunity of communicating with the Clerks of the other House upon this subject.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think the hon. Baronet will see that it will be exceedingly unwise, having regard to the period of the Session (July 13), to postpone a vote of this kind. I have undertaken that the matter shall receive the consideration of the Government. I will also undertake that the suggestion made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) shall receive consideration at the same time. I assure hon. Gentlemen it is the desire of the Government to effect every economy in our power.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 120; Noes 184: Majority 64.—(Div. List, No. 299.) [4.40 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Will the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury be kind enough to tell us what are the miscellaneous expenses under Sub-head N?

MR. JACKSON: The expenditure under this head during the last 10 years seems to have fallen off very much, because I notice that instead of it being £992 it is now only £300. The item covers certain expenditure of a miscellaneous character, including poundage of 1¼ per cent receivable by the Accountant in the Department of the Clerk of Parliaments on the Bill and Bar fees.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Does the item include anything for the purchase of newspapers?

MR. JACKSON: No.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): With regard to the percentage of 1¼ on Bill and Bar fees, I should like to point out that these fees amount to something like £20,000 or £25,000 a-year; but, instead of being paid over as other receipts are paid over by every Department of the State to the Exchequer, the House of Lords appropriates them to itself, and, besides paying the poundage of 1¼ per cent to the Accountant in the Department of the Clerk of Parliaments, the House of Lords uses the money for the purpose of supplementary superannuation allowances to the officers of the House of Lords. I believe the Treasury itself has never sought to defend the present system. When before the Public Accounts Committee a Treasury official was asked whether any individual was interested pecuniarily in the retention of the fees of the House of Lords, his answer was—"I think the Accountant officer in the office of the Clerk of Parliaments will have to answer that question." The Treasury itself could not answer it, and therefore I presume it is useless to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to answer it now. The Fee Fund is now over £30,000 a-year. I believe some portion of it is paid into the Exchequer, but the Treasury has no check or control over the Fund. They are equally without check or control upon the superannuation allowances of the officers of the House of Lords; they check, and control, and very often limit the superannuation allowances of other officers; but the officers of the House of Lords elude all Treasury supervision. I ask the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) to explain to the Committee the system under which this Fee Fund is worked; to state what information the Treasury really possess in regard to its incomings and its outgoings, and whether the Treasury propose to alter the present system?

MR. JACKSON: I think it right to say, in the first place, that I ought to have said, speaking of the poundage of 1¼ per cent paid on Bill and Bar fees to the Accountant in the Department of the Clerk of Parliaments, that the poundage was limited to a maximum of £250 a-year. With regard to what the hon. Gentleman says about the fees which are paid over, I may say that since the question was brought before the Public Accounts Committee I have given instruction for some inquiry to be addressed, with the view of endeavouring, if possible, to put the Fee

Fund, so far as audit is concerned, in the same position as other accounts, and with the view of ascertaining what can be saved, and with the view of seeing, if possible, whether the account can be dealt with in the same way as all other accounts.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I should like to know whether the proposed scheme will involve the submitting of the superannuation allowances of the officials of the House of Lords to a vote of the House of Commons, or will the present system continue under which the House of Lords provides superannuation for its own officers out of a fund under their own control?

Mr. JACKSON: Every hon. Gentleman knows these superannuation allowances, although they are not bound to be submitted, are submitted to Parliament as a matter of fact.

Mr. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.): Will the hon. Gentleman tell us what is the difficulty in making a frank statement to the House of Commons. Why should not the Government have equal control in regard to the expenditure of the House of Lords as they have in regard to the expenditure of the House of Commons?

Mr. JACKSON: If I may make a full and frank statement in answer to the hon. Member, I may say that the only reason why I have not spoken very decidedly on the point is, that the question only arose and was brought to my attention at the meeting of the Public Accounts Committee about a fortnight or, three weeks ago. Really, from the pressing work one has to do at this particular season of the year, there has certainly been no time to look into the matter.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £33,969, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Offices of the House of Commons.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London): I wish to say a word upon this Vote. I wish to appeal to my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) as I appealed to his Predecessor (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), and as I appealed to the late Lord Frederick Cavendish, to take into consideration the fact that the officers of the House of Commons are most inadequately paid. [Lord Randolph Churchill: Oh, oh!] The noble Lord says "Oh, oh!" but I maintain that the salaries of the officers of this House are most inadequate; as I said half-an-hour ago, in my opinion all those who serve Her Majesty are generally underpaid. We must bear in mind that these salaries were fixed at a time when money went a great deal further than it does at present—that a salary of £2,000 a-year does not represent what a salary of £2,000 a-year did 20 years ago. On the other hand, the work of the officers of this House has immensely increased; we sit to much later hours than formerly, and "Counts-out" are now of very rare occurrence. I agree with hon. Members that the officers of this House ought to be placed on the same level as the officers of the House of Lords; but I should level up and not level down. I do not think that the salaries of the officers of the other House of Parliament are too much; but I do think that those of our officers are scandalously too small, and therefore I make an appeal to my hon. Friend (Mr. Jackson) to take the matter into consideration. The Committee will recollect that the salary attached to the position which you, Sir, so worthily hold was taken into consideration some 10 years ago, and it was then resolved that the Chairman of Ways and Means should be put on an equality, so far as remuneration was concerned, with the Chairman of the House of Lords. What was done in regard to your Office, Sir, ought to be done in regard to all the other offices. I trust the matter will receive favourable consideration.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I do not quite agree with the observations of the hon. Baronet the Member for London (Sir Robert Fowler). I do not agree with the proposition that the amount of money paid to the officers of the House of Lords should be in any sense equal to that paid to the officers of this House, because one must take into consideration in a matter of this kind the amount of work to be done. I presume that the offer of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was that he would consider this question of salaries as a whole, and not as relating simply to the House of Lords. [Mr. JACKSON: Hear, hear!] I am glad I have not misunderstood the hon. Gentleman. Certainly I have never suggested any lowering of the salaries of any of the officers of this House; their work is very hard, and of late it has been enormously increased. They sit here night after night from a quarter to 4 o'clock to, upon the average, half-past 2 o'clock in the morning. I should like to recall the attention of the Committee to the remarks made just now by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre)—namely, that the Librarian of the House of Lords not only receives a large salary, but is also granted an official residence containing 12 bedrooms. Now, he is enabled to go home every night, say, at 8 or 9 o'clock. [An hon. MEMBER: Half-past 5 o'clock.] I like to be generous, and, therefore, I put the hour at half-past 8 o'clock. I cannot understand why the Librarian of the House of Lords should be granted an official residence, while the Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means, who is in attendance every night, and often sits until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, should have no official residence. The Librarian's place in the House of Lords is an exceedingly pleasant one, after all. Compare the peace which surrounds the situation with the turmoil of this House, through which you, Sir, so very often have to sit. It is a monstrous thing to say that the Chairman of this House should be occupied here till the small hours of the morning, and then have to trudge home, no matter what the state of the weather may be—because it is not always that a conveyance can be had—while the Librarian of the House of Lords should be supplied with an official residence with 12 bedrooms in it. You, Sir, also hold the position of Deputy Speaker of this House, and is it reasonable that the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons should have no official residence, while the Librarian of the House of Lords is supplied with one? I beg the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to look into this matter, and see that justice is done. I object to any increase in the Estimates, but I do not look upon this as entailing an increase of the Estimates; I look upon it simply as a question of justice, and I think we shall lower our own dignity and be unjust to those who are in the service of this House if we do not see that they have not only the same advantages, but even greater advantages, considering the work they are called upon to do, than those who hold sinecures in the House of Lords.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): The hon. Baronet the Member for London (Sir Robert Fowler) has indulged in that flabby talk which makes all efforts at economy difficult. If I were an extremely wealthy man, I should be happy to give a subscription towards the payment of the officers of this House; but I think it is monstrous to add anything more to the burdens of the taxpayers. I may point out that there is a very easy way of minimizing the laborious duties of the officers of this House. What is it that doubles, or trebles, or quadruples the labours, not only of officials, but also of Members of this House? It is the monstrously absurd hours to which this House sits. We are the only Legislative Body in the world that does not meet at a reasonable hour of the day, and separate at a reasonable hour of the evening. I should say that, on the average, the Legislatures of the world meet at about 12 o'clock in the day, and separate at about 6 o'clock in the evening, except towards the end of the Session, when Bills are being hurried through. Now, if the Speaker, or any of us, were to come down at 12 o'clock in the day and go home at 6 o'clock, we would have no complaint of overwork either from Members of the House or from the officers of the House; and I should say that, with all respect to you, Sir, if our hours were changed in this way, £2,500 would be a good salary for work extending over six hours a-day for six months in the year. I wish my fortune would bestow upon me equally large favour. Now, if my hon. Friend the Member for the Birr Division of King's County (Mr. Molloy) desires to raise the salaries paid in this House, he may count upon the support of the hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Fowler), who is not averse to large expenditure of public money for any purpose whatever; but he certainly must be prepared to encounter very considerable opposition on my part. Now, I want to call the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to a small, but very important, matter. I assume that the Secretary to the Treasury, in company with some official of this House, has control of the internal arrangements of the House, including what is called the Reading Room in which newspapers are supplied. I want to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury on what principle of inquisitorial canons newspapers are supplied for the use of hon. Members? Unfortunately, we have to recognize the fact that there are some differences of political opinion in this House. We are not all of the same way of thinking, even on such subjects as the government of Ireland, and small questions of that kind. I ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury if he will see that there are newspapers in the Reading Room which will furnish pabulum and enjoyment for hon. Members of different political opinions? I read with great interest every day many newspapers from the politics of which I entirely differ. Anyone holding such opinions as I do, and living in London, has to read a great many newspapers whose opinions are disagreeable to him. What would be thought if, because *The Times* newspaper happened to contain some very disagreeable statement, I were to suggest that *The Times* should be excluded from the Reading Room? Everybody would say I was carrying partizan feeling to a length entirely unheard of. I maintain that the Irish Members have just as much right to have in the Reading Room newspapers representing their views as English Tory Members have to have their newspapers representing their views. Why am I deprived of the weekly pleasure of reading *United Ireland* in the Reading Room of this House? Why does the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury deprive himself of the enormous amount of advantage and edification to be found in the columns of that newspaper? [Mr. PENROSE-FITZGERALD: Hear, hear!] I observe that a Tory Member opposite, representing an English constituency, but of Irish nationality, agrees with me in that opinion. I am glad the hon. Gentleman for once agrees with me, and I trust I shall have his support in affording Members of the House an opportunity of receiving the political edification which the reading of *United Ireland* entails. Are we to be told in this temple of liberty what newspapers it may suit our political morals to read and what newspapers it may not suit us to read? I protest in the strongest manner against this Inquisition of the Holy Office which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury is endeavouring to establish in this House. I shall look this week to see whether the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose-Fitzgerald) and myself, as well as other Members of the House, are afforded an opportunity of perusing the contents of *United Ireland.*

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps I may shorten matters by saying that, although the hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has read me a very useful lecture, I have no power whatever in the matter he has raised. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: Who has?] The management of the Reading Room does not come within the purview of the Secretary to the Treasury, but of the officers of the House. [Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: What officers?] The Serjeant-at-Arms, I believe. I trust that even if *United Ireland* were placed in the Reading Room I should not be compelled to read it. I have no doubt I should derive from the perusal of its columns a great deal of valuable information; but the onerous duties of my Office exclude me from the reading of many newspapers.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: May I explain that I do not wish to compel the hon. Gentleman to read *United Ireland;* but I feel sure that its literary ability, and sound political moderation, will commend it to the perusal of the hon. Gentleman. Of course, I will not take the extraordinary step of moving any reduction of the Vote in regard to this matter; but I ask the Secretary to the Treasury to use his influence with the officers of the House that Irish Members may be afforded an opportunity of reading newspapers which represent their political views.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): My hon. Friend was a little precipitate in thinking I desired to increase the salaries of the officers of this House. The point I endeavoured to lay stress upon was that the Librarian of the House of Lords, and other similar officials of that House, have official residences; while our Deputy Speaker and Chairman of Ways and Means, and two of our clerks, doubtless, who are kept here night after night, have no residence supplied them. What I want to know of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) is, whether arrangements cannot be made by which the residences in the House may be tranferred to those who really require them?

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth): The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) seems to forget it is necessary to consult our officers as to whether they would like to have residences supplied them in this building.

MR. MOLLOY: I speak generally, and not with reference to the present holders solely.

MR. JACKSON: As the hon. Gentleman desires, some inquiry shall be made. The difficulty I feel is really one of principle. Personally, I am entirely opposed to private official residences. An official residence very often puts the occupant of an office to a great deal of additional cost, and I am quite certain it puts the country to a great deal of useless expenditure. Anyhow, I will take care that the matter is inquired into.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead): I should like to say a word upon the point raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor). The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) seems to have forgotten that on the Supplementary Estimates the question of the supplying of *United Ireland* among the papers supplied in the Reading Room was raised, and on that occasion a correspondence was read which had passed between an hon. Member and the Serjeant-at-Arms. The Serjeant-at-Arms declined to make any alteration in the system which then prevailed. When the discussion took place—now some months ago—an hon. Member opposite (Mr. Finch-Hatton), who is no longer a Member of this House, but a Member of the other House, expressed his anxiety to have an opportunity of reading *United Ireland*, and even went so far as to suggest that the supply of back numbers would be advisable. It does appear to me that it is exceedingly arbitrary that newspapers of every type and class of opinion should not be supplied for the reading of hon. Members. During the discussion upon the Supplementary Estimates the Government promised to use their influence to secure that *United Ireland* should be supplied for the reading of Members. I should like to know whether this promise has escaped the memory of the hon. Gentleman?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): It really is a monstrous thing that the officers of this House should have the power of saying what literature we shall read, and what literature we shall not read. The thing is perfectly absurd. I am sure that if an intimation were received from the Government that it was desirable that *United Ireland* should be received here, it would be received. Such a recommendation would be acted upon by the Serjeant-at-Arms. In the interest of hon. Gentlemen opposite, it is desirable that *United Ireland* should come to the Reading Room. They are always quoting from it, and it is as well that they should have an opportunity of verifying all their quotations. I generally peruse Conservative newspapers; I know what Liberal newspapers are likely to say, and I am curious to know what Conservative papers think. I know that some Gentlemen have a perfect thirst to read the contents of *United Ireland*, and I do not see why the Serjeant-at-Arms should deprive them of the pleasure of perusing the paper. I hope the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) will use his influence in order to secure a copy of this paper being laid on the table of the Reading Room.

MR. JACKSON: I am sure hon. Members of the House will sympathize with me when I say I am most desirous not to interfere with duties which really do not belong to me. This is a matter which does not come within the purview of my Department, but belongs entirely to the Department of the Sergeant-at-Arms. I will, however, call the attention of the Sergeant-at-Arms to the desire expressed by hon. Members, and I hope that the desire will be satisfied.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I am perfectly satisfied with what the Secretary to the Treasury has said, and now I hope he will allow me to bring another matter before him. I want to point out that the admission to the portions of this House open to journalists is a most valuable concession to newspapers. It is, pecuniarily, a valuable concession, and no daily newspaper is really able to compete successfully with any newspaper in the same city, except it has exactly the same privileges of entrance to the Reporters' Gallery and also to the Lobby of the

House as its contemporary. Will the Committee believe that this state of things exists—namely, that a newspaper representing one set of political opinions in a city has an opportunity of having a representative in the Reporters' Gallery and a representative in the Lobby, and that another newspaper, representing another set of political opinions, is denied the privilege of having a representative in the Lobby. Everybody who has any association with newspapers knows that the Lobby of the House of Commons is the Bourse of news in this country, and that no newspaper which is not able to have a representative in the Lobby is able to supply its readers with anything like a satisfactory and able account of the state of political and Parliamentary feeling. Now, Mr. Courtney, I confess in this matter to no Party feeling, my sole desire being that equal facilities should be given to newspapers of all shades of opinion. The case to which I allude is this. In the city of Edinburgh there is a paper, as everybody knows, called *The Scotsman.* It is a paper conducted with the greatest editorial and business ability. Recently, a paper has been started in that city called *The Scottish Leader*. *The Scotsman* represents what is called Liberal Unionist opinion upon the great controversy now before the country. I regret that; but, at the same time, I should be very sorry to propose that *The Scotsman* newspaper should be deprived of all and every form of facility which it requires. Now, will it be believed that this state of things exists?—*The Scottish Leader*, which represents Home Rule opinion upon the Irish Question, is deprived of the opportunity of sending a representative into the Lobby of the House of Commons. I, as a journalist, maintain that *The Scotsman* newspaper reaps, in this preference, as great an advantage over its rival—*The Scottish Leader*—as if the Secretary to the Treasury were to make it a present of £10,000 a-year. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite laugh. Do they know anything about the matter? If it will please hon. Gentlemen, I will lower my figure, and say £5,000. Perhaps that will satisfy the commercial instincts of hon. Gentlemen. Is it fair the privileges of this House should be used in this grossly unjust manner? The Secretary to the Treasury says this is not his Department. Whose Department is it? Are we to be told there is any body of men in this House who can disregard the authority and mandate of this House? In the absence of information on the point, we look to the Secretary to the Treasury. Upon these Estimates he is the mouthpiece of the Government in this House, and I trust he will see fairplay done between the different political organs of the country.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I do not understand why the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) should disclaim responsibility in this matter. We do not ask him to interfere unduly with the duties of the officers of the House; but we want him to use his influence in seeing that justice is done. This is not merely a question of the supply of *United Ireland*. There are many papers which ought to be found upon the table of the Reading Room—*Reynold's*, for instance, which is the only democratic paper I am acquainted with, ought to be supplied for the perusal of hon. Members. I do not want to give any special facilities for this or that paper; but what I suggest is that there should be a Suggestion Book in the Reading Room, in which suggestions as to the supply of newspapers and the like could be entered. There is another matter to which I wish to refer. I see the assistant in the Members' waiting-room receives £80 a-year. This assistant has very long hours indeed, and therefore it seems to me his remuneration is exceedingly small. I am not anxious to add to the burdens of the country by making wholesale additions to salaries; but what I do want the Committee to understand is that not only is the salary for this official very small, but he has to wait three months before he is paid. We have been discussing the question whether artizans and labourers shall be paid weekly; why should officials of this House have to work three months before they receive their pay? If the Secretary to the Treasury cannot see his way to suggest an increase of the salaries of the poorly-paid officials of this House, I trust he will see they are paid more frequently. Then there is the case of the servants and the refreshment rooms. We are told that £1,000 a-year is granted to the Refreshment Department. I do not say that that is too much, or too little; but what I wish to point out is, that the servants have to be on duty for very many hours. They have to be in attendance until the House rises. I think that when the Sittings are unduly prolonged, they should be granted some extra remuneration. I trust these points will receive the consideration of the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): My hon. Friend the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) has alluded to the fact that the correspondents of certain newspapers are precluded from the privilege of entering the Lobby of the House. There is a kindred point to which I wish to call the attention of the Members of the Treasury Bench, and it is that the correspondents of foreign newspapers are not allowed into the House. Now, the correspondents of English newspapers are permitted to enter the French Chamber, the German Chamber, the Austrian Chamber, and there is a strong feeling——

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

QUESTION.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL.

In reply to Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he would probably be able to state to-morrow or Friday on what day the consideration of the Coal Mines Regulation Bill could be resumed.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid) said, he thought it would be satisfactory if the Bill were not taken this week.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought there was no prospect of its being taken this week.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) said, as there was an impression that the Home Secretary was re-casting some of the clauses, he should like to know whether the House would have an opportunity of considering them before the Bill was resumed?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was not aware that there was any foundation for the statement; but he would inquire.

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 14th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—SAT FIRST IN PARLIAMENT—The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, after the death of his brother; The Lord Gerard, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) (164).

EGYPT— THE ANGLO-TURKISH CONVENTION — THE DEBATE OF MONDAY, JUNE 11—CORRECTION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: My Lords, since the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) the other day contradicted the report that he had used a disrespectful expression with reference to Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary at Constantinople (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), I have also looked at my share in that report, where I was represented to say that the right hon. Gentleman was in a state of suspended animation. I beg to state that I never used that expression.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 164.)

(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE), in rising to move that the Bill be now read the second time, said: My Lords, the Bill to which I have now to ask your Lordships to grant a second reading is a Bill for the amendment of the Criminal Law in Ireland; and the title of the Bill, which I have read, indicates both the scope and the purpose of the Bill, and, at the same time, suggests two questions, which any such Bill obviously suggests, at the outset—namely, is the existing Criminal Law adequate for the purposes that every Criminal Code must fulfil? and, secondly, are the proposals in the Bill sufficient to meet the evil which exists at the present time? It would, I think, be affectation to ask your Lordships if you are ignorant of what has gone on for months in the other House of Parliament descriptive of these proposals, and descriptive also of the state and condition of affairs in Ireland, which have rendered it necessary, in the view of Her Majesty's Advisers, to offer these proposals for adoption to Parliament. The attention of this House has been pointedly directed to the important aspect of this question more than once, and on the Motion of my noble and learned Friend opposite (Lord Fitzgerald) an important debate took place in the present Session with reference to the jury system in Ireland, which indicated many of the considerations which must be present to the mind of everyone who desires to approach this question with an earnest and impartial desire to do what the requirements of the case obviously call for. That discussion, temperately and fully inaugurated by my noble and learned Friend, indicated with great fulness and plainness that the present Criminal Law in Ireland was insufficient, owing to the wide system of intimidation which then prevailed, and now, unfortunately, prevails in Ireland—an intimidation which does not stop short at any class, and which includes witnesses and which reaches jurors. That debate further indicated that the present jury system under such an ordeal must be taken in a numerous class of cases and in too many parts of Ireland to have practically failed and broken down. Your Lordships are familiar with the history of this question, and of what has taken place in reference to the administration of the Criminal Law. The ordinary law has been tried for a period practically of two years, and I am very glad that that trial was made, because there were numerous statements made that until the ordinary law and the ordinary methods of its administration had been tried and fully tried for a sufficient time it would be unreasonable to ask Parliament to deal with the matter and to provide stronger measures. My Lords, it was also pressed upon the attention of Parliament and of the country that, in view of the great addition to the electorate in Ireland, it would be unreasonable after granting great privileges to the Irish population not at the same time to give them an opportunity of showing whether the ordinary law, with its methods and system of administration, could not be trusted to preserve peace, order, and tranquillity to Her Majesty's subjects under which to carry on their ordinary avocations. That system has been tried, and I think no man can say that in his opinion the methods at present applicable to the administration of the Criminal Law can be regarded as adequate for working out the maintenance of law and order, so that the subjects of the Queen, our fellow subjects, should be able to rise in the morning and perform their duties, and lie down at night in peace and safety, and free from the dread of outrage, and free from the terrors of intimidation. It is more the machinery and the methods of administration of the law than the actual laws themselves that this Bill deals with, and, although I am sure every one of your Lordships is familiar with what has passed elsewhere, and what is known, if not universally, at all events, pretty generally, as to the state of Ireland, I am bound, I think, to make some short statement which I hope will not be wearisome to your Lordships. Although I do not think, as some think, that statistics of themselves are the only guides in reference to legislation, they are at the same time always useful, and should be presented fairly and reasonably to Parliament. My Lords, statistics taken for a week, a month, or even two months, may present an uncertain picture, and lead to fallacious conclusions, and it is always advisable to take a view of statistics sufficiently broad to enable them to be examined from a fair standpoint, and in a way that will challenge criticism. I will ask your Lordships to contrast two periods of time which will enable a wide and fair result to be inferred. Take the 20 months before the dropping of the last Act of this description, and a period of 20 months which has elapsed since, and I think that examination will lead your Lordships to some important results. In the 20 months from December, 1883, to July, 1885, the total agrarian offences numbered 1,250, and excluding threatening letters, 645, and in that time there was one murder. Taking the monthly average the total agrarian offences for that time amounted to 63 per month, or, excluding threatening letters, 32 per month. So much for the 20 months during which legislation analogous to that which I now ask your Lordships to adopt, existed. Now, take 20 months from a period when no such legislation was in existence, and you will find the contrast significant. The 20 months taken from August, 1885, to March, 1887, show that there were no less than 1,771 agrarian offences, as against 1,250, or, excluding threatening letters, 1,041, as against 645; and, my Lords, the one murder which was returned in the first period of 20 months to which I referred has to be compared with 16 murders which took place during this latter period. The result thus gained from a comparison of these two periods is certainly interesting and instructive. The monthly average during the first period was 63, while in the latter period it was 89. Excluding threatening letters, the 32 of the former period became 52 in this period when no exceptional legislation existed. I decline to rest the whole case of the Government on figures, but I will give your Lordships one more instance. Contrast June, 1886, with June, 1887. While putting aside the element of threatening letters, we find that 49 agrarian offences were committed in June of last year, and we find that in June of this year the number is increased to 66. The statistics with reference to Boycotting are these. On the 31st of May last 154 persons were wholly, and 647 persons were partially Boycotted. But, my Lords, these figures taken alone would be entirely misleading, because they would give your Lordships an absolutely erroneous idea of the real facts. You cannot visit one individual with this brutal and disgraceful mode of proceeding without taking into account that his family and his household are bound up with him, and equally suffer from this horrible system of denunciation and intimidation. Thus the figures work out in this way—that in reality 850 persons were wholly Boycotted, and there may be classed as partially Boycotted 3,819, making a gross total of 4,669. These figures are in themselves so grave that they would be weakened by any argument of mine. I doubt if, in all your Lordships' lives in England, in the comfortable and peaceful surroundings of English life, with all the comfort and ease provided by the laws and the administration of the laws, you can realize the painful and horrible position to which every person is subject who is mixed up in this form of intimidation, which is as criminal as it is demoralizing—this system of coercion, intimidation, and interference in every relation of life which spares neither sex nor age from its remorseless and cowardly attacks. My Lords, instead of the manly and righteous indignation which such a system requires, it has been described in language—I will not say of excuse, or of justification, or of palliation—I will not describe the language, lest it should be said I did so in terms of too great force; but words have been used in reference to this system which are not words of indignation, which are not words of reprobation, and which, to the unwary and ignorant, might be taken as amounting almost to palliation, if not to justification, of these gross offences. Your Lordships have read the suggestion that there are analogies to be found in this system to trade unions. It is a slander on the system of trade unionism to say that the system I have described would be adopted in any trade union in this country. Then, it is equally startling to find the euphemism of exclusive dealing used, not as a description of these acts, because they would be abhorrent, but the term "exclusive dealing" is used in sentences and phrases which convey to those who read them that this horrible system of Boycotting can have an analogy in some system of exclusive dealing. I know what a hopeless task it would be for me to attempt to describe the system of Boycotting; but I will adopt the words of Mr. Gladstone when he was carrying a much stronger measure than this. The words in which he spoke are strong, vigorous, and clear. These are Mr. Gladstone's words. Speaking on May 24, 1882, he said—

> "What is meant by 'Boycotting?' In the first place, it is combined intimidation. In the second place, it is combined intimidation made use of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice by fear of ruin and starvation. In the third place, that being what 'Boycotting' is in itself, we must look to this—that the creed of 'Boycotting,' like every other creed, requires a sanction; and the sanction of 'Boycotting'—that which stands in the rear of 'Boycotting,' and by which alone 'Boycotting' can, in the long run, be made thoroughly effective—is the

murder which is not to be denounced. . . . I have stated that there might be exclusive dealing between men. But that is a totally different thing; and, unless I am much mistaken, that declaration was made before 'Boycotting' was heard of. . . . I may have said, and I say now, that I have a perfect right to deal with one man rather than another, and even to tell people that I am doing so; but that has nothing to do with combined intimidation exercised for the purpose of inflicting ruin and driving men to do what they do not want to do, and preventing them from doing what they have a right to do. That is illegal, and that is the illegality recommended by the hon. Gentleman; and it is plain that those who recommend and sanction such illegality are responsible for other illegalities, even though they do not directly sanction them."—(3 *Hansard*, [269] 1551-2.)

It would be impossible for any man to state the case with greater clearness and to indicate more completely the system which requires the denunciation of every honest man, and which admits of neither defence nor excuse. This system of outrages, I may tell your Lordships, has not the same painful intensity all over Ireland; it varies in force and it varies in degree. It is not found at all in some localities and in some places it has great power. The reports of the National League meetings in the local Nationalist Press in Ireland indicate the interferences which are sought to be accomplished by this widespread intimidation, this horrible system of Boycotting in almost every relation of life. I am afraid it will be my duty to read some of these reports taken from the various newspapers. I feel that I should not do my duty if I did not give my authority for these various quotations from the Provincial Press in Ireland which disclose the action of this combined intimidation which was denounced in such scathing terms by Mr. Gladstone. I have gone back two months in the past. The first date I take is the 27th of May and the last the 1st of July in the present year. I quote the following report from *The Tuam News* of May 27, 1887:—

"Kiltartan branch, Rev. Father Kerins, C.C., chairman.—Hugh Baldwin was summoned to attend the meeting, the charge of consorting with a notorious anti-Nationalist being brought against him. He assured some members of the committee before the meeting that he did not know what he was doing, and that it would not happen him again."

I quote the following from *The Nationalist and Leinster Times* of the 28th of May, 1887:—

"Moone branch, Mr. P. P. Farnane, chairman.—'That having deliberately inquired into the case of landgrabbing in this district in which a man named Patrick Bourke has deprived Thomas Byrne of all chances of regaining possession of his farm, we desire to denounce in the strongest terms such base conduct; and, moreover, as the said Patrick Bourke, who carries on the business of a dealer, earns his living by the support accorded him by the people, we deem his conduct the more reprehensible, and as he has done irreparable injury to Thomas Byrne by depriving him of the opportunity which existed but for his uncalled for and unnecessary interference of regaining possession of his farm, we call on our fellow-countrymen to aid us in marking our abhorrence of such vile conduct.' The hon. secretary was requested to send copies to circumadjacent branches of the League."

In *The Leinster Leader* of June 11, 1887, was this report—

"Monasterevan branch, Mr. Patrick Carroll, and subsequently Rev. James Hughes, C.C., chairman.—The committee, however, desire it to be known that they will not receive anybody into the branch who will take a turf-bank against the wish and expressed consent of the person who usually cuts such bank, and if any member of the branch violates this rule he will be summarily expelled. The people should make their own rules about their turf-banks, and light their pipes with the estate office permits. Mr. James Carroll, Kildangan, came before the committee and apologised for having accommodated the Messrs. Fitzpatrick, of Derryoughta, with a stand in his yard for their horse and trap every Sunday for years past. He acknowledged that he was fully aware of the part of the Fitzpatricks had taken against the National League during all that time, and that he knew that were it not for them there would most probably never have been a landgrabber in the district."

What do your Lordships think of a state of things in which an unfortunate man is compelled by terror to apologize for having done an act of mere neighbourly kindliness? *The People* of June 15, 1887, contains the following:—

"Ballaghkeen branch, Thomas Kinsella chairman.—The following resolution passed unanimously:—'That Jack Doran, late of Ballymurry, at present living in the labourer's cottage, Mountdaniel, be turned off this committee and expelled from membership of this branch for putting his horse to graze on the evicted farm in Garrymoyle.' William Murphy, of Derry, is also aiding the grabber by building a house for him on said farm."

What liberty can there be in a country where a man is not allowed to graze cattle or to build a house on particular land? *The Tuam News* of June 17, 1887, contains the following statement:—

"Loughrea branch.—Mr. Lee also appeared and gave his reasons for retaining Graham. A Delegate.—Is this the man that used to be painting the banners for us? (Laughter and applause.) Mr. Lee.—What do you want me to do with him? I do not know how I can legally turn him out. Mr. Mulkerns. We do not mind what is legal in the eye of the English law at all; you can get him out as you get him in. (Applause.)"

Then, again, in *The Leinster Leader* of June 25, 1887, appears the following:—

> "Edenderry branch, Rev. J. Kinsella, P.P., chairman.—'That it having come to our knowledge that certain traders regularly supply goods to emergency men working on Hyland's farm, from which he was unjustly evicted, and on inquiry finding that such is the case, we call on all persons who have hitherto supplied goods and thereby encouraged evicting landlords to desist from this practice, or they themselves must be considered emergency aids and treated as such.'"

What is the horrible suggestion that is conveyed by the words, "They themselves must be considered as emergency aids and treated as such?" We may affect here to be ignorant of everything that has not been brought fully to our notice, but it would be presuming too much to assert that your Lordships do not know what the meaning of that threat is. Emergency men in Ireland have been murdered; they have been waylaid and subjected to every form of outrage; and with the light of that fact thrown upon the matter we can appreciate the hideous significance of those words. And yet we have been told that we are to pass by these facts because the Irish National League is merely a form of trade union. I say that the trade unions of this country are slandered by such a statement. I will now quote the following from *The Dundalk Democrat* of June 25, 1887:—

> "Tallanstown branch, Thomas Keiran chairman.—'That we deem it a disgrace to the county Louth that the rich and populous parish of Ardee during this year of trial should have only 78 members enrolled in its branch of the National League out of a possible or more than 600. That we believe the Irishman of to-day who in times to come will be unable to show his card of membership for 1887—for the year memorable for campaigning and struggling for life of the unfortunate Irish peasantry, for the revival of priest hunting, and the suicide of landlordism—we believe such delinquent must in future be regarded as a traitor and a coward, as worth being shunned and unfit to ever trusted.' The resolution was unanimously adopted, after which the meeting adjourned."

The resolution was, of course, unanimously passed, as they always are, for obvious reasons. I take the next extract from *The Tuam News* of June 24, 1887—

> "Kilcornan branch.—The following resolution was unanimously passed:— Resolved, 'That any member of this branch who supports or holds any communication with persons who decline to become members of the National League be expelled from this branch; that the names of the anti-leaguers be published after next meeting, and be known as the black list of the parish.'"

On the 1st of July, 1887, the same paper contained the following:—

> "Mulla branch.—The next case was that of John Briscoe, who was found to be a backslider. He was joined in the Plan of Campaign on the estate of H. B. Trench, but he tendered his rent to the receiver without the knowledge of the Estate Committee, for which he was brought up before the last meeting of this branch, and his case was referred to the Loughrea District Organization, where, after a long deliberation, he was exonerated on condition that he would pay in the full amount, *minus* the reduction demanded by the tenantry, which he agreed to; but afterwards he refused emphatically. It was resolved by the committee that all persons who were the cause of the Plan of Campaign being broken in the Clonbrock estate be expelled from the branch, and that a full list of their names should be published in our next report."

The same paper of the same date contains the following:—

> "Tuam branch.—The hon. Secretary read the following letter from the Cummer branch of the National Leage:—'Corofin, June, 25, 1887. Dear Sir,—Enclosed you will find postal order for 10*s*., the amount voted by our branch towards the fees of your solicitor for the League. The following is a resolution passed at our meeting on Sunday last:—"That we, the members of the Corofin League, request our secretary to write to the Tuam secretary to bring under the notice of the next Tuam convention the conduct of some of the Tuam inhabitants who are sustaining a man named Pat Tarpy, of Doonbeg, by giving him employment against the will of this League, by whom he has been Boycotted for grabbing the turf bank of a poor widow." Yours truly, James Mullin, sec.'"

I now come to a case with which your Lordships must have been familiar through the statements that have been made in the public Press. It is the means that have been taken to compel the tenants of a lady at Mitchellstown to stand out against her. In one case the following letter was received by the tenant:—

> "Dearest Madam,—I know you would not like to injure me, and as there is no — coming to market at present, don't come into the shop; if you are seen coming into the shop I may as well shut the door; nothing would free me from blame and things may be settled in a few days please God, and as I can do no good there is no use in you coming about the place. I am dear Madam your friend——"

In the next case the tenant received the following letter:—

> Jan., 1887. To —— Esqr. Sir,—I fear according to the notice of this morning that I could not safely send in —— but perhaps we could manage to have it left some place privately for some time. At any place you would say around the —— as I nearly supplied them all it must be done very privately as in the present state of the country the consequences might be something terrible to me. Hoping you will take the matter into consideration, and you will much oblige yours respectfully ——. P.S.—If you would kindly drop me a note by this (Monday) evening's post and say what you think on the matter."

I do not think that your Lordships can fully appreciate—I will not use the word "inconvenience," because it is not a term strong enough—but the suffering that is caused by living under such a state of circumstances. I will now proceed to refer to the charges of Judges to the grand juries of Ireland. Charges of Judges are usually regarded as being of very high authority; and, indeed, I recollect that when a Bill making important changes in the Criminal Law of Ireland was introduced in 1870 the charges of the late lamented Baron Deasy were referred to with approval by Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Colleague of Mr. Gladstone, in support of the Bill of which he was in charge. The charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien, which Mr. Gladstone thought unworthy of much consideration, your Lordships, I am sure, will think worthy of your serious attention. Mr. Justice O'Brien said—

> "All the accounts that I have received as to the state of this country since the last assizes concur in representing that no kind of improvement whatever has taken place. On the contrary, the information that I have been able to collect leads me, I regret to say, to the inevitable conclusion that this county of Clare possesses the bad distinction of being the worst part of all Ireland in respect of social order, and to the further conclusion that it is worse at present than it was at any time before. You know there is another and a greater evil which stares you in the face every day, and that is the evil of intimidation, open or unexpressed, that permeates the whole of this community. You need not be told that there is in existence a form of unseen terrorism that interferes at present with all relations of social life, penetrating every class and every relation, hampering and checking men in all their daily business pursuits, and utterly hostile and inconsistent with the necessary freedom and confidence of social life and civil life, which are the foundations of all prosperity and all happiness in the community; and—as so commonly happened in the past history of Ireland—criminal means and criminal organizations, once in existence, are applied to other objects and other ends besides those that brought them into existence. It is not the relations connected with land that are affected by it, but every relation is affected by it more or less. Men cannot pursue their daily avocations, they cannot buy or sell, they cannot employ or dismiss their servants, they cannot regulate their own domestic or family relations without being subject to a species of tyranny so dire that, over and over again, it has become a common marvel."

My Lords, that is powerful and felicitous language, and describes a terrible and appalling state of things. It cannot be put aside by any language calculated to make Judges disregard grave and serious facts brought before them in the ordinary discharge of their duties. There is also a charge in the Queen's County of Baron Dowse, who used cautious but suggestive language. I will not quote it to your Lordships, but it points out gravely a significant increase of crime, and he was unable to congratulate the grand jury on the condition of the county. Then there was a trial before Mr. Justice Murphy at the Longford Summer Assizes. It was the trial of a man named Cunningham for homicide, which resulted in acquittal. Mr. Justice Murphy said that such a verdict was flying in the face of the strongest evidence. I do not read these sentences as indicating, any one of them, conclusively the state of facts which exists, but, taken together, I say they all go to make up a picture which, with the knowledge which I am entitled to assume every man in this country possesses through the public papers, must bring home to the mind and conscience of every man what is the state of affairs that we have either to deal with or deliberately to decide that we will not deal with. I have presented to your Lordships a state of facts which must either be dealt with or left alone, and the only way to deal with crime and intimidation is by a measure for the amendment of the Criminal Law. If you do not so deal with crime and intimidation you will prefer to let them go on intact, with impunity, and safe. The Bill which I have to present to your Lordships' notice is a Bill which I think very intelligible in its objects and in its purposes. It would be improper for me in a second reading speech to go in detail through the provisions of the measure, as I feel that I have already more than trespassed on the indulgence of your Lordships. But this Bill may be divided into three main parts. One is contained in the second clause for increasing the summary jurisdiction. This subject is familiar to your Lordships. It was brought before the House by my noble and learned Friend and others this Session in the debate on the jury system in Ireland. It was also dealt with in a Committee of the House in which some noble Lords opposite took an active part. This Section 2 contains provisions which I regard as of the highest importance, and which I am satisfied will be found efficacious. The clause creates no new offence. It brings within the summary jurisdiction of this Act, in its first sub-section, any person who shall take part in any criminal conspiracy, now punishable by law, to compel or induce any person or persons either not to fulfil his or their legal obligations, or not to do what he or they have a legal right to do. The 2nd sub-section also brings within the area of summary jurisdiction any person who shall wrongfully and without legal authority use violence or intimidation to any person or persons with a view to cause him or them either to do any act which he or they has or have a legal right to abstain from doing, or to abstain from doing any act which such person or persons has or have a legal right to do. The 3rd sub-section deals with people who take part in riots or unlawful assemblies, or wrongfully take or hold forcible possession of house or land, or unlawfully resist or obstruct Sheriffs, constables, or others. There is also another sub-section, which deals with persons who incite others to commit such offences. These offences are made triable, not before the ordinary magistrates, but, following other precedents, before paid magistrates, and are punishable with six months' imprisonment with hard labour. This clause is one which can only be applied in the main in proclaimed districts. I regard that provision as of the highest importance. I believe that this summary jurisdiction, if fairly, firmly, and steadily applied, will work out peace and quiet in many districts now disturbed by crime, outrage, and intimidation. It is necessary that for the class of offences mentioned in this section there should be a trial speedy and effective. The next branch of the Bill is that which enables either party to obtain a special jury and the Attorney General to get a change of venue. These are clauses which are to be put into operation in proclaimed districts. The last part of the Bill, beginning with Section 6, deals with dangerous associations. Your Lordships will see that if the Lord Lieutenant is satisfied that any association is formed for the commission of crimes or for carrying on operations for or by the commission of crimes, or for encouraging or aiding persons to commit crimes or for interfering with the administration of the law or disturbing the maintenance of law and order, it may be declared by him a dangerous association. This power is subject to this great and most powerful check—no greater, or more powerful can be imagined—that the special Proclamation bringing this section into effect must be laid before Parliament and be subject to its judgment. Your Lordships will see that the power of Parliament is invoked, the control of Parliament maintained, and that every safeguard is given for a just and wise use of this power. There is also the first clause, which is, of course, of importance; and also there are other clauses of importance — machinery clauses; but I do not think it would be expedient to weary your Lordships by going through them in detail. There is one other matter which I must mention. No term is named for the termination of this Bill. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] I put that as one of the points on which we invite any criticism which may be offered. I mention it in order that it may be canvassed by anyone who feels disposed to question it. Anyone acquainted with this subject must know that legislation such as this loses much of its efficacy by having a fixed date of one, four, or five years, and that the putting in of such a date tends to the creeping paralysis of such legislation. Everyone knows that at a certain date such legislation may possibly be allowed to drop; there may be Dissolutions, there may be changes of Ministry; but, independent of these two contingencies, everyone knows that to fix a date to such legislation is to render it infirm and enfeebled and somewhat halting weeks before the legislation expires. But, though no date is mentioned in this Bill, the whole affair is before Parliament and can be dealt with according to the requirements of the case. I have always called this Bill by its proper name—a Bill to amend the Criminal Law in Ireland. This Bill has been called a Coercion Bill. It is an entire misuse of language. I do not think that the noble Earl opposite, the late Vicerory of Ireland (Earl Spencer), who has had ample experience of such legislation, would say that he was administering at any period of his life legislation which he did not feel was necessary for the protection of the honest subjects of the Queen and for safeguarding the liberty of the subject. And yet I have read that this is not only a Coercion Bill, but a special form of Coercion Bill. I do not want to make any personal charges; but I will say that the only speciality I can find in this Bill is this—that certainly for the first time for many a long year the Government have come forward with a Bill for the strengthening of their hands in the enforcement of law and order, and for the protection of personal liberty in Ireland, not with the loyal co-operation, but with the resolute hostility of the Opposition. No matter what Government might be in power, no matter what form of government might be in existence in Ireland, this legislation would be absolutely necessary unless you wanted to make Ireland a place where crime and intimidation are committed with absolute impunity. I am entitled to say this, that Mr. Gladstone described his own Bill of 1882 as a Bill that in its administration was "public, judicial, and responsible." Mr. Gladstone is a master of phrases with regard to his own handiwork; but the Bill he so described had clauses far stronger and far more open to criticism than the Bill which I have so imperfectly explained. I ask what portion of the administration of this Bill is not public, is not, before any person can be deprived of his liberty, subject to judicial sanction, is not responsible? How can any man be sent to prison without the intervention of judicial action, or be jeopardized by a single clause without its being known that every circumstance would be made public? In some cases, the absolute notice of Parliament is essential. A Bill of this kind, to be adequate, must be sufficient. A Bill of this kind should grapple with crime, should prevent crime, it should punish crime. A halting Bill called a Crimes Prevention Bill that would not prevent crime would be ridiculous. A weak Bill would be worthless. A real Bill must be a Bill that is strong enough to be always sufficient. I put this one test of the Bill before the House—would that Bill, would a single one of its clauses, jeopardize a single innocent man? That is a fair test of the Bill—would any man not guilty of an offence be imperilled by a single one of its provisions? The Bill itself I do not say is sufficient to promote, to cause the happiness and the peace of Ireland, but it takes an important and essential part in that direction. A Bill for the amendment of the Criminal Law is necessary for the maintenance of law and order, which it is necessary to re-establish where it has been imperilled, and for restoring, where it has been taken away, that liberty which is essential for everyone. The Bill, taken in conjunction with other Bills, will tend, I believe in my heart, to the settlement of the peace of Ireland; it will be, I hope, a terror to evildoers; it will, I know, be a terror to nobody else. Its introduction has had an effect for good in Ireland. That everybody knows. Its enactment must have a more powerful effect in the same direction. The knowledge that such an Act is law, that such an Act is capable for effective use, must in itself be a vast and powerful factor in bringing about that respect for law and liberty which is at present so urgently needed in many parts of Ireland. I believe that this Bill, fairly and firmly, justly and steadily administered, will be a great encouragement to all law-abiding citizens; will powerfully assist the reign of order, tranquillity, and liberty in Ireland; and, animated by that belief, I earnestly hope that your Lordships will accord the Bill a second reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^{a}."—(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

Earl GRANVILLE: I should much have preferred following a layman in this debate, and certainly not one who stands so high as a lawyer, and who has undoubtedly so much knowledge of Ireland that we may well assume that he has stated at least all that can be said for the Bill the second reading of which he has moved. But it may be convenient to your Lordships that I should take an early opportunity of stating the course which my late Colleagues and I propose to take with regard to this Bill.

I shall endeavour to avoid all unnecessarily contentious matter; but I cannot blind myself to the fact that what I have to say will be contrary to the views of the great majority of the House. I feel, however, that this very circumstance will induce you to bear patiently with me while I trespass upon your attention for a short time. I refrain from making any remarks or passing any judgment on the action of various Parties during the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons. It would not be becoming for me to do so in this place. I will confine myself to the position in which we find ourselves. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Ashbourne), in his vigorous perorations, said that this Bill, in conjunction with others, will have a good effect. How do we stand with regard to those Bills? At the beginning of the Session, Her Majesty's Government promised one Bill of repression and two of a remedial character. The smaller of the two remedial measures was brought into this House, and has left it with the uncontradicted and undeniable assertion that nobody liked it. I have already ventured to prophecy that it will come back to your Lordships in a different form, and for once I feel pretty sure that my prophecy will be fulfilled. The other remedial measure has never appeared, and has probably never been prepared. But to make up for its absence, we are promised that the Government will present to us immediately a second repressive measure, containing provisions which it is true have been before granted, but which have never been used. The result is that, instead of having one measure of repression and two of a remedial character, we have one of a more or less remedial character and two of a decidedly repressive kind. I will now proceed succinctly to state, on behalf of my late Colleagues and at their request, the principal objections, for I do not propose to go into any details, to the Bill which comes recommended by such large numbers from the House of Commons. It has been said that no politician should make any admission; but I freely admit that any Government coming to Parliament and declaring their inability to maintain law and order are entitled to demand from their political opponents a full and fair consideration of their proposals. And the appeal does not come with less force from a Government which is substantially the same as that which in the most formal manner announced that the cardinal principle of their Irish policy was the absence of exceptional legislation. This is especially the case if we refrain, as I shall always wish to do, from any inquiry as to the possible motives which may have contributed to the change. But, on the other hand, this House is likely to agree that the Opposition have a correlative duty from which they cannot shrink—namely, when a proposal is made to restrict in an exceptional way the rights of the subject, it is their business to consider whether there are sufficient grounds for such exceptional restrictions, and whether the latter are such as ought to be applied. Now, we assert that no such grounds have been laid before Parliament for such a measure. We do not know, and have not been informed by the Government, of any exceptional state of Irish crime which justifies exceptional legislation at this time. The noble and learned Lord throws some little contempt upon the statistics of crime, and says that no statesman would rely upon statistics to frame the course he would pursue——

LORD ASHBOURNE: To rely alone upon them.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble and learned Lord afterwards went into statistics, and it is remarkable that while for four months complaints have been made in the House of Commons that the case is not made out, your Lordships should now be treated to an entirely new view of the case which has not been presented before. The noble and learned Lord took two periods of 20 months; but he did not make the slightest reference to matters which have something to do with a comparison of the two periods. He did not say whether the state of the country was the same in both periods, whether in the early period and the late period there was the same amount of distress, or whether the same number of evictions were carried out in both; and all these things are surely elements of consideration in making a comparison of this kind. But there is another comparison which has been already made; I do not think an answer has been given to it; and it is possible an answer may be given now. The comparison is between the first five months of this year and the last five months of 1885; and the number of crimes had fallen from 474 to 387; so that there were nearly one-fourth more in 1885 than in the present year. It does strike me that if Her Majesty's Government declared, during these five months of greater crime, that there was no ground for exceptional legislation, it is strange they should think there has been such ground during the five months they have been pressing forward this Bill, when the amount of crime has been decidedly less. If in the former period the amount of crime was not sufficient to justify exceptional legislation, why does an improved state of things call for it now? I have no idea what answer can be given. I feel sure that in this House the extraordinary attempt at an answer will not be made—that the Government now about to pass the Bill were not aware, when they introduced it, that there was about to be so few offences. We are told that we are not to look at statistics of crime alone. We want to know, if we are not to look at crime, but to the state of Ireland, in what particulars, whether as regards Boycotting, acquittals of criminals, or any other such symptoms, that country is worse than at the end of 1885, when the Government declared it was not justifiable to apply exceptional measures, whatever causes of regret may exist in both cases. We believe that we are entitled to precise information on this point. The Bill is partly directed against crime, but largely also against the associations which are complained of, and against others which may arise. I am somewhat fearful of entering upon a difficult and complicated question upon which one who is unlearned may easily make a slip. But I believe the state of the case as to combination to be this. The Common Law, as interpreted by Judges—in fact, Judge-made law—bore heavily upon combinations for purposes which were not unlawful when followed by one person. By Clause 2 you submit to officials—some of whom are without legal training and who are dependent upon the Executive Government—the application of these most difficult legal doctrines. You enable the Lord Lieutenant, on his own judgment, or advised by his Executive or his lawyers, to declare what combinations, in his opinion, are dangerous, and so to make them illegal, going in direct opposition to the decision of Parliament in 1882, when Clause 38 in the Prevention of Crimes Act was passed in order to prevent such a danger. You take away from the tribunals in these cases all discretion as to the legality or illegality of the combination. They can only ask the question—"Who says that this combination is illegal?" The answer, "The Lord Lieutenant," closes their mouths, and behind it the Courts cannot go. The tribunal, whatever it may be, is debarred from inquiring into the legality or illegality of the combination. Indeed, the provisions of Clauses 6 and 7 assume that the associations thus made illegal are not unlawful at Common Law. If they are so they are already made the subject of summary conviction under Clause 2, and these clauses would be unnecessary. The Law of Conspiracy in Great Britain has been described by Mr. Justice Stephen and others as being of a singularly elastic, and, therefore, dangerous character, depending not only upon the acts themselves, but upon the motives with which they were taken. These authorities have pointed out that the only safeguard against its becoming a perilous tyranny has lain in the fact that the accused has always had the protection of a jury of his fellow-citizens. This Bill, not content with opposing intimidation and crime, allows the work of conspiracy to be so carried on as not only to impose on the breach of a civil obligation the penalties attached to a criminal offence, but to render criminal the exercise of a man's undoubted right to deal with whom he pleases. It is true that the Irish tenant has been liable to such a risk. But, while you leave him open to a criminal liability, condemned in principle by the Act of 1875, you take from him the only safeguard he has hitherto had in the presence of a jury. I must ask your Lordships' permission to guard myself from being misunderstood. Do not think that I am of opinion that all these combinations are defensible, or that many of them are not to be condemned and deplored. What I wish to insist on is this—that in your desire to prevent what I much doubt is to be prevented you ought not to be tempted to tamper with so important a principle as the separation from criminal penalties of the breach of civil obligations. By this Bill you give to the Executive, and not to Parliament, the power to enact what is and what is not law. Lord Hartington, with his usual frankness, stated that this Bill technically created a new offence. It gives to the Lord Lieutenant the power to do so. Every Irishman for the future will live under laws which may from time to time be changed by the Executive. I have tried to show why we believe that there are no sufficient grounds for this measure, and why we object altogether to the machinery and procedure which you create by this Bill. We equally object to another unprecedented innovation—the giving a permanent character to an exceptional measure. As a medicine mercury may do good for a short time to a temporarily diseased liver, but it is fatal as a permanent application. Coercion may possibly deal a useful blow to temporary disorder. But as a permanent instrument of government it is worse than useless; it is dangerous. And yet, when once adopted, it is a reed on which rulers soon teach themselves to rely. The noble Marquess the Prime Minister (the Marquess of Salisbury) declared not long ago his confidence that 20 years of repression, or what he called firm and resolute government, might be sufficient; but he has now deviated into eternity. It is true that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has denied the permanency of the measure, saying that all that had been done was to omit fixing the date for its coming to an end. There might be some consolation in such an assurance when we consider the late practice of the Government about Egypt. Following the example of their Predecessors, who, for obvious reasons, refused to fix a date for evacuation, they absolutely refused to do so; but immediately afterwards, without any apparent advantage, they agreed to an exact date. But, unfortunately, Acts of Parliament are construed by their words and not by any gloss put upon them; and there is no measure on the Statute Book which is more permanent on the face of it than the present Bill. It is impossible for us to believe that to apply permanent disabilities to Ireland from which Great Britain is free, and against the wishes of five-sixths of the Irish people, can either theoretically or practically conduce to harmony of feeling or to a real political and social union of the two islands. But it may be, and probably will be, said these may be good arguments in the mouths of those who always held them to be sound, but they are without weight from public men who, when in a position of responsibility, did exactly the same thing as that which they now attack. I take the liberty of altogether repudiating this *tu quoque* argument, a class of argument which may be sometimes effective in debate, but even when just, is of little use in determining the merits or demerits of a question. But I deny that the *tu quoque* applies that we have ever done the same thing, or that the same thing has ever been done by any other Government, even by the most ultra-Conservative, when dealing with unreformed Parliaments. There were strong powers given in the Act of 1881, but not such as are contained in the present permanent Bill. Were I to admit that we were bound never to object to the renewal of any legislation which we had once promoted, I should, at least, have the right to claim that the obligation should be confined to that which we had most recently done, and not to that which experience had taught us to discard. I defy anyone to say that the provisions of this Bill are justified by those in the Act of 1882; and it is well known that in 1885 we only thought of renewing a very few of the provisions of the Bill of 1882, which was much milder than that of 1881, which, again, did not contain some of the most prominent provisions of the present Bill. But I go much further, and I say that if as late as 1885 we had proposed this very Bill, it might diminish the weight of our advice, but not in the least diminish our duty to oppose that which in the present circumstances we sincerely believe to be not only not beneficial, but of a singularly harmful character. Many of your Lordships must remember the time when duelling was generally acknowledged to be a necessary evil. I, as a very young man, advised a contemporary to send a challenge, an action which, while it exposed my own safety to no danger, was calculated to lead a dear friend to risk his own life and that of a fellow creature in a manner which would be universally condemned now. I was, however, sincerely convinced at the time that I was doing right, and I know that I was thought to be so by all who were cognizant of the circumstances. Now, ought this action to have debarred me from offering exactly the opposite counsel a few years later when full and ripe opinion had condemned these appeals to force established by an old and barbarous custom. One lesson I learn from the present state of things and difference of opinion. It is to avoid all bitterness and acrimony of attack upon those who differ from me and my Friends; they differ from us; they wish to stand upon the old ways, and adhere to those methods of routine which have been so often tried and have so often failed. We wish that they should agree with us in thinking that recent events have made a very great change in the circumstances which ought to govern us in this matter. We look to the extension of the franchise in Ireland; we look to the expression of the opinion of the enormous majority of the Irish people to be allowed their Constitutional liberty; we look to the concurrence of the clergy; we look to the opinion of men such as the representatives of Ulster tenant-farmers whom you placed upon your Royal Commission, and we look to the sympathy of millions of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, who are united in believing that this act of the Government is one not only not beneficial, not only not advantageous, but as one that is of a most injurious, ineffectual, and dangerous character. But, though we may regret we have no right to complain that others do not agree with us, yet this respect for the conscientious opinions of others cannot prevent me, on behalf of my late Colleagues, and authorized by them, to protest as strongly as we can, consistently with no unnecessary violence, against the Bill which is about to be passed. We fully acknowledge that we are absolutely without the power of rejecting or amending this Bill, and for that reason, and for others connected with the deep interest we feel in this great Assembly, we do not intend to offer an opposition—which could only be impotent and absolutely futile—either at this stage or at any further stages of the Bill; we prefer leaving upon Her Majesty's Government the responsibility of the Irish policy which they have thought it their duty to propose.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: I have listened with great interest to the manner in which the noble Earl (Earl Granville) has summed up the objections to be urged against this Bill. Some of those objections doubtless have great weight with those who disapprove the Bill; but I cannot concur in them, especially as to the alleged severity of the measure. As regards the objection to the permanency of the Bill, so far from viewing that feature of the measure as harmful, I believe it to be a great advantage; and again with respect to the objection that the Bill is directed against combinations, I cannot but feel that the noble Earl is under some misapprehension on that point, when I find that there are clauses in the Bill—the sixth and seventh—which explicitly exclude from the operation of the Act any agreement or combination under the Trade Union Acts of 1871, 1876, and 1879, and which practically protects the Irish tenants from the danger which the noble Earl apprehended. Now, it has been said that the state of things now is not worse or better than that in 1885, and that consequently this Bill becomes unnecessary. I should like to say a few words on that point. When we entered Office in 1885, and I assumed the Vice-royalty of Ireland, I must frankly tell the House that there was no alternative to the course we then pursued. The Cabinet to which I belonged decided that it was impossible to ask Parliament for a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act. I and those who acted with me accepted the facts of the case as we found them, and I endeavoured to make the best of them. I was a party to the course adopted, and I thoroughly agreed with it, and anyone who will review the circumstances will see the peculiar position we were in. We were in a minority in the House of Commons, we could obtain no definite promise of support if we asked for a renewal of the Peace Preservation Act, there were only a few weeks of the Session remaining, and the Cabinet, under the circumstances, came to the conclusion that it was impossible to ask for a renewal of the Act. That experiment was worth making, and I agree with the noble Lord that good has come from that experiment. My main objections were that repressive legislation such as the Peace Preservation Bill which was in question at the time was open to these two objections—that it was temporary and that it was exceptional. Now, as regards this present Bill the objection that it is temporary cannot lie. It is a permanent measure, and I will frankly say that that permanence is in my eyes a merit. I know nothing more distracting, more disquieting, more irritating, than an Act which is to expire within a few years. It is impossible with such an Act to have consistent and steady government. And if there has been one great error of policy which runs through the whole course of Irish history, it has been this incessant vacillation and oscillation in legislation. I have said that a main objection to repressive legislation was that it was exceptional. Now, to a certain extent, this Bill is exceptional, but only to a certain extent. I wish to argue the question of exceptional legislation with perfect fairness. In itself exceptional legislation I believe to be a great evil. It is a course to be adopted only as the lesser of two evils. It irritates, it is bad for the Government, it is doubtful as regards the governed, and it is only effective as long as it lasts. Some of your Lordships may remember Sir Robert Peel's speeches in 1844 on the question of coercion. I am bound to say that those speeches made a great impression upon my mind. Sir Robert Peel was no weak Minister, and he acknowledged very frankly the evils of this system; but, after all, this must be set down to the other side of the account, that legislation of this kind offers both direct and indirect powers. It offers direct powers in all those clauses to which allusion has been made to-night, but it also offers that which is almost as useful — namely, an indirect power in the apprehension which it engenders in the minds of individuals. In the Peace Preservation Act there were powers, as the noble Earl opposite will remember, which were never or hardly ever used. I am bound to give the House my own experience in this matter. When I went to Ireland and the Peace Preservation Act was on the point of expiring I felt the enormous disadvantage under which the Executive Governmemt laboured from the approaching expiry of those powers. I felt and I knew that a very large part of the turbulent and disaffected population of Ireland were conscious that when those powers expired an authority and an influence on the part of the Crown had expired with them. But I have a third answer to the argument which was used to-night. It has been said that the condition of Ireland is no worse now than it was in 1885. Now, my contention is that the condition of Ireland is, as compared with 1885, both new and worse. I will not judge this matter exclusively by figures and tabulated Returns, but I will refer to unquestionable facts. During the last few months we have seen the Plan of Campaign brought into operation. I will only say of that Plan of Campaign that it goes to the very root of all contracts between man and man, and, more than that, it is tainted with this great immorality—an immorality which I for one cannot understand how any section of the Catholic clergy can overlook—that it constitutes every man a judge of his case. Secondly, during these last few months, we have also seen the expedition to Canada of Mr. O'Brien, a leader among the Nationalists—an expedition conceived and undertaken under much of the highest influence and authority of his Party, an expedition almost without parallel in the history of this country, an expedition to Her Majesty's Dominion across the sea for the purpose of levying war and stirring up sedition and insurrection and attacking the Representative of the Queen, both in his private and public character. Thirdly and lastly, I will say that during these last few months we have seen an open, avowed, and confessed strife between order and disorder. My Lords, I say that the first condition of all things in any country is obedience to the law. But when we come to a state of things such as I have described, almost any measure which restores respect for law and which enforces law is right and necessary. Therefore, I say that these facts which I have stated show that the condition of Ireland is a new condition and indicates altogether a new departure. I will go a step further. The condition of things is not merely new, but it is distinctly, in my opinion, worse. In these points at least the condition of things has become gravely aggravated. In 1885 there was great lawlessness in parts of Ireland; but there was not in the whole length and breadth of the country an open and avowed defiance of all law and of all Government as such. Then crime was contracted within a comparatively narrow sphere, whereas now it has assumed a much larger area. My noble and learned Friend (Lord Ashbourne) will remember that in one memorable Assize, when I was Viceroy in Ireland, there was not a failure, if I remember rightly, of one single State trial or prosecution. Now, from what my noble and learned Friend said to-night, your Lordships may judge how impotent the juries have become to discharge their duties under the terrorism to which they are subjected. Again, there is now a much larger organization of lawlessness, and this is a state of things which is utterly inconsistent with peace, with order, and with security. My noble and learned Friend dwelt at considerable length on the system of Boycotting. But we could not put a stop to it, we had no power to put a stop to it, because that power had expired with the Peace Preservation Act. When I think of this system of Boycotting, which has been described by my noble and learned Friend to-night, I have been lost in astonishment when I have heard it apologized for by one who has held the high position of Prime Minister, and who has thought it worthy in him to justify this monstrous system by the term of exclusive dealing. One other point, my Lords, in reference to my argument. It shows that the state of things is worse now than before. In 1885—I say it without fear of contradiction—as head of the Irish Government, I had the support in the maintenance of law and order of a considerable section of the Catholic body, whose power is undeniably great, and I regret to see how great the difference now is, and how very large a proportion of that clergy has been alienated. That the Catholic clergy are in a position of great difficulty I do not deny, and it is not surprising if in many instances they consent to swim with the tide. My Lords, those of you who will reflect upon the principles held by the Parnellite Party, and who will reflect as to what the full meaning of those principles is, must be conscious that they go to the very root of many of the things which many of the Catholic clergy of Ireland would hold most dear and most valuable; and I am confident that they must be alarmed at the prosecution of their designs. Now, my Lords, if all that I have said be true, and from the bottom of my heart I believe it to be true, then I am forced to this conclusion, that if property is in any sense to be preserved, if the people of Ireland are not to be demoralized, if the Government is to be a Government in anything more than in name, then it is absolutely necessary that this Bill should pass. But having expressed my full concurrence in this measure, allow me to add a few remarks. First, then, when this Bill has become law, I trust that the Government will use the powers conferred by it upon them firmly. Temperately, it may be, but firmly. I am bound to say that I think the provisions, on the whole, are moderate; but I am quite sure there can be no unkindness to a people so great as the uncertain or capricious exercise of those powers; and I hope that Her Majesty's Government will, when this Bill has become law, make a determined effort for the material good and welfare of Ireland. My Lords, there are evils of the very highest kind to remedy. There is in Ireland a poverty that is almost shameful, there is a congestion of people on poor and barren soil, there is an absence of those communications even which in the Colonies you would have long since established, and the resources of the country are too often allowed to lie idle. Here and there, indeed, there are instances of individual benevolence, but, as a whole, I am bound to say the Government has done but little, and even of that little has done much unwisely. How can you expect to find content in a population so poor, so depressed, so weighted with difficulties of every kind unless the Government will adopt an almost paternal attitude towards them? It would, as has been said, be vain to prophecy, and I shall not do so; but I do entertain the hope that when this Bill has passed there will come a time, it may be short, it may be long, which, if Her Majesty's Government will use it wisely, for the material improvement of the country, may be turned to very good account. I must, however, say this first of all. The Government must not be afraid of spending money. They must not, as many Governments have done before them, haggle over the few pounds which may be necessary. I believe that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) has already very seriously proposed to devote £50,000 to objects which, I believe, to be of the very first class importance in Ireland. My Lords, I vote for this Bill, but I vote for it regretfully, and in a certain sense unwillingly. I look upon it as a melancholy necessity. I believe that this Bill will restore order, but it cannot of itself cure many of the evils under which Ireland labours. Do not let us blind ourselves to the past history of Ireland. I do not look upon the condition of affairs as desperate, nor will I say that the population of Ireland is a disloyal population, though I believe that there is great disaffection. I believe that there is a deep-rooted ignorance, which is played upon by the demagogues; but, at the same time, I believe that there are sounder elements below the surface, which the skilful touch of wise statesmanship may once more call into being. Parliament is giving Her Majesty's Government great power, full power, the power that they claim and pronounce to be necessary, and I have every trust and confidence that they will use those powers as discerning and patriotic statesmen.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I earnestly hope your Lordships' House will give a second reading to this Bill. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Ashbourne) who presented the case for the Government has, in my opinion, done so with great perspicuity and great moderation of tone. The speech of the noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition (Earl Granville), though characterized, as his speeches ever are, by great ability and moderation combined with great dexterity, nevertheless seemed to me a speech intended to smother debate and prevent the full discussion of all that is involved in this measure. My Lords, I hope it will be understood in the country that your Lordships are unwilling, as a rule, to sanction exceptional legislation and to take away the liberties of the subject. We do not pass these Bills for nothing—we do not pass them without a strong opinion that there is a great and sufficient justification for our action. There are two great recommendations, in my eyes, in favour of this Bill. It does, or attempts to do, two great things, First, it endeavours to restore to the people of Ireland those personal liberties of which they have been deprived by the most odious conspiracy that has ever sprung up in any civilized nation. Secondly, my Lords, it tends to redeem the public men of this country, and to save the public men of this country, from the terrible, and, I may say, insupportable, temptation to play fast and loose with the liberties of the people of Ireland solely with reference to the Party necessities and interests of the day. On this second point I am disposed to hope that we shall never again in this House witness such a scene as that enacted in June, 1885, when the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) took Office, with a knowledge that a measure prepared by the previous Government with reference to Ireland would not be supported by them in Opposition. The information that the noble Marquess had taken Office without the power to carry the legislation that might be necessary for the liberties of the people of Ireland filled the Conservative Party with blank despair and dismay. The noble Marquess was compelled to take Office under the peculiar circumstances of the case, though he knew that the very measure which had been prepared by the late Liberal Government would not be supported by its authors, and that if he brought it forward he could not carry it. I hope that we shall never again look upon so discreditable a scene; and I confess that I consider one of the most valuable parts of the Bill to be that which gives it a definite term. We ought to do nothing with regard to Ireland which would limit the liberty of the subject; but when we pass a measure in order to secure that liberty against secret conspiracy, we ought to make it as permanent as possible. Let us take a lttle broader view of the position in which we are placed. Why does my noble Friend who leads the Opposition wish to limit the discussion on this measure? I do not expect to hear from anyone here that passionate declamation that we have read of elsewhere. I am not speaking of the House of Commons; I speak of platforms, of dinners, of garden parties; I speak of luncheons, and of railway stations; I speak of every place and every occasion on which the public mind can be moved and public opinion can be formed by passionate eloquence. I will tell your Lordships why my noble Friend did not go into a wide discussion of this measure. He had no alternative. No man can deny the state of things in Ireland, whether or not he may choose to call it terrorism. Terrorism has been rendered so perfect that crime has ceased to be necessary. Is there any remedy for this state of things? I listened carefully to the speech of my noble Friend the

Leader of the Opposition, as I thought he might say what they say out-of-doors—"We have got a remedy in our pockets which will do everything." He did not say that he had a measure which would render this Bill unnecessary; but I wish to press this point upon your Lordships' attention—that on the part of the Leader of the Opposition there is no alternative scheme for the redemption of the people from the thraldom of the system under which they are now suffering. It is most important that the public should understand that there was a scheme—that two Bills were produced, the production of which ended in the complete defeat of the Government in Parliament. The very first thing they did afterwards was to announce that both those Bills were gone. I say that they are not entitled to claim that they have an alternative scheme. They have vague and empty phrases—ambiguous phrases which no human being can understand. But it is most important the public should understand there is no rival scheme before the country to put an end to the crime in Ireland. We had two most remarkable speeches last week—one by Mr. Gladstone and the other by Mr. John Morley, the two great apostles and prophets of the Parnellite Party in this country. Both clearly show that the great principles on which the scheme of Mr. Gladstone was based have been abandoned. We do not know—can any human being tell us?—whether there is any scheme before us. But, on the other hand, we do know that the Irish Members will be retained in this Parliament. That is at the root of the whole question. Most people will think that Mr. Gladstone was originally quite right—that if there was to be a separate Parliament in Ireland we ought not to have the Irish Members here to dictate to us. But Mr. Gladstone has now made an announcement on the subject, though in very ambiguous terms. Poor Mr. John Morley undertook to explain the other day what Mr. Gladstone said at Swansea, and the upshot of his explanation was that Mr. Gladstone's proposal was now the converse of that made by Mr. Whitbread. That is all we know of that part of the scheme which lies at the root of the whole business. But they resort a great deal to general phrases. A favourite stock phrase is "the management by the Irish people of exclusively Irish affairs." There are a great many people who open their eyes wide and believe that they have got something better than the east wind when they have swallowed that phrase. They offer no definition of Irish affairs, and we do not know what they mean by it. Is it purely an Irish affair that Irishmen should hold the property to which they are entitled? Is it purely an Irish affair that under the Imperial Government of the Queen every Irishman should be free to dispose of his property and his liberty as he pleases, and not as a secret conspiracy pleases? Then we ask you to explain what is an exclusively Irish subject. When the Land Bill was before the House of Commons, it was pointed out in a powerful speech by Sir Henry James that under Mr. Gladstone's scheme every part of the Land Act of 1881 might be called in question. I understand Mr. Gladstone to say that that was a mistake, and was not so intended. I believe the truth was that there was to be a clause prohibiting the Irish Parliament from dealing with the landlords. Surely these things ought to be made known. I should like to know if it is a purely Irish question whether men who hold land under charters dating from the 12th and 13th centuries are to be deprived of their property? I certainly should regard that question as one of Imperial and not of merely Irish interest. We have a state of things in Ireland that is terrible, and the Leaders of the Opposition do not pretend that they have a scheme that will put an end to that state of things. It has been asked—"Why do not the Government adopt the plan of the Cowper Commission, and propose a periodical revision of rents?" I say that the Cowper Commission never suggested such a plan; they never recommended a periodical revision of rents, but that they should be fixed according to the average of prices extending over five years. I do not think that the proposal of the Cowper Commission was in itself unreasonable; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Land Court in Ireland has only disposed of 200,000 cases out of 500,000 cases which have been brought before it, and if we were to have a periodical revision of rents, it would be hopeless to expect that that Court could get through its work for years to come, as it will probably take it another five years to dispose of the cases already before it. The suggestion of the Cowper Commission, therefore, supplies no remedy for the difficulties with which we have to deal. I have, I think, good ground for complaining of the course that has been taken by the noble Lords who are responsible for the Act of 1881. They know that I never approved that Act, but I have never said anything against it which can compare with what they have said against their own Act within the last three or four months. Moreover, they continue to use the old cant and slang about the Land Question in Ireland which they used before that Act was passed. It is quite true that you cannot expect to settle the Irish Land Question for ever by an Act. I quite agree on the principle that you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear; that you will never legislate satisfactorily on the subject of the Irish land by attempting to tinker up the Act of 1881, because that Act was founded upon false and dangerous principles. Everyone has now discovered that for himself. If the arguments of noble Lords who oppose this Bill are right, there ought to be a revision of rents in Ireland every year. It was the *reductio ad absurdum* to suppose that the State could legislate to regulate differences in prices which took place from time to time, or to regulate the seasons. The noble Earl near me has said that crime in Ireland is only agrarian. That is another of the stock phrases of the noble Earl. What does the noble Earl mean by that phrase? Does he mean that crime in Ireland only exists in connection with the relations between landlord and tenant, and that it does not exist as between tenant and tenant and between tenant and labourer?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: That is all agrarian crime.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: Does the noble Earl appreciate the full meaning of that; does he not know that Ireland is not a commercial or a manufacturing country, and that nine-tenths of the relations which exist in that country are agrarian? What the noble Earl and those who think with him really mean by agrarian crime is that crime which occurs in connection with the relations between landlord and tenant. We have heard a great deal about the cruel evictions that have occurred lately in Ireland. Noble Lords do not adopt the same language with regard to these evictions in this House which is familiar in "another place." We are too well acquainted with the facts in this House to be misled upon the matter. We know that during the last quarter the proportion of evictions in Ireland compared with the total number of tenants has been 0·3 per cent, and that for the four quarters of the year it has only amounted to 1·4 per cent. There are more evictions in the year within two miles of this House than occur in 10 years in the whole of Ireland. Do noble Lords really mean that Irish tenants are to be kept in possession of their holdings for ever, whether they pay their rent or not? With regard to the attitude which the Liberal Party has assumed towards Lord Lansdowne, I must say that it is opposed to all their best traditions, and that they have left it to the people of Canada to do that justice to the noble Lord which ought to have been done by his noble Friends. They have not done that justice to him because it did not suit the book of the Leaders of the Liberal Party at the present moment. Liberalism does not consist in holding political power, but in maintaining truth. As far as we know, the so-called evictions in Ireland have of late been got up by the Parnellites and by the National League inciting the tenants not to accept any compromise which might be offered them by their landlords. I will give your Lordships some cases in illustration of the state of things I have described. But first I wish to notice a speech made by Mr. Morley the other day at Cambridge. Mr. Morley was very angry because educated men at Cambridge had presented an address to Lord Hartington, and he said there was the greatest ignorance on the part of the educated classes. I dare say there is. But will Mr. Morley say there is less ignorance among the masses he is in the habit of addressing? I thought Mr. Morley was going to show that the Irish had proved themselves capable of self-government in every case in which they had been tried, in Poor Law management and so on. But what was my astonishment when I found that Mr. Morley said that Englishmen do not know what gross, "scandalous maladministration" went on in Ireland. Here is a case. I believe, under Mr. Morley's direction, about two years ago an Act was passed giving enlarged powers to certain Unions. In the course of six years five Unions spent on 156,000 persons £317,000, a total composed partly of Government advances at low interest, partly of benefactions at no interest at all, and partly of ruinous rates levied on property, of which those who levied the rates paid nothing themselves. That meant final, complete, absolute ruin. And now a Bill is before Parliament to take the management of these Unions out of the hands of men whom, if Englishmen knew more about them, they would, according to Mr. Morley, be willing to trust with absolute power. He says these Unions are insolvent, "over-populated, wretchedly poor," and, what is more, that the population is increasing, although all means of subsistence are diminishing. Then he goes on to say, this is "typical of the problem we have to face" in Ireland. But how does he propose to face it? He proposes to hand it over to others, to fly, to resign. He says, in effect—"We have no remedy; let us hand it over to an Irish Parliament to exercise their ingenuity upon." That is the whole policy of Her Majesty's Liberal Opposition. I was in conversation with an Irish gentleman a few weeks ago, and he told me some stories which are very horrible. I will give your Lordships two or three cases which I can place before Parliament. I cannot give your Lordships all the verifications which I asked for myself; you must take them upon my word. The first case occurred on the property of a man who has some land in Ireland, but is not dependent on the land, and he is a warm Irishman. Case A was this. A farmer came to him and said—"I wish to sell my holding." The landlord said—"You are quite free to do it; you need not ask my leave; the law gives you leave." The whole transaction was settled. The holding was duly put up to auction, another Irishman bought it, and the new tenant entered into possession. This poor man was in possession for a few months when a third Irishman or Irish-American, of whom nothing was known except that he had come from America, appeared, and he said—"Mr. Gladstone says that the Irish tenant is to sell his land for the best price he can get." All the Irish are resolved to get the highest price they can. The Irish-American went to the man who had the farm, and said—"You must get out of that farm. I am willing to give the man who sold it to you a higher price for it." The other replied—"I have bought the farm and am in possession, and I will not go out." What was the consequence? A Moonlight agency was set to work, the poor man who bought the farm had his house invaded, the Moonlighters put a gun to his head and said—"Unless you sign a revocation we will blow your brains out;" and the poor man, from fear for his life or the lives of his family, gave up the farm, and the Irish-American stepped into possession. That is what you call liberty in Ireland. The whole transaction was no secret. The landlord could do nothing, and he was advised to accept the man as a tenant. I was told by my friend of a precisely similar case on a neighbouring estate. A tenant had made his bargain, bought a farm, and paid the price; but another Irishman came, and, with the support of the National League, offered £30 more, and the poor man who had bought the farm was obliged to give it up. These are operations which tell upon the poor man and not upon the rich. It is the tenant class who are tyrannized over by the National League. Is this the teaching of political truth; is it teaching worthy of a great political Party? You talk of this Bill interfering with the liberties of Ireland. Precious liberties! My Lords, I am reminded that in Scotland liberties meant monopolies in ancient times—privileges of monopoly enjoyed by certain burghs. But, at least, these privileges were legal; they were known to the law. But what you call "liberties" in Ireland are the privileges of ruffians sitting in secret council calling before them poor people and depriving them of their rights. A friend of mine, well and honourably known by both Parties in this House, and living in a part of Ireland where crime in the ordinary sense of the word is hardly ever heard of, told me of a case on his own property where the tenant came to him and said—"Here is my brother; he is as good a man as I am, and will take the farm off my hands and pay the price." The landlord said—"By all means. I shall be delighted to see your brother in the farm." The brother paid the price with the assent of all parties and to the satisfaction of the landlord. He entered into possession. The National League called this poor man before them, and ordered him to surrender the farm. That farm is now vacant and uncultivated. These are mere specimens of cases that have occurred. "But," says the noble Earl (Earl Granville), "I do not find these cases in the papers." No; because he only fumbles over the police reports. You go to your Parliamentary Returns and police reports and say that you do not find this and that percentage of crime. That is the stock argument of my noble Friends who are opposed to this Bill. But these cases, specimens of which I have given, do not appear in police courts at all. A poor man who has any complaint dare not make it known in a police court, and for every case of the kind that is brought before a police magistrate there are 100 that never get there at all. We must depend upon the common sense of Parliament in dealing with this question. This should be remembered—that when the authority of law is suspended in any country, it is the universal fact that those who rise to the top and exercise despotic authority are the very lowest and the most disreputable. Private motives and envy and covetousness dictate the actions of these men, and the whole country is kept under a sense of villainy triumphant. It has been stated that this Bill will fail in its purpose. My noble Friend has predicted this. It may fail, as so many others have failed, although I think it has a better chance from circumstances connected with it; but if it does not fail, its failure will be largely due to my noble Friend and those with whom they act. It is sometimes said that society rests always ultimately upon force. I think this is a great mistake. Society does not rest upon force. The ultimate, the lowest, and the firmest foundation on which it rests is not force, but accepted and acknowledged authority. When you assail the accepted doctrines on which society rests you may even paralyze it, and these are now assailed by passionate declamation. In their phrases, in their legal arguments, plausible, but, in my opinion, altogether erroneous, my noble Friends have displaced the primary duties which are owing between man and man, and by their false analogies they confuse that sense of right on which society ultimately rests. My right hon. Friend who leads the Opposition in the other House (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) has been busy lately in confounding the case of trade unions with combinations in Ireland for agrarian purposes. Now, can there be a more transparent fallacy than this? The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "To give to the Irish tenants and cottar population the same protection in respect of their land strikes that you give to the English artisan in respect to his labour strikes."

Certainly the trade unionist has a right to combine in defence of the price of his own property. There is not a man in the other House, or a demagogue on any platform, who would assert more clearly than I do the right of workmen to combine in defence of the price of their property. Their labour is their property, the most sacred of all property, and they have a perfect right to combine in defence of it. There may be economic difficulties; but there is nothing dishonest, nothing illegal, nothing unjust, in combinations of that character. Compare with that the case of the Irish tenants. The essence of the case of the Irish tenant is that he holds the property of another, and Mr. Gladstone's position is that the tenant is to have the same liberty of dealing with the land as the English labourer with his own property. No Minister has ever laid down such a doctrine as this before. The two cases are absolutely different. You talk about evictions on account of such proceedings happening in no other country in the world. I had some conversation the other day with a very distinguished American, who is at the head of a large commercial concern holding large estates of chiefly forest land, and employing a large number of men who live in houses on the estates. I put the question to him—"What would you do if your men struck and refused to go out of your houses, and adopted Mr. Gladstone's principle that they have a right to deal with your houses precisely on the principle that they have a right to deal with their own labour?" My friend replied—"I should write a letter to the Governor of my State, and within 24 hours five companies of Militia would arrive and turn them out." In no country in the world does the law and the public sentiment protect the rights of property more absolutely than in America, and the people know that the welfare of the poor is as much defended by the law as the property of the rich. And now as to the general position. I am not now talking of mere changes of opinion, which must happen from time to time. There has been a complete forgetfulness of everything, a complete repudiation of those things which go down deep to the very foundation of society. We have seen during the last 18 months four or five gentlemen sitting round a green table at Westminster and drawing up a new edition of the British Constitution. No such a thing has ever been adopted before, go back as far in our history as you please. There have been no span new inventions, no brand new Constitutions, given to the foundations of society; and it was, therefore, unprecedented, unjustifiable, immeasurable presumption. The greatest of Mr. Gladstone's constructions was the famous Budget of 1853. I do not deny that the measure disestablishing the Irish Church showed immense constructive power; but in that case he had to deal with a Christian Church, and all he had to do was to divide the spoil. In this case he has attempted to re-constitute a whole Constitution, to make a brand new system of Government for the Three Kingdoms. Not even he was adequate to these things. I shall vote for this Bill, because I wish to secure for every individual of the Irish people the liberties which have come down to them under the Imperial system. I wish that every peasant in Donegal and every peasant in Kerry shall be free under an Imperial system to dispose of his property and of his labour as he thinks fit.

The Earl of DENBIGH said, it was a strange anomaly that this Bill should be opposed by an ex-Prime Minister and some of his most trusted coadjutors, when its sole object was to cause the majesty of the law to be respected. It was no more a Coercion Bill than was the Decalogue. It would only be brought into action by special Proclamation in disturbed districts, and it would become inoperative as soon as crime and disturbance ceased. A second anomaly was that the Bill was applicable only to a country which, in its normal state, was peculiarly free from crime, and at this moment, with some terrible exceptions, was very orderly and well-behaved. These terrible exceptions, however, which existed in a few black spots where the law was rendered nugatory and set at defiance were the cause of this exceptional legislation. This lawlessness originated in the schemes and machinations of the enemies of the British Crown, who had imposed upon the ignorance and simplicity of the Irish peasantry, and by dwelling solely on their grievances, many of which were happily records of the past, had roused their passions to a degree which rendered them well-nigh indomitable. Attempts had been made to give a religious character to this movement, and to fasten a stigma on the loyalty of Catholics, as such, because the lawlessness was most observable in Catholic districts. It was his object to deny this false conclusion, and to account for the facts on which it was founded—namely, that Catholics, apparently supported by their clergy, had been openly acting in opposition to the teaching of their Church as laid down by the Roman Pontiff in his Encyclical of November, 1886. His Holiness said—

> "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. Indeed, to contemn lawful authority, in whomsoever invested, is as unlawful as to resist the Divine Will, and whomsoever resists that rushes wilfully to destruction. 'He that resisteth the Power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist purchase to themselves damnation.' Wherefore, to cast aside obedience and by popular violence to incite the country to sedition is treason, not only against man, but against God."

He (the Earl of Denbigh) asserted unhesitatingly that this movement had no religious motive. It was purely economical, and to understand it one must cast a glance back on Irish history. If he had often in the course of his argument to use the words Catholic and Protestant in antagonism to each other, he did so with no desire of emphasizing or accentuating religious differences, which no one could deplore more than he did. He was sanguine enough to hope that the time might not be far off when if we could not all worship, as once was the case, at the same altar, we might yet, with a more perfect knowledge of each other, cease to judge harshly of those who conscientiously differ from us and contend only who shall outdo the other in charity, and best set an example of loyalty to our Sovereign and devotion to the best interests of our country. The past history of Ireland for three centuries afforded melancholy pictures of cupidity, cruelty, and intolerance. The Irish Catholic population was dispossessed of its land and persecuted for its faith in form and to a degree that one shuddered now to read of. Driven out of their possessions by aliens both in race and in creed, they were mercilessly shot down or martyred as traitors for their faith alone. The favoured Protestants divided their fairest lands among themselves, and drove the dispossessed ones into the wilds to starve and perish. In short, the Catholics got all the kicks, and the Protestants the halfpence. What wonder, then, that there should have grown up a bitter hereditary hatred among the Catholic Irish for their English oppressors. They clung with passionate love to their clergy, who were mostly of the same class and suffered the same wrongs as themselves. But, it may be argued, all this was hundreds of years ago, and for the last 50 years we have done our best to make amends; may not this be taken into account as a counter-weight? Wrongs that have been inflicted for a series of years cannot be forgotten in a day. Wrongs beget wrongs, and like curses and chickens come home to roost. Wrongs never remain unpunished by Him who has said—"Vengeance is mine, I will repay." We had sown the wind; and he believed we were reaping the whirlwind. Moreover, it could not be denied that the tenant farmer in Ireland had not had the same advantages as in England. With some notable exceptions, he was generally considered as a rent-paying machine; and but little consideration did he get if he failed to pay his generally exorbitant rent. There was no sympathy between him and his landlord. The Catholic districts being the poorest, generally speaking, had ever been the focus of discontent. Emissaries from America, many of them descendants of those who had in time past emigrated from the Irish shores with bitterness and hatred in their hearts, came over and traded on the lowest passions of the poor and ignorant Irish. They assured them that if they would band together to repudiate their debts they would impoverish and drive out the landlords, and would thus enter again into the estate of which their forefathers had been dispossessed. What wonder, then, if they jumped at this and fell into the specious snares of these schemers, whose chief object was to embarrass and impoverish the England they had been brought up to hate. Combination when innocent was lawful; but when it was used to violate the laws of God and of the land it must be put down as immoral. He need not tell them the horrors of Boycotting, which was a distinct violation of the Divine law of charity. The Plan of Campaign was organized plunder, and as the leading Irish Judges had declared that juries could not be depended upon to convict, there remained nothing but the summary jurisdiction of trained magistrates. The anomaly was increased by the fact of these Catholics being apparently headed and supported by their clergy in these un-Christian actions and violations of the law; but, from inquiries he had personally made recently in Ireland, he was convinced that a large number of the Bishops and superior clergy lamented these excesses, and would willingly receive assistance from without to help them to control the unruly and deplorable actions of the National League. This National League, by its intolerable tyranny, kept in subjection both clergy and laity, with some notable exceptions; and, as a Bishop expressed it to him, it required a hero or a saint to brave its displeasure and penalties. He was told of one case that was so remarkable in proving what moral courage was capable of doing that he felt disposed to mention it. A certain parish priest named Doyle, since, unfortunately, deceased, had been in the habit of condemning openly and forcibly the acts of the Land League. Two of his own parishioners were sent to him to threaten him that, unless he promised to cease from these condemnations, he would find that when the day came for collecting his dues they would be wanting. He sharply rebuked them for their cruel threat, but added—"I have been put here by God to do my duty, and I shall fulfil it at whatever cost. He will take care of me." When the day came to collect his dues, which was the following Sunday, these two same emissaries were the men that held the plates for the collection, and the dues, instead of being withheld, were doubled. Such is the force of courage in a good man. It was astonishing to think how men, who probably would be capable of giving their lives for their faith, as did their forefathers, were yet so terrified of incurring unpopularity at the hands of their neighbours, that they would abstain from openly condemning what they knew must be wrong. They were like the Comtesse de Guise in *The Ingoldsby Legends*, who "did not mind death, but could not stand pinching." It was, however, difficult to judge of others until we have passed ourselves through a like ordeal. Some priests had purposely joined the councils of the National League in their own parishes in order to control their actions and minimize the evil; but many, instead of exercising control themselves, had been carried away and compromised by the movement. It was chiefly the younger and more ardent curates that had figured most in the Nationalist ranks. The parish priest, as a rule, kept quiet, or stood aloof altogether. He had touched on the past unjust behaviour of England towards her Catholic subjects in order that he might have the satisfaction of bearing witness to her present fairness and consideration for them. He was encouraged the more in this by the testimony of the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., who, in an audience which he granted him four years ago, expressed himself to the following effect:—

> "I am so sensible of the justice of England towards her Catholic subjects and of the liberty which they enjoy under her rule—a liberty greater than in any other part of the world—that I wish to mark my gratitude by aiding England to maintain order, peace, loyalty, and good government as far as my influence can extend throughout the world. I can help her, not only in Ireland, but in India and in her Colonies. To do this, however, I must know what she wants, and must have accurate and official information as to the state of things."

The Pope never interfered in Party politics, such as Home Rule, which were outside his scope. He confined his attention only to the observance of morality and religion; and lest anyone should imagine that he would attempt to exercise any undue influence over the consciences of non-Catholics, he would again refer to the Encyclical already quoted—

> "The Church diligently takes care that no one shall be compelled against his will to embrace the Catholic faith, or, as St. Augustine wisely saith, 'Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own free will.'"

The Earl of Denbigh

It was his conviction that it would not be enough to repress disorder unless we added an antidote to the causes. We were about to give facilities for the transfer and acquisition of land. Give also facilities to those who wish for a good Catholic education, especially in the higher branches. Hitherto we had barred the subject of theology in all State-supported Colleges. Remove that bar, and permit Catholics to have as free an education as Protestants in their religion. We had never succeeded in converting them to Protestantism. Let them learn to be good Catholics. We should then find them as loyal and peaceable as the English Catholics. He drew great distinction between an Irish Catholic and a Catholic Irishman. The first would square his religion to his politics; it was an accident of his birth. The other made his religion his guide and the motive of all his actions, and his politics must not transgress it. Whatever their legislation was let it be firm and unwavering, but, above all, let it be just. If he might venture to address Her Majesty's Ministers, he would do so in the words put in the mouth of Wolsey by our greatest dramatist—

> "Be just, and fear not;
> Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and truth's; then, if thou fall'st,
> Thou fall'st a blessed martyr."

There was no people on the face of the earth that more appreciated a strong Government than the Irish if it were just. Let them adopt the old French motto—"*Fais ce que dois advienne que pourra.*" The Irish nature, where not excited by drink or politics, was a generous, kind, and sympathetic one. While we held aloft the sword of justice in the one hand, let us extend the olive branch in the other. We might win those hearts to us that were now so bitterly hostile to us, and blessed would be the day, if it came, as he prayed it might, when that green isle, peopled with god-fearing, law-abiding, and loyal subjects, might become, not, as it is now, the weakness, but one of the best bulwarks of our glorious British Empire.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: I consider with my noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll)—who has delivered such a powerful speech—that this is a Bill which should be discussed in a serious and not in a merely perfunctory manner, and that the opposition to the Bill should not have been left to my noble Friend the Leader of the Opposition (Earl Granville), when in "another place" it was recommended that it should be fought line by line and word by word. I had intended to make some observations which I think material to the Bill in the presence of those noble Lords who usually sit on the Front Opposition Bench, and I did not think that they would have thrown the whole and sole burden of maintaining the debate and the opposition to the Bill, which in "another House" was fought clause by clause and line by line, upon my noble Friend (Viscount Oxenbridge), who is now the sole occupant of that Bench. There will, however, be a later stage of this Bill, from which I suppose my noble Friends will hardly be able to entirely absent themselves, and I shall then have an opportunity of saying in their presence that which I think ought not to be said when they are absent. I regret their absence for two reasons—first, because I think some rather pertinent questions have been put by the noble Duke as to the alternative which they would propose for the establishment of law and order in Ireland. But I also hoped they would have remained for another reason, and that is that my noble Friend (Earl Granville) touched on some intelligible, if well-founded, objections to this Bill, and I should have liked to state my reasons for thinking that these objections, though they may sound plausible, are not well founded in point of law or of fact. I repeat that I hope I shall have an opportunity of saying what I desire to say in my noble Friends' presence at a later stage of the Bill, and I take this opportunity of giving notice that I have something to say which I desire to say in their presence.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that the discussion was left to the Liberal Unionists, who had been charged and taunted with having deserted the Liberal creed. He, however, contended that they had not changed their opinions; and he maintained that they were the only Liberals who adhered to the language which they used two or three years ago. His noble Friends who usually sat on the Front Opposition Bench had adopted principles which had separated them from the Liberal Party. He had hoped that they would have had an opportunity that night of hearing from the noble Lords who occupied the Front Opposition Bench what were the reasons that, having led their supporters on previous occasions to vote for measures of this sort, they had now entirely changed their opinions. He had hoped that they were on that occasion to hear answers to certain objections to the Bill which were brought forward in the other House—answers to legal points, because his noble and learned Friend sitting below him (the Earl of Selborne) certainly could deal with those points as no other person in Parliament could deal with them. And when they were told that fresh crimes were created under the Bill, they were anxious to hear what those new crimes were, and then to hear the answer of his noble and learned Friend below him on that point also. Now, what was the condition of the House? He could not deny that usually the House was comparatively empty at that hour; but nobody was now present to conduct the debate on that side of the House. What a position for the House to be placed in! (At this time there were about 15 Peers on the Conservative side of the House, and five on the Opposition side, but only one (Viscount Oxenbridge) on the Front Opposition Bench, and the Benches immediately behind it.) Would the noble Lords who had left return to the House that evening? Would any noble Lord say that the noble Lords had gone away with the intention of returning an hour hence, or that they had any intention of returning at all? He should like to have asked them a number of questions had they been present. Although it was the dinner hour, no one believed for a moment that it was the intention of the Opposition to return later on.

VISCOUNT OXENBRIDGE: Yes, it is; I say so.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: Would his noble Friend keep the debate going?

VISCOUNT OXENBRIDGE: Yes, I have done the best I can to keep it going.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN: His noble Friend said that he had done his best to keep a House, and he would accept the statement. At all events, he hoped that on the third reading they would have a debate which was worthy of the subject. Then, he trusted, reasons would be given to them which had not been given to-night, and that a statement would be made with regard to the objections to the Bill. The only statement they had had was a statement of a most meagre description by the noble Earl who led on that side of the House, which was perfectly inadequate to the enormous importance of this Bill. Those who, like himself, claimed to have adhered to their principles, and to have maintained the Liberal creed, had a right to hear something more from noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench than they had heard to-night. He hoped, also, that they would have more courtesy shown them, and that they would be more fortunate in their attendance on the third reading of the Bill than they had been to-night in regard to the Front Opposition Bench.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2^a accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 14*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—Dodgson Hamilton Madden, Serjeant-at-Law in Ireland, *for* Dublin University.

Supply—*considered in Committee — Resolutions* [July 13] *reported*.

Public Bills — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Copyright (Musical Compositions) (No. 2) * [322].

First Reading — Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment * [323].

Second Reading—Irish Land Law [308] [*Third Night*].

Committee—Report—Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) * [141].

Considered as amended—Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) * [196].

QUESTIONS.

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SCOTCH UNIVERSITY BILL—LEGISLATION.

Mr. MASON (Lanark, Mid) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Government intend to bring in the Scotch University Bill this Session; and, if so, when it will be introduced?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities), in reply, said, he was sorry he was not able to give a definite answer. But he hoped to be able to announce the intentions of the Government with regard to this measure in a day or two.

LAW AND POLICE—PROSTITUTES IN MANCHESTER AND LIVERPOOL.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will inform the House whether it is the general practice in Manchester and Liverpool to declare women to be common prostitutes, and to fine and imprison them, on the unsupported testimony of the police; and, whether, if such is the practice, it is in accordance with law?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed that it is the general practice to convict women charged with offences at Manchester under the Local Act of 1844, and at Liverpool under the Towns Police Clauses Act, on the unsupported testimony of the police. If any doubt is raised whether the woman charged is a common prostitute, it is usual at Manchester to remand the case for further inquiries. I am advised that such practice is in accordance with the law.

LABOURERS ACTS (IRELAND)—THE RETURN.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in printing and circulating the Return showing the working of the Labourers Acts (Ireland), ordered 5th April last, and presented on the 23rd ultimo?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the hon. Gentleman must be aware that the Irish Government were not responsible for the carrying out of the order of the House for printing; however, the Return referred to was in type, and the proof sheets had been finally revised.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—POOR RATE COLLECTORS IN WICKLOW.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that any of the Poor Rate collectors in the Eastern Division of the County of Wicklow have obtained payment of rates and not given receipts for same; and, if so, how it will affect the rights of persons entitled to the Parliamentary franchise?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he understood it had been the practice of the rate collector Jones to receive rates without giving receipts. Mr. Jones was asked for an explanation at the last meeting of the Board, and stated that some payment of rates were made by leaving money at his house when he was not at home, but receipts were afterwards issued. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not think any rights would be affected; and he trusted that the effect of the hon. Gentleman's Question would be to prevent the recurrence of this reprehensible practice.

POST OFFICE — IRREGULARITIES AT THE VERE STREET POST OFFICE.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the senior counterman at Vere Street Post Office was recently deficient £390; whether such a large deficiency is consistent with proper monthly check by the postmaster; whether any, and what, legal proceedings have been taken against the defaulter; whether the defaulter's salary, £28, accruing since the discovery of his default, has been paid for a time when he was entirely absent from his duties; and, whether this is usual; whether the defaulter had been in the habit of making advances to the postmaster's chief clerk on undated cheques; whether it was part of that chief clerk's duty to occasionally audit the defaulter's accounts; whether, at the December official quarterly audit, the defaulter then produced to the auditor an undated cheque as part of the vouchers for his cash; and, whether this was then reported to the Postmaster General; whether that chief clerk is still in the employ of the Post Office Department; and, whether the postmaster has since retired on a pension?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that a deficiency of the amount stated was recently discovered in the accounts of the countermen at Vere Street Post Office, and that the investigation which followed disclosed grave omissions, but no actual dishonesty, on the part of the chief clerk, whose duty it was to check the countermen's accounts. The chief clerk was found to have obtained on two occasions advances of salary against his undated cheques; but the cheques were never produced as vouchers when the accounts were audited. I was advised that the case did not admit of legal proceedings; and the payment of those officers who were eventually dismissed during the period for which it was necessary to keep them under suspension was in accordance with long established practice. The chief clerk is still in the Service, but has been degraded to a lower position and pay. The postmaster is responsible to me for the official cash, and he will have to make the deficiency good; but his fault is not, in my opinion, of a kind to invalidate his claim to the pension on which he is about to retire after a service of nearly 50 years.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — KEIGHLEY SCHOOL BOARD—FRANK HEAP, AN UNVACCINATED PUPIL TEACHER.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether Frank Heap has been for about two years employed as monitor by the Keighley School Board, and whether he has passed the necessary examination qualifying for pupil teacher; whether the Keighley School Board are desirous of appointing Frank Heap pupil teacher; and, whether the Education Department refuse to grant the necessary certificate, on the ground that Frank Heap is unvaccinated; and, if so, under what Statute or Regulation is the refusal of the Department justified?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): It is the practice of the Department to require a medical certificate on a prescribed form, to be filled up on behalf of all candidates. If this form showed that the candidate had not been vaccinated, the managers were told that the candidate could not be accepted until the operation was performed. This is a measure of precaution which has been approved by successive Vice Presidents of the Council, including no less an authority than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair).

MR. BRADLAUGH: Do I understand that this is simply a Regulation in the discretion of the Council, and not under a Statute.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: No. I apprehend it is not under any Statute, but in the discretion of the Department.

LAW AND POLICE—"BAYFUS *v.* SAVILLE"—SUMMONSES IN THE MARLBOROUGH STREET POLICE COURT.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the remarks of Mr. Justice Manisty, in the recent case of "Bayfus *v.* Saville," that the mode in which summonses were obtained in the Marlborough Street Police Court was "perfectly shocking," and that by such procedure "no man's character was safe;" whether it is true that summonses are there granted without any information or evidence; whether a summons was so granted in the case referred to by Mr. Justice Manisty, and used for the purpose of extorting money from a respectable solicitor; and, whether such practice is according to law; and, if so, whether he is prepared to take steps to have the law placed on a more satisfactory footing in this respect?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. and learned Member, I have made inquiries into the case referred to in his Question. I have not ascertained that Mr. Justice Manisty made use of the observations therein referred to; but he certainly did comment strongly upon the way in which the summonses in this particular case were issued. It is not, I believe, the practice of the Marlborough Street Police Court to grant summonses without any information or evidence; but it is certain that in this case part of the information upon which the summons was granted was not properly verified. Upon the facts before me, it certainly appears that the summons was used to extort money from a respectable solicitor. Upon the information given me, the course pursued was not in accordance with law; but as the case was exceptional, there is, in my opinion, no necessity for any alteration of the law.

LAW AND JUSTICE—"BOSS *v.* SAVILLE"—ATTEMPTING TO EXTORT MONEY.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the remark of Mr. Justice Stephen, in the case of "Boss *v.* Saville," that on the finding of the jury there was a case fit for the Public Prosecutor, to charge Saville with attempting to extort money; whether, in reference to the same person, Mr. Justice Manisty (in the course of a trial last week) characterized the act of putting the Criminal Law in motion on an unfounded charge, for the purpose of extorting money, as "diabolical," and whether the jury found that Saville had so acted; and, whether, having regard to the observations of these learned Judges, and to the danger to the public of the abuse of the Criminal Law, he will direct the Public Prosecutor to take proceedings in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have been furnished with a report of the two actions ("Bayfus *v.* Jonas *et al.*" and "Boss *v.* Palmer and Saville"). In view of the observations which were made by the learned Judges, Mr. Justice Manisty and Mr. Justice Stephen, in the course of the trials, I have thought it right to communicate with the Director of Public Prosecutions.

LAW AND POLICE—MOLESTING WOMEN AND YOUNG GIRLS.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following statement contained in *St. Stephen's Review* of last week:—

> "It is only quite lately that a case occurred which led to a fracas at the gates of the British Museum, between the guardian of a young girl and a perfumed old rake. This latter gentleman, it transpired, had followed, spoken to, and forced his company on the girl in question all the way from Piccadilly to Great Suffolk Street;"

and, whether the police have power to arrest men who molest modest women and girls in our streets and squares; and, if not, if he will take the necessary steps to empower them to do so?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, the police had power to arrest a man who, in the public thoroughfares, used indecent or insulting language, or was guilty of insulting or indecent behaviour towards a woman to her annoyance, or if he molested her in any way amounting legally to an assault. If, however, the behaviour of the man fell short of that neither the police nor the Secretary of State had any power by law to arrest the man.

MR. S. SMITH: Can a man be arrested for following a woman?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have given the hon. Member the condensed effect of the Acts on the question, which say that a man can be arrested for using indecent or insulting language to a woman. Merely following is not an offence, except under what is known as Viscount Cross's "Picketing" Act.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—CIVIL EMPLOYMENT OF POLICE FOR PROTECTION DUTY.

MR. KENNEDY (Sligo, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether constables on protection duty with Lewis Goulding, of Lavagh, County Sligo, and Robert Brodie, of Lisanagh, County Sligo, have been working for weeks past like ordinary labourers, not wearing their uniforms or side arms; whether he can state if constables so employed are receiving any remuneration for such work; and, if they are, whether he has arranged any scale of pay for such employment; and, whether he can state who pays car hire for police whilst travelling through the country with Goulding, when acting in capacity of Sheriffs' bailiff and summons server?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he had not yet had time to make the necessary inquiries.

RAILWAY (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE LONDONDERRY RAILWAY (SUNDERLAND AND SEAHAM HARBOUR).

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, in reference to the Londonderry Railway between Sunderland and Seaham Harbour, Whether he wil linform the House on what conditions as to the manner of working the line the Board of Trade gave their certificate authorizing the line to be opened for passenger traffic in 1855; whether there have been subsequent inspections by officers of the Board of Trade; and, if so, what are the dates of the Reports of such inspection; whether the Reports have shown that the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade before authorizing passenger traffic on the line have or have not been fulfilled; and, whether the Board of Trade has any legal power to enforce the conditions, if any, attached to the certificate authorizing the opening of the line?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Londonderry Railway between Sunderland and Seaham Harbour was three times inspected in the year 1855. The railway was partly a single and partly a double line when first submitted; but the Board of Trade directed the postponement of the opening until it was made double throughout, sufficient stations and platforms provided, a timber viaduct replaced by a stone bridge, turn-tables erected at Sunderland and Seaham, the walls of a cabin removed from dangerous proximity to the windows of carriages, gates erected at level crossings, and signals put up. No further inspection of the line has since taken place. No conditions were imposed on the opening of the line; but the Company informed the Board of Trade of the system under which they proposed to work it. The Railway Acts give the Board no legal power with reference to the working of lines which have once been sanctioned for the public conveyance of passengers.

WAR OFFICE—MEDICAL EXAMINATION OF COLONELS BEFORE PROMOTION.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether Colonels, before promotion to Major General, undergo medical examination; if so, when the Order came into force, and how many, Colonels have been so examined and pronounced unfit?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Under the terms of the Royal Warrant a Colonel cannot be promoted to be a Major General unless the Commander-in-Chief certify that he is competent to command in the field, One important factor in this competence is physical fitness; and His Royal Highness requires the aid of a Medical Board to enable him to certify. The present arrangement took effect from December, 1885; but up to this time only two Colonels have been declared physically unfit.

IRELAND—DRILLING IN ORANGE LODGES.

Mr. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the authorities are aware that drilling has been going on for some time in the Orange Lodge, 10, Rutland Square, Dublin; and, if so, whether the other institutions and clubs in the vicinity will be equally permitted the like privilege?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.): No, Sir. The police, who state that the Resident Secretary is at all times ready to admit them to the premises in Rutland Square, inform me that there is no foundation for the allegation.

Mr. P. M'DONALD: I have very good reason to know that the practice exists.

FISHERY BOARD (SCOTLAND) — THE SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE—EXPENDITURE.

Mr. A. L. BROWN (Hawick, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that, in consequence of the expenditure of the Scientific Committee of the Fishery Board (Scotland) for the year ending 31st March, 1887, having greatly exceeded the amount placed at its disposal by the Board, trawling operations, undertaken in connection with bye-laws passed by the Board, had to be suspended for five months, and accounts and wages, due to tradesmen and working men, remained unpaid for some months; and, whether, notwithstanding repeated requests for payment, some such accounts remain still unpaid; whether the majority of the Board have expressed dissatisfaction with the way in which work deputed to the Scientific Committee has been managed, and recommended the appointment of a paid Superintendent to carry out the Board's instructions; but the recommendation was not adopted, on account of the intervention of the Secretary for Scotland; whether, in consequence of the Secretary for Scotland's neglecting to reply to repeated communications from the Board, scientific work was practically suspended during the months of April and May last, the months in which some of the most valuable results in connection with the Fishery Board may be obtained; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House copies of the Correspondence between the Board and the Secretary for Scotland, together with any protests or remonstrances addressed to the Secretary for Scotland by members of the Fishery Board, in regard to the appointment of a Superintendent?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The Fishery Board, who account, as a body, for their vote, cannot throw the responsibility of any part of their expenditure upon a Committee. It is true that the sum voted last year for the purchase of the trawler *Garland* was found insufficient. The amount spent in putting her in order was, under Treasury direction, charged to the Vote for Scientific Purposes, and the vessel had, in consequence, to be laid up for four months. I am not aware what delay, if any, took place in paying accounts or wages; but there is a small sum still unpaid to tradesmen, as to which the Secretary for Scotland is in communication with the Fishery Board. The majority of the Board, on the 11th of May, recommended the appointment of a paid Superintendent; but the Secretary for Scotland, after carefully considering the matter, requested the Board, on the 26th of May, to reconsider their Report, in view of the fact that, as the present Board expires in October, a change in the working arrangements seems to him ill-timed. If the hon. Member desires, through the medium of a Question, to impute negligence to the Secretary for Scotland, his Question should not be put to me; but, speaking for the Secretary for Scotland, I answer that part of the Question in the negative. It can only be by distinct breach of official confidence that materials for such a Question as that of the hon. Member's can be obtained; and it is not usual to present to Parliament confidential communications regarding matters such as are referred to in the last paragraph of the hon. Member's Question.

MR. A. L. BROWN: May I ask the Lord Advocate to whom I shall put the Question?

[No reply.]

MR. A. L. BROWN: Mr. Speaker, may I not put that Question?

MR. SPEAKER: If the right hon. and learned Gentleman refuses to answer the Question I cannot compel him.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE RURAL POST OFFICE MESSENGER OF DROMARD, CO. SLIGO.

MR. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the rural post office messenger of the district of Dromard, County Sligo, is also the process-server of the district; and, if so, whether a postman delivering letters along the road is permitted to carry letters in one bag and processes in another; and, whether, if this system is allowed by the Post Office Authorities, the poor people in the district along the postman's route, on coming to meet him, as is their usage, can be served with a writ or process when they expect only a letter?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I have directed inquiry to be made into the particular case referred to by the hon. Member; but I may state generally that in law a postman has no choice but to deliver any letter which has been posted in accordance with the Post Office Regulations. He has no means of knowing whether any such letter, when properly sealed and closed, contains any particular document. Postmen are not allowed to act as process-servers in the usual sense of the word.

MR. P. M'DONALD: In the case I refer to the processes were not enclosed in envelopes, but carried in an open bag.

BRITISH GUIANA AND VENEZUELA—THE DISPUTED BOUNDARY.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is a fact that towards the close of last year the Governor of British Guiana, Sir Henry Irving, publicly stated that Her Majesty's Government had made such arrangements with regard to the disputed territory between British Guiana and Venezuela that the Government of British Guiana was empowered to grant licences to anyone wishing to commence the gold mining industry within the disputed ground, and that on the strength of Sir Henry Irving's statement a number of Colonists and others took licences; if any such arrangement has been made; and, if not, what compensation will be given to those who acted in the belief that it had; and, what authority had Sir Henry Irving for making the statement?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The Governor of British Guiana, in June, 1886, having received authority from Earl Granville, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to issue licences for gold mining in a portion of the territory in dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, made a statement to that effect in the Court of Policy; but nothing was said about any arrangements having been made with Venezuela, and it was well known that no such arrangements had been made. Licences have been granted for periods not exceeding 12 months. No arrangement has been made with Venezuela. Her Majesty's Government, in order to guard the Colonial Government against any claim for compensation, have instructed the Governor to caution all persons interested in such licences, or otherwise acquiring an interest in the disputed territory, that all licences, concessions, or grants applying to any portion of the disputed territory will be issued and must be accepted subject to the possibility that, in the event of a settlement of the disputed boundary line, the land to which such licence, concession, or grant applies may become part of Venezuela, in which case no claim for compensation from the Colony or from Her Majesty's Government can be recognized; but Her Majesty's Government would, in that case, do whatever might be right and practicable to secure from the Government of Venezuela the recognition of the licences.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PROMOTION OF DISTRICT INSPECTOR TILLY.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the

Irish Government to carry out the promise made by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, in Committee of Supply last September, to "secure the merited promotion" of District Inspector Tilly, Royal Irish Constabulary?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the hon. Member put a similar Question on the 14th of February last, and he referred the hon. Member to the reply then given. No opportunity had since arisen for carrying out the intention of the Irish Government referred to.

MR. COX asked, would not an opportunity soon arise in the promotions, consequent on a vacancy of an officer in the depôt, Phœnix Park?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was not aware of the nature of the promotions which would follow that vacancy.

VAGRANT ACT AMENDMENT BILL—STREET SOLICITATION.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe) asked the hon. Member for the North-East Division of Cornwall, Whether, in view of the evidence recently given to the country of the power of the police in regard to solicitation, he will move to discharge the Order for the Second Reading of the Vagrant Act Amendment Bill?

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston), in reply, said, that, in view of the late period of the Session, and the impossibility of discussing private Members' Bills, he would not attempt to get any further stage of the Vagrant Act Amendment Bill beyond the second reading; but he was most anxious that the present unsatisfactory state of the law should be adequately amended; and if the Government did not undertake it, he intended to persevere till he could get an end put to the present scandalous condition of many of the principal thoroughfares of our garrison and seaport towns and the Metropolis.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—PREVENTION OF COLLISIONS AT SEA—THE REGULATIONS—ARTICLE 19.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Board have received and considered the findings and evidence of the inquiry held at New York by the British Consul, in the case of the collision between the *Britannic* and the *Celtic;* and, whether the Board of Trade will consider the advisability of further amending the Regulations for the Prevention of Collisions at Sea, and especially of modifying Article 19, by which the use of distinctive blasts on the steam-whistle, to indicate the course of the vessel, is left optional, and of making more definite and stringent the Regulation as to the speed of steamships in a fog generally, and when the whistles of other vessels are heard?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have received the Report and Evidence referred to, and as a result of their consideration have issued a cautionary notice pointing out as follows:—

"With reference to the recent collision between the steamships *Britannic* and *Celtic*, the Board of Trade desire to call the attention of shipowners and shipmasters to the wording of Article 19 of the Regulations for preventing collisions at sea—namely—

"Article 19.—In taking any course authorized or required by these Regulations, a steamship under way may indicate that course to any other ship *which she has in sight*, by the following signals on her steam whistle—namely

"One short blast to mean 'I am directing my course to starboard.'

"Two short blasts to mean 'I am directing my course to port.'

"Three short blasts to mean 'I am going full speed astern.'

"The use of these signals is optional; but if they are used the course of the ship must be in accordance with the signal made.

"By which it will be seen that these signals were never intended to be used during fog, but only in cases in which a steamship has another vessel in sight.

"This case shows the great imprudence and danger of altering the course of a vessel to avoid another vessel which is not in sight, and whose position it is impossible correctly to determine.

HENRY G. CALCRAFT, Secretary.
THOMAS GRAY, Assistant Secretary.

Board of Trade, Marine Department, July, 1887."

Article 19 refers to optional sound signals, which may be made by one steamship to another ship which is in sight, and does not apply to signals in fog, unless the vessels are in sight of one another. As regards the speed of steamships in fog, the existing Article is as follows:—

> "Every ship, whether a sailing ship or steamship, shall, in a fog, mist, or falling snow, go at a moderate speed."

I am advised that the Rule which requires vessels to go at a moderate speed in fogs is sufficient if obeyed; and if the master of a vessel on hearing a signal from another vessel not in sight immediately gets the way off his vessel and does not alter his course. I am advised, further, that it would add to the dangers of navigation if any additions are made to the existing Rules, which would have the effect of leading masters of ships, on hearing signals from another ship in a fog, to alter their course before they can know the position as well as the course steered by the other vessel.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—DETENTION OF NEW SILVER COINS.

MR. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the following report, in *The Evening Telegraph*, of Dublin, of the 5th instant:—

> "On Monday a little boy presented some new silver coins at the Post Office, College Green. The coins were kept by the postmaster, who gave it as his opinion that they were bad. The boy was then taken to an office at the end of the building, and, after undergoing a cross-examination and giving the name and address of his father, he was released. The boy's father arrived at the post office shortly after the occurrence took place; but the postmaster refused to hand over the coins, or to have them tested in his presence. He stated, however, that 'the incident would be reported to the Postmaster General, who would, no doubt, take steps in the matter.' In the meantime, the coins were submitted to a jeweller in the neighbourhood, who stated that they were pure silver. The postmaster waited on the father of the boy, at his place of business, and delivered up the money in a battered condition. It is the intention of the boy's father to take legal steps to test the conduct of the Post Office officials;"

whether the coins in question were some of the recently issued Jubilee coinage; and, whether steps will be taken to prevent innocent persons who may tender any of the new coinage from being subjected to such treatment in future?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply, said, the coins in question were not those of recent issue, but two old threepenny bits. The boy who presented them was not detained longer than was necessary to inquire where he got them. Counterfeit coin has been frequently presented at the office at College Green; and the counterwomen who, if they accept it, suffer the loss, have been more than once taken in. The appearance of these threepenny bits seems to have fully justified the officer in testing their genuineness, and he seems to have acted in as quiet and inoffensive a manner as was possible.

POST OFFICE—THE JUBILEE DAY—DETENTION OF TELEGRAPHIST CLERKS.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the Postmaster General, how many telegraphists, male and female, were employed on Jubilee day, and for how many hours overtime; whether only 200 clerks, out of a staff of over 2,000, were released from duty; and, what proportion are so released on Bank Holidays?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Although the hon. Member does not state to which office he refers, I presume that it is to the Central Telegraph Office in London, as in his former Question, which I answered on the 8th instant. On Jubilee day 1,540 telegraphists were on duty in that Office for various periods during the 24 hours. The number of hours' overtime performed was 1,381. Four hundred and forty-seven telegraphists had the full day's holiday; and 200, in addition, were absent on their ordinary annual holiday and on account of sick leave. On ordinary Bank Holidays it has generally been found possible to release about 250 telegraphists.

LAW AND JUSTICE—COURT HOUSES—ACCOMMODATION FOR PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in reference to the Report of the Committee on the accommodation for prisoners awaiting trial, Whether he is aware that some of the worst of the cases referred to in that Report were taken from the Ninth Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year ended 31st March, 1886; and, whether, having regard to the urgent importance of this matter, to the length of time since the Report of the Prison Commissioners, and to the fact that no evidence has yet been laid before the

House as to the action of Local Authorities, he will either re-consider his decision not to print the Correspondence between the Home Office and the Local Authorities on this subject, or else consent to lay a Memorandum upon the Table of the House briefly stating what has been done, or what engagements have been made by the Local Authorities as regards the worst cases referred to?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, the correspondence with Local Authorities in reference to the accommodation for untried prisoners was still going on. Defects in some Court Houses had been remedied, and alterations were in progress in others, or under consideration. On the whole, it might be said that Local Authorities had the matter well in hand; and he hoped, before the Session closed, to present a Memorandum summarizing the result.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—LOUGH ERNE DRAINAGE WORKS.

MR. W. REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, in view of the great importance of completing the Lough Erne Drainage Works, the Government will favourably receive any application that may be made for the advance of a further sum of money necessary to finish the undertaking?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am informed that the application for an additional loan is at present before the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, and until I receive their Report I cannot express an opinion upon the question.

MR. W. REDMOND: In consequence of the answer of the hon. Gentleman, I wish to give Notice that I shall support the Bill for granting additional time and money for the completion of the Lough Erne drainage works, which I consider most necessary and calculated to do much good.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS—CARDIFF TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANK.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the omission by the Trustees of the Cardiff Savings Bank, year after year, of the sums in excess of £200 standing to the credit of depositors, in the annual statement made by them to the National Debt Commissioners; whether the Government will, as far as practicable, correct any errors in amounts and totals in consequence of this omission in the next Return presented to Parliament; and, whether the Government will now state when the measure they have promised to introduce, in order to secure a full inquiry into this matter, will be laid before this House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): My attention has been called to this omission; but I am afraid that the National Debt Commissioners have no legal power to do what the hon. Member wishes. They can only present the Returns furnished to them by the Trustees. In reply to the hon. Member's third Question, I have to say that the Bill is already drafted, and will be introduced in a few days.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman could state the extent to which the omissions went, and whether they, in effect, invalidated the Returns?

MR. GOSCHEN remarked that the omissions from the Return were somewhat serious, and the Government were looking into the whole of the matter, which was one of very considerable importance.

THE METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—DEFICIENCY OF HORSES.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, as representing the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether attention will be given to the insufficiency of the number of horses kept at the Central Fire Brigade Establishment at Southwark, and the other fire engine stations in the Metropolis; and, what steps are proposed to be taken by the Board of Works to remedy the deficiency?

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): Arising out of this Question, I beg to ask, whether the Government will give facilities for the discussion of a Bill relating to the Metropolitan Board of Works' Fire Brigade Expenses, which has been promoted by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and which was introduced in 1884, in 1886, and also in the present Session?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Since my hon. Friend gave Notice of his Question the First Commissioner of Works has undertaken to inquire into the alleged insufficiency of horses in the Fire Brigade. With regard to the other Question, I must ask for Notice.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—LOCAL ADMINISTRATION—LEGISLATION.

MR. SALT (Stafford) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in order to facilitate the passing of the Bill relating to Local Administration, he will, in addition to a Boundaries Commission, provide for inquiry by Royal Commission, or otherwise, concerning the indebtedness of Local Authorities, and also into the method of estimates, collection, and publication of accounts relating to local expenditure in all its branches?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): Information as to the indebtedness of the Local Authorities will be found in the Local Taxation Returns. The questions as to the arrangements for the estimates for and the collection of rates will necessarily be considered in connection with the Local Government Bill; but it does not appear to me that it will be requisite to provide for inquiry by a Royal Commission, or otherwise, as to these matters.

POLICE FORCE ENFRANCHISEMENT ACT—REGISTRATION.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, under the provisions of the new Police Force Enfranchisement Act, police constables will be entitled to be placed on the Register this year?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): If the Question of the hon. Member refers to the Register which came in force on the 1st of January, 1887, police-constables are not entitled now to be placed upon the Register unless their names are already there. If their names are already upon the Register they will be entitled to vote. They will, in my opinion, be entitled to be placed upon the Register which will be the subject of revision in the autumn of this year, and which comes into force in the year 1888.

THE NEW BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

MR. HOBHOUSE (Somerset, E.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he intends to confine the inquiries of the new Boundary Commission to the cases in which unions and other Local Government areas overlap counties, or will extend it to all cases of overlapping areas; and, whether he will consider the advisability of directing the Commissioners to prepare maps showing the various overlapping Poor Law, Highway, Sanitary, and Petty Sessional areas throughout the country, or in specimen counties, so as to provide Parliament with adequate information to deal, next Session, with the question of new Local Government areas?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): It is intended to limit the inquiry by the Boundary Commissioners to cases in which Unions, sanitary districts, and parishes overlap the county boundaries, and where municipal boroughs and urban sanitary districts are not conterminous. It is not at present proposed to direct the Commission to prepare maps of the several areas which, although overlapping each other, do not overlap the county boundary.

MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If a decision has been arrived at in the case of Sir John Pope Hennessy with reference to his proceedings as Governor of Mauritius; whether he can now state it to the House; and, if it is intended to lay the Papers on the matter upon the Table?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): After careful and anxious study of the Report of Sir Hercules Robinson—to whose ability and impartiality in conducting this painful inquiry I desire to bear testimony—after reading all the voluminous evidence given before him, after hearing Sir John Pope Hennessy's explanations for seven days, and reading the papers which he prepared in his defence, I have decided, though not without hesitation, that sufficient cause has not been shown to justify my advising Her Majesty to remove Sir John

Pope Hennessy from the office of Governor of Mauritius. With the permission of the House I will read the two concluding paragraphs of my despatch, which will be published in the Colony, and which I propose to lay on the Table of the House to-morrow—

> "I do not conceal from myself that much will depend upon the attitude and line of conduct which Sir John Pope Hennessy adopts on his return to the Colony; but I trust that this investigation will show him the absolute necessity of maintaining a strict impartiality, and of giving a careful consideration to the claims and interests of all persons, whether opposed to his policy or advocating it. I shall enforce upon him the necessity of working cordially with those who hold office under him, and of subordinating his own personal views, religious or political, to the general good of the Colony; and, on the other hand, I confidently expect that, notwithstanding all that has passed, those who hold office under him will in future give him a loyal and generous support.
>
> "If all parties meet in this spirit it may be hoped that the unfortunate differences which have so materially affected the welfare of the Colony may cease, and that general confidence in the Administration may be again restored. I have, &c."

I am quite aware of the difficulty that must be felt in appreciating the full bearing of certain parts of this despatch, as reference is necessarily made in it to the Report of Sir Hercules Robinson; and I have carefully considered the question of laying other Papers before the House; but I have arrived at the conclusion, in which I trust the House will concur, that in the best interests of the Colony, and of all parties concerned, it is inexpedient to present more than my public despatch. In the course of this lengthened investigation charges were brought against officials and other persons which have not weighed with me in the consideration of the case, as to a great degree they were collateral to the main issues; but which it would be unfair to those persons to publish until they had had an opportunity of meeting them with denials or explanations. This fact in itself would render present publication undesirable; but I may add that I strongly deprecate publication, even at a later date, as it would tend to keep alive those differences and that bitterness of spirit which have unfortunately prevailed in the Colony, and which everyone must earnestly desire to remove who wishes for the peace and welfare of the Colony, and for a return of confidence in the Administration.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): What about Mr. Clifford Lloyd?

Mr. HANBURY (Preston): Does the right hon. Gentleman think that full justice will be done by the mere announcement of his decision; and is there any precedent for a decision of this kind being arrived at *in camerâ* by a Minister without full details being laid before the country?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND: I can only repeat the arguments I have already stated against the publication of Papers. I am not aware of any precedent upon this point. The case is a peculiar one; and my desire is to preserve, as far as possible, the peace of the Colony.

Mr. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): To whom is the despatch addressed?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND: It is addressed to the officer administering the government of the Mauritius.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Do the allusions in the right hon. Gentleman's answer referring to the official cover Mr. Clifford Lloyd?

Sir HENRY HOLLAND: I would respectfully suggest that hon. Gentlemen should read my despatch, which will be presented, I hope, to-morrow, before they ask any further Questions. I may add, however, as mention has been made of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, that he will not return to the Mauritius.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E): Have the salutary admonitions contained in the right hon. Gentleman's despatch received the assent of the Cabinet, and will they also be addressed nearer home?

[No reply.]

CRIME (IRELAND)—STATISTICS, 1886.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table of the House any particulars of information which support the statement made by him that the serious offences reported in Ireland for the year 1886 were 767 in number?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.): The statement that 767 serious offences occurred in 1886 is erroneous. I am not perfectly sure I made this statement;

but as it is reported in *The Times* [Mr. GLADSTONE: And other papers], and as I find that in the Memorandum from which I quoted the figures occur in another connection in close contiguity to the true figure, it is most probable that while hastily quoting in the course of my speech I inadvertently read to the House the wrong number. The true number is 632, and this was the number which I had present to my mind in replying to the right hon. Gentleman, and was the number upon which I based my argument. The right hon. Gentleman will be able to satisfy himself of this if he refers to my speech, in which I summed up the argument thus:—

> "The contention of the right hon. Gentleman amounts to this—that in 1870 an amount of crime not much more than half what it is now was not to be tolerated; but that now, when this House has been occupied in passing measure after measure for the amelioration of Ireland, we are quietly to acquiesce in a state of things incomparably worse than the right hon. Gentleman supposed that he was justified in legislating for in 1870."

The right hon. Gentleman will notice that if I based this argument upon the figures 767 which I inadvertently used I should have been able to say—and it would have been for the interest of my argument to say—that the amount of crime before 1870 was less than half what it is now, instead of saying that it was not much more than half.

WAR OFFICE (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARMS OF THE ENGLISH, IRISH, AND SCOTCH MILITIA.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If the Irish Militia, armed with the Snider (Converted Enfield) rifle, have to compete in the inter-regimental rifle matches on the same footing as the English and Scotch Militia armed with the Martini-Henry; and, if so, whether any allowance will be made to the Irish Militia in consequence of their being armed with an inferior and practically obsolete weapon; and, whether there is any intention to arm the Irish Militia similarly to the English and Scotch?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The rifle matches referred to are not under the control of the War Office; but I am not aware that the Irish Militia is restricted in these matches to the use of an inferior weapon. Martini-Henry rifles are ready for issue to the Irish Militia; but as the regiments are now, for the most part, out for training, the Military Authorities in Ireland prefer that the exchange of arms should not take place till this training shall have been completed.

CRIMINAL LUNATIC ASYLUMS (ENGLAND AND IRELAND)—COMPARATIVE PAY.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the scale of pay and the scale of allowances is lower in the Irish than in the English Criminal Lunatic Asylums?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) in reply, said he was unable to institute comparison as regards salaries between English and Irish Criminal Lunatic Asylums; but salaries were paid according to the circumstances of each asylum. With regard to Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, the pay of officials had been increased from time to time.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ORDINANCES IN THE COLONIES.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will state to the House the course which Her Majesty's Government have taken with respect to the Contagious Diseases Ordinances in the Colonies and Possessions of this country, with the results of any action which they may have taken?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The Colonies in which Contagious Diseases Ordinances were in force in October last were Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Labuan, Ceylon, Hong Kong, the Straits Settlements, Malta, and Fiji. In Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbadoes, repealing laws have been passed, which have been confirmed. In Labuan the Ordinances have been suspended, and their repeal has been ordered. In Ceylon, Hong Kong, and the Straits Settlements the Governors have been directed to introduce measures repealing the Ordinances; but there has not yet been sufficient time to carry out the instructions. In the case of Malta, the Governor has been instructed to invite the Council to follow the example of the United Kingdom in this matter. In Fiji, in view of the special circumstances affecting the health of the native population, and especially in consequence of the coolie immigration from India, I have decided not to press for the immediate repeal of the Ordinances. In the case of Gibraltar, where there is no Ordinance, the Governor has been directed to put an end to the system of the examination of women. In St. Helena the Ordinance of 1865 was allowed to lapse in 1879. I should add that I believe that there is no law or regulation on the subject in Mauritius; but the hon. Member having expressed his opinion that there is such a law, an inquiry was made by my Predecessor, to which no reply has yet been received. I will make further inquiry.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER AT BORRIS-IN-OSSORY, QUEEN'S CO.

Mr. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's County, Ossory) asked the Postmaster General, Whether an emergency man named Thomas Tynan has been appointed to the office of postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County; whether Tynan is advanced in years, and is with difficulty learning the art of telegraphy; whether a number of suitable candidates, including the widow of a policeman, applied for the office, but were rejected; whether, before the appointment was sanctioned, a Memorial praying that a more suitable person might be selected was presented to the Department; whether this Memorial was signed by 155 householders, all residing in the district, including the parish priest, the Catholic curate, and two Poor Law Guardians; whether the prayer of the Memoralists was refused; and, if so, on what grounds; and, whether he will inform the House on the recommendation of what persons residing in the locality the nomination was made?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): As I explained to the hon. Member on the 13th of May, the nomination to the appointment of postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory rests with the Lords of the Treasury, who nominated Thomas Tynan. I have no knowledge of the comparative merits of any other candidates, as all correspondence and Memorials on such subjects are referred to the Treasury. I made careful inquiry in regard to Tynan's fitness, and I satisfied myself that there were not sufficient grounds for rejecting the nomination, and accordingly gave directions that it should be proceeded with.

Mr. W. A. MACDONALD said, as the appointment had been made, would the right hon. Gentleman give an assurance that the son of the postmaster, who had been convicted and sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment for robbery, would not be permitted to take any part in the business of the local post office on behalf of his father?

Mr. RAIKES said, he was sorry the hon. Gentleman should have revived that story. For a very small theft the son had received the exemplary punishment of 15 months' imprisonment some years ago; and as he had left the country and was at present in California, he had no intention of returning to Ireland.

WAR OFFICE—MEDICAL OFFICERS IN CORK BARRACKS.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the usual number of medical officers available for duty in the Cork Barracks; what was the number on the roll on the 30th of May; what is the daily number of patients occupying beds in the Cork Military Hospital; whether it is a fact that on or about the date mentionod the surgeons were only obliged to go on orderly duty every twelfth day; what is the usual term of rotation; and, what has hitherto been the usual complement of medical officers at that station?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The reduction in the troops in Egypt has resulted in a temporary excess of medical officers in various military districts, of which Cork is one, and all military medical officers not exclusively employed in the station hospital are available for duty in barracks. The number on the roll at Cork on the 30th of May was 14, of whom two were on leave; and on the same date there were 80 sick in the station hospital. It is the practice to place one medical officer on orderly duty each day, so that with 12 officers available the turn of each would come round every 12th day. The usual term of rotation depends on the number of officers, which for Cork (exclusive of Cork Harbour) is eight.

The other officers, although not on duty, are all employed. I may add that, in consequence of the present temporary excess, admission to the medical staff has been suspended until the supernumeraries are absorbed.

ADMIRALTY — THE COASTGUARD IN THE SOUTH OF IRELAND — H.M.S. "SHANNON."

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If it is a fact that a number of coastguards, stationed in the South of Ireland, latterly received orders to join H.M.S. *Shannon*, as part of her crew, on the 5th instant; whether 21 of these men, coastguards from the Cork district, after answering the summons, on arriving on board were then informed their services were not required; whether these men's fares and return fares are to be paid by the Admiralty; and, what individual is responsible for the alleged blunder?

The FIRST LORD (Lord George Hamilton) (Middlesex, Ealing) in reply, said, H.M.S. *Shannon* had left port; and until she arrived again, in the course of a few days, no answer could be obtained to the Question of the hon. Gentleman.

WAR OFFICE—THE GARRISON CHAPLAIN IN CORK.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Secretary of State for War, What is the salary paid the Garrison Chaplin in Cork; whether it is a fact that the capitation pay of the Roman Catholic clergyman who officiates as chaplain only averages £80 per annum; whether a Protestant local parish clergyman receives £150 a-year for assisting the Protestant Garrison Chaplain; whether the duties to be performed by a clergyman in receipt of capitation pay include (in addition to the Sunday services) baptisms, churchings, and funerals, attending the sick in hospitals and reading prayers with the convalescents, giving special religious instruction to the children and drummers every week, and attending to the religious instruction and welfare of troops, including officers; whether the Roman Catholic Chaplain is expected to be, and has always been, a clergyman of standing and experience; whether the Roman Catholic Chaplains at Dublin, Buttevant, and Spike are exclusively employed in the performance of similar duties, and what remuneration is given each of them; and, whether steps will be taken to give the Roman Catholic Chaplain to the Cork Garrison adequate pay, an allowance for quarters in vicinity of the barracks, and thus enable him to devote his exclusive attention to his duties as chaplain?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The Church of England Garrison Chaplain at Cork is a commissioned chaplain, and as such receives 17*s*. 6*d*. a day for pay, besides allowances. He is assisted by an officiating chaplain at £3 a week, who discharges the duties at Ballincollig and at the Military Prison, Cork. The officiating Roman Catholic clergyman is, under the Royal Warrant, paid by a capitation rate on the number of Catholics in the command. Last year the payment amounted to £82. There is also a Roman Catholic clergyman at Ballincollig, paid at capitation rates; and another at Cork Military Prison on £35 a-year. Officiating clergymen are appointed on the recommendation of the officer commanding at the station, and their duties are as stated in the Question. There are five Roman Catholic clergymen employed in Dublin, three on capitation rates, and two with £150 and £100 a-year respectively. At Buttevant the remuneration is by capitation, and in Spike Island the pay is £100 a-year. These clergymen are not exclusively employed.

Dr. TANNER asked, was it not a fact that the number of Roman Catholics varied according to the regiments stationed in Cork; and as the Roman Catholic clergyman was obliged to reside a considerable distance away would it not be better to give him a grant of money to enable him to live nearer the scene of his duties?

[No reply.]

STATE OF IRELAND—ORANGE PROCESSION FROM PORTADOWN.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that on Sunday the 10th July a number of Orangemen from Portadown proceeded to Drumoree Church near the town; whether they marched through the Catholic quarter of the town protected by police; whether during the service a portion of the congregation who came out attacked the orchard of a respectable Catholic farmer, named Patrick O'Connor; whether he was subsequently attacked by the mob and severely injured; and, why was it that the police escort did not interfere to preserve law and order, and prevent the attack?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) in reply, said, he had caused local inquiries to be made, and had not yet received an answer.

THE MAGISTRACY (ENGLAND AND WALES)—LIST OF NOMINEES FOR THE NEW BOROUGH BENCH.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a letter sent by the Lord Chancellor to the Town Clerk of West Ham, enclosing a list of gentlemen whose names, his Lordship says, have been submitted to him to form the new Borough Bench of Magistrates; by whom was such list submitted to the Lord Chancellor; and, whether, of the 14 names enclosed, only three are those of Liberals, and seven only those of residents in the borough?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, it was not a fact that only three of the 14 gentlemen whose names were submitted were Liberals. All the gentlemen were the occupiers of houses, warehouses, or other property in the Borough. There was no reason to suppose that politics had anything to do with the appointments made. It was not the practice of the Lord Chancellor to disclose the name of his informant in such matters.

WALES—CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, In what towns in Wales are Civil Service examinations held?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Candidates in open competitions are, under existing Regulations, examined in Wales for the following situations:—At Swansea, for situations as out-door officer of Customs; at Cardiff, for situations as assistants of Excise; at Pembroke, for appointments as Dockyard apprentices.

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF THE THAMES.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the stench from the River Thames round the Isle of Dogs has, during the last few days, been almost intolerable; and, what steps he proposes to take to remedy this dangerous nuisance?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the clerk to the Metropolitan Board of Works that no complaints have been made to the Board as to stench from the Thames round the Isle of Dogs; but that possibly the recent great heat and the absence of rain may have combined to render the state of the river less satisfactory than it should be. He further states that the Metropolitan Board is doing its best to deodorize the sewage at the outfalls, so that there may be no nuisance from that source. I have, on more than one occasion, directed the attention of the Board to this important subject, which is under their exclusive control.

COLONEL MAKINS (Essex, S.E.) asked, whether it was not a fact that the sluices at the northern outfall were sometimes open before the tide ceased to flow, so that the sewage went up the river instead of down.

MR. MATTHEWS: I am not aware of the fact; I have furnished all the information which has been given to me.

COLONEL MAKINS: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire into the matter?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

POST OFFICE—CONVEYANCE OF MAILS TO AUSTRALIA AND THE EAST *vià* CANADA.

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the Government intends to afford any assistance and facilities for the conveyance of mails to Australia and the East by any Canadian route?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): All that I can at present say, in reply to my hon. Friend, is that I am in communication with my Colleagues on the subject, and that the matter is engaging the serious attention of Her Majesty's Government. I need hardly add how much gratified I shall be if any arrangement for an improved mail service to Japan and China should be found practicable.

POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND)—THE ENNISTYMON UNION.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) (for Mr. JORDAN) (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the Correspondence and dispute between the Local Government Board of Ireland and the Board of Guardians of the Ennistymon Union, County Clare, in reference to, and arising out of, the appointment to the Protestant Episcopal Chaplaincy of the Ennistymon Workhouse of the Rev. J. J. Cooke, at a salary of £10 per annum, on his personal application, and in direct opposition to the remonstrances and Resolutions of the Board of Guardians of the Ennistymon Union of the 2nd June, 1885, 16th June, 1885, 11th July, 1885, 16th November, 1886, 14th December, 1886, 21st December, 1886, 4th January, 1887, and 31st May, 1887, and to the reply of the Local Government Board, by letter dated 27th July, 1885, refusing to take any steps at present to fill up the vacancy; whether he is aware that the grounds on which the Guardians insisted that no permanent chaplain should be appointed, and to which the Local Government Board then assented, were that there were no Protestants in their workhouse; that there were few in the union; that the services of the late chaplain during nine years were never called for; and that the Guardians proposed that, should it happen that any casual Protestant required clerical ministrations, they were prepared to pay the Rev. J. J. Cooke a capitation grant of 10*s*. per head for his services; whether he is aware that the Board of Guardians have agreed with the Report of a Committee appointed by them condemning the appointment; and, whether, in view of the whole circumstances of the case, he will advise the Local Government Board to reconsider their recent action in this matter, with a view of annulling an appointment considered by the Board of Guardians to be a sinecure and an unnecessary tax on the ratepayers of their union?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he believed the facts were substantially as stated in the Question. The wish of the Guardians to pay for occasional services, instead of paying a fixed salary, was a very reasonable one; and the only reason why the Local Government Board declined to accede to it was that they were advised they had no legal powers to do so. As it appeared to him the Guardians were very reasonable in the matter he would make further inquiries.

EXCISE (SCOTLAND) — ILLEGAL SEARCHING AT SLUMBAY.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether, on the 8th of May last, the supervisor of the Lochcarron district, along with his men, and aided by the local police, forcibly entered and searched the house of David Polson, of Slumbay, without having a magistrate's warrant to do so; whether a warrant was granted for searching the house of Duncan Macdonald, Slumbay, on that date; whether, on the 14th May, a warrant was granted to search the houses of both these men; whether he is aware that the Inland Revenue Board has refused to censure its officer for this act of alleged illegality, and referred Polson to the Court of Session if he felt aggrieved; and, whether the Government will cause an inquiry into the matter?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The answer to the first and second questions is "No." A warrant, applicable to the premises of Duncan Macdonald, was obtained on the 7th of May, and the search was made there on that day. The answer to the third question is "Yes." No complaint was made to the Board of Inland Revenue, and the Board has not refused to censure its officers. The Board did not refer Polson to the Court of Session if he felt aggrieved. The only communication received by the Board was from Polson's solicitor, stating that he was instructed to raise an action; and on receiving notice of the question inquiry was made, with the result stated.

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether Sir Henry Drummond Wolff has yet received his final instructions to quit Constantinople; and, if so, for what day his departure stands fixed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I can add nothing to the distinct statement which I made in answer to the hon. Gentleman last Tuesday. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff intends to leave Constantinople on Saturday next.

MR. BRYCE: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he would give a more specific answer to the particular point of my Question, which is—Has Sir Henry Drummond Wolff now received his final instructions, or is it intended to give him fresh instructions?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I have stated to the House exactly how the matter stands. I have stated that it is not intended that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's stay shall be prolonged, and that he intends to leave on Saturday. To ask any further Question on the point is pressing me rather unduly.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Before the Diplomatic Vote is taken in Supply, can the right hon. Gentleman furnish the House with the total expenditure connected with this Mission?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I am afraid I cannot furnish the House with a more definite statement than that which I gave the other night, because the accounts of the last half-year will not be audited by that time. I have stated to the House that the accounts up to the end of last year amounted to £22,500; and we have reason to believe that up to the present time the expense will not be more than £800 a-month.

MR. BRYCE: As I have no desire to press my right hon. Friend unduly, perhaps he will allow me—and perhaps the House will allow me—to say that I now understand him to mean—[*Cries of* "Order!"]—I only ask—I now understand him to mean that he has instructed Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to leave on Saturday?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I must ask my hon. Friend to understand simply what I have already said, and which is perfectly clear.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—ORANGE POLITICAL MEETINGS.

MR. W. REDMOND (Fermanagh, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Post Office officials in Ireland are prohibited from taking part in Orange political meetings; and, if not, whether the Government will cause this to be done?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Question is not one for the Irish Government. It would be more properly put to the Postmaster General.

MR. W. REDMOND: I beg to put the Question to the Postmaster General.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Officers in the Post Office are prohibited from exerting their influence either for or against any political candidate for election as a Member of Parliament; but no prohibition against their being present at ordinary political meetings has hitherto been enforced. If any complaint were made in respect to such conduct on their part in any particular case, he should be guided in his action by the consideration of the character and objects of the meeting.

MR. W. REDMOND: Then I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether it is open for Post Office officials to attend Orange political demonstrations for the purpose of insulting the Catholic and National portion of the population; and if it is not open to officials to do so, whether he will inquire into the case of a Post Office official, Creswell, at Enniskillen, who turned up in Orange regalia at an Orange meeting and joined in insulting the Catholic and National people?

MR. RAIKES: I will be happy to make inquiries in any particular case if the hon. Gentleman gives me the particulars.

MR. W. REDMOND: I shall give the particulars to the right hon. Gentleman.

LAW AND POLICE—THE BOLTON RIOTS—IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN LABOUR.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether information has reached him that the Bolton riots were caused through the importation of foreign labour, in competition with British workmen; if so, whether he will consider the advisability of introducing legislation on the subjects?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have no information that the strike was caused by the importation of foreign labour; but I have reason to believe that some irritation has since been caused by the arrival in the town of labourers from a distance. The Government are considering the question of the importation of foreign paupers, and that will involve the consideration of the question of the importation of foreign labour.

LAW AND POLICE—ARREST OF MISS CASS—MR. NEWTON, MARLBOROUGH STREET POLICE COURT.

MR. HENEAGE (Great Grimsby) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he will be in a position to inform the House of the decision of the Lord Chancellor on the conduct of Mr. Newton in the hearing of the charge made against Miss Cass at the Marlborough Street Police Court, on the 29th of June; and, whether the Lord Chancellor has been furnished with a copy of the evidence taken before Sir Charles Warren, so far as it relates to what took place in the police court and the conduct of Mr. Newton?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Lord Chancellor thinks it would be very inconvenient at the present time to say more than that he is carefully inquiring into the matter, and that his decision will be communicated as soon as it is arrived at. He is also unwilling, during the progress of the inquiry, to make any statement as to the sources of information which he considers it desirable to consult.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) also asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether, pending the inquiry into the case of Miss Cass, it is the intention of the Lord Chancellor to take any action with regard to the position of Mr. Newton, the police magistrate?

MR. MATTHEWS: The Lord Chancellor is of opinion that it would be impossible for him to determine as to any action to be taken before his own inquiry is complete. I am unable to say whether he will think it necessary to await the result of the inquiry into the conduct of the police constable.

MR. CONYBEARE wanted to know whether there was any reason why the superior people should not be suspended as well as the inferior—in other words, if the police constable was suspended, why not the magistrate?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he knew of no reason. He had endeavoured to answer the Question on the Paper.

SCOTCH FISHERY BOARD—THE REPORT—BEAM-TRAWLING IN ABERDEEN BAY.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the Lord Advocate, When the Annual Report of the Scotch Fishery Board, now upon the Table, will be printed; and, whether he is aware that the Aberdeen Bay was opened for beam-trawling on the application of one St. Andrews trawler and a single Company in Grantown only, notwithstanding the unanimous remonstrance of all practical line fishermen in the Aberdeen district? I would also ask the Lord Advocate, as arising out of his answer to another Question, if he does not answer in this House for the Secretary of Scotland, who does?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The Report is in the hands of the printers, and I am unable at present to say how soon it will be ready for circulation; but I hope the delay will not be long. In regard to the second part of the Question, I beg to refer the hon. Member to the answer I gave him on the 4th of July, when he asked the reasons why the bye-law prohibiting trawling in Aberdeen Bay was revoked. In reference to the last Question of the hon. Member, my reason for not answering any Question about neglect of duty by the Secretary for Scotland is that I do not think it would be becoming in me, as a junior official to him, to enter into such a matter. As such junior official, it is also not my duty to state who is to answer Questions in reference to such fault imputed to the Secretary for Scotland.

BURMAH—THE RUBY MINES.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware of the date of the permit granted by Mr. Crosthwaite to Mr. Streeter, junior, to enter and work the Ruby Mines; whether he will inform the House of the date when Mr. Crosthwaite's Report that he had issued such permit was received at the India Office; whether he will cause an investigation to be made among the officials of the India Office to ascertain the truth, or otherwise, of the current statement that certain of these officials possessed a knowledge of the fact that such permit had been issued prior to the 7th July instant; and, whether he is aware of the names of the persons interested with Mr. Streeter, junior, in the aforesaid permit, and will place the House is possession of this information?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State is not aware of the exact date of the permit granted to Mr. Streeter, junior. It does not, however, appear to be a permit to enter and work the mines, but to dig for rubies on the old system without the use of machinery. Mr. Crosthwaite's Report was received on Friday, July 8, after office hours. I read it to the House on Tuesday, as I was absent from the House on Monday. The Secretary of State, on seeing the Question, made inquiry, but cannot learn that there is any foundation whatever for the statement as to the officials of the India Office. The Secretary of State has no knowledge of the persons interested with Mr. Streeter in the permit. I may, perhaps, be allowed to say that the Papers have only just arrived at the India Office; and I hope the House will not expect me to reply to any Question which is not in the interests of the Public Service.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Does the hon. Gentleman mean that Papers dated as far back as January and February, 1886, have only just arrived at the India Office?

SIR JOHN GORST: That is rather a matter of debate than a Question. Negotiations in connection with these matters have been going on with the local Government in Burmah for a great number of months past; and the whole matter, as I have repeatedly explained, has now been referred to the Secretary of State in Council for their decision. Papers will be in the hands of hon. Members in a few days, and then would be the time for the hon. Member to raise any objection.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I raised no question of debate. I asked the hon. Gentleman whether it was a fact that Papers dated January and February, 1886, had only just arrived?

[No reply.]

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE—MEDALS FOR THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, How many medals are to be provided for the Metropolitan Police; and, what is the estimated cost?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that the number of medals to be distributed would be between 13,000 and 14,000. The estimated cost had not yet been finally settled with the Mint Authorities.

MR. PICKERSGILL asked, whether the Metropolitan Police Fund was not partly made up from public taxes and partly from Metropolitan rates; and, if so, by what authority it was proposed to use part of that fund to buy Jubilee medals?

MR. MATTHEWS asked for Notice of the Question.

RUSSIA—ARREST OF MR. DILLON, A BRITISH SUBJECT, IN ODESSA.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has received any information in relation to the arrest of Mr. Dillon, a British subject, in Odessa?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No information has been received at the Foreign Office in respect to such an arrest.

MR. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman make some inquiries, because the gentleman referred to telegraphed to me yesterday asking me to bring his arrest before the House?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: If the hon. Gentleman lets me know the particulars of the case I will inquire into it. The Foreign Office is not informed of the arrest of any British subject in a foreign country unless there is something peculiar in the case.

STREET IMPROVEMENTS (METROPOLIS)—STEPS OF ST. MARTIN-IN-THE FIELDS.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK (Whitehaven) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he has approved the plan promoted by the Metropolitan Board of Works for altering the steps of the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University), in reply, said, that no such plans had been submitted to him by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and he was not aware of any such plan at present. He had no authority whatever in the matter.

LAW AND JUSTICE—APPOINTMENT IN THE PROBATE COURT, MANCHESTER.

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that Mr. A. B. Stallman Bridgeman, a late clerk in the London Registry of the Probate Court, has been appointed by Sir James Hannen to the office of Registrar of the District Registry of the Probate Court at Manchester; whether there are solicitors in Manchester capable of filling the office competently, and more, if a solicitor were not to be appointed, whether there was already a fully competent official of 30 years' experience on the spot having the requisite statutory qualifications and the full confidence of the profession in and about the neighbourhood of Manchester; whether the Registrar of the Probate Court at Manchester has to assist the Registrar of the High Court; and, whether Mr. A. B. S. Bridgeman has the necessary qualifications therefor?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Sir James Hannen has not appointed Mr. A. B. Stallman Bridgeman to the office of District Probate Registrar at Manchester; but he has appointed Mr. Bridgeman Simpson, a late clerk in the London Probate Registry. The appointment was made because Sir James Hannen considered Mr. Bridgeman Simpson the fittest man he could select, having regard to Mr. Simpson's long experience in the London Office. It was considered that this experience would enable him better to discharge the duties than a solicitor or the chief clerk in the District Registry. If Mr. Simpson should have to assist the Registrar of the High Court Sir James Hannen has no doubt that he will be found to have the necessary qualifications.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—"SOLICITATIONS" IN THE PUBLIC STREETS.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following statements, made by Mr. Willey, of the firm of Howell and James, at the meeting of Regent Street shopkeepers, held on 7th July:—

> "But, if you are going to deal with this question, it is impossible to restrict your attention to one sex only. It was not the women, but the men, who were the cause of most of the evil in Regent Street. It was a shame the way in which innocent women and girls were hunted through the streets by well-dressed scoundrels. A case had occurred, within his own knowledge, in which a virtuous and respectable young girl was tracked from Regent Circus to Charing Cross Station by a man who persistently molested her until she reached Charing Cross, where her brother was waiting for her; there was another case, in which a young *employé* of his had been tracked down the street to his place of business by 'a perfect gentleman;'"

whether it is known to the authorities that cases of solicitation and annoyance by men against perfectly respectable women, in all ranks of life, are of every day occurrence, and that they cannot be punished, because solicitation by a man is not an offence against the law; and, whether the Government will bring in and press a Bill to make the law against solicitation equal for men and women?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am afraid that cases such as those described do occur in very large towns and escape punishment because of the difficulty that has always been felt in framing any law to meet the evil. Even in the case of women, solicitation is not an offence. The law only strikes at the public nuisance of a common prostitute exercising her calling in public thoroughfares to the annoyance of inhabitants or passengers. The Government are most desirous to abate the grave scandal to which attention has been drawn, and are considering whether it would be practicable to institute legislation against solicitation, by either men or women, for immoral purposes in the public streets. The hon. Member is, no doubt, aware of the failure of the attempted legislation of 1885; but that will not in the least discourage the Government in their present attempts.

LUNACY ACTS AMENDMENT BILL—LEGISLATION.

Mr. SALT (Stafford) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he intends to proceed further with the Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill; and, if so, whether he intends also to introduce and to pass a Lunacy Law Consolidation Bill during the present Session, since considerable inconvenience may arise from the addition of many new and important provisions to the Statute Law without a general consolidation of the laws relating to lunacy?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, it would be a matter for great regret if the Bill did not pass this Session; but it was in the hands of the House.

THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE—ADDRESS TO HER MAJESTY FROM THE LADIES OF THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE.

Mr. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following announcement in *The Morning Post* of the 11th July:—

> "The Primrose League.
>
> "The Duchess of Marlborough, as acting President of the Executive Committee of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League, had the honour of an audience of the Queen at Windsor Castle, on Thursday last, to present to Her Majesty the subjoined congratulatory address:—
>
> "'To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty:
>
> "'May it please Your Majesty, we, the members of the Ladies' Grand Council of the Primrose League, humbly approach Your Majesty and crave permission respectfully to tender our loyal and dutiful congratulations on the auspicious completion of the 50th year of your glorious reign.
>
> "'We earnestly pray that it may please Almighty God long to spare Your Majesty to the many and various races of your vast Empire, which have so greatly prospered under your beneficent rule.
>
> "'Signed on behalf of the said Ladies' Grand Council by the Presidents, Vice Presidents, and members of the Executive Committee;'"

and, whether it is in accordance with Constitutional usage for addresses to be received from recognized Political Associations?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): It is quite in accordance with Constitutional usage for all Associations, political or otherwise, to present addresses of congratulation to Her Majesty, provided that no debatable or contentious political matter is introduced into such addresses. Numerous examples of such addresses from Associations of all shades of politics have occurred. No exception could be taken to the language of the address from the Primrose League.

Mr. P. STANHOPE: Will the right hon. Gentleman quote any single precedent to justify his statement?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I will endeavour to furnish the hon. Gentleman with examples.

PUBLIC BUSINESS — THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will make arrangements for suspending the third reading of the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill in the other House of Parliament until opportunity shall have been afforded to that House of discussing and deciding upon any Amendments which may be made to the Irish Land Law Bill by the House of Commons?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I am unable to enter into any arrangement with the right hon. Gentleman of the character suggested.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—EVICTIONS ON THE BROOKE ESTATE, COOLGREANY, CO. WEXFORD.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): On Tuesday I asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether his attention had been directed to the burning of a house during the evictions on the Brooke estate? I wish, as a further Question on the same matter, to ask him, Whether his attention has been directed to a paragraph in the letter of a correspondent in *The Pall Mall Gazette* this evening, that—

> "Pat Grennell, the tenant, swore that he was concealed in his own house when he heard a voice say three times, 'Put the match to it,' and that, being then in fear of being burnt alive,

he cried 'Police,' and that police came and dragged him out. Robert Hart swore that while concealed in the orchard, 12 yards from tho house, he saw Captain Hamilton go through the motion of rubbing a match upon his leg, then step upon some old timber, lift the edge of the thatch, insert something, press the thatch down again, and that a few seconds afterwards fire burst out from the place. Matthew Curran swore the same, so did Bartholomew Kavanagh, and several witnesses heard a constable exclaim with an oath, 'Hamilton has set fire to the house;'"

whether these facts occurred before the Sheriff had taken possession of the house; and whether, in spite of this testimony, Captain Slacke, R.M., said the Government would not prosecute, and would not issue a warrant for the arrest of Captain Hamilton?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): If the hon. Gentleman had given me any Notice of this Question I would have brought down the actual words of the information in the telegram I have received on this subject. I understand there was no injury done and no hardship inflicted by the burning of the house on any individual; and it was not known whether the burning was the result of accident or not. With regard to the authority which the hon. Gentleman has quoted, if the correspondent is the same gentleman who was correspondent for *The Pall Mall Gazette* at Bodyke, the fact of his holding a certain opinion is no ground why it should be entertained by anybody else.

MR. DILLON: The right hon. Gentleman says there was no hardship inflicted on any individual by the burning of the house. He has not answered my Question, whether the house burned was the tenant's house, and whether the Sheriff had taken possession? He has cast doubt on the credibility of my witness; but he has abstained from answering the Question. ["Order!"] Surely I am entitled to an answer to a Question on a very important matter. I ask him whether it is true, as stated by this correspondent, that these men came forward, and are prepared to swear to the facts I have read; and that the Resident Magistrate refused to give an opportunity to investigate the matter, and stated the Government would not prosecute?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I gave the hon. Member all the information in my power; he gave me no Notice, and, therefore, I cannot supplement the answer. I must point out, however, that, as in the case of Bodyke, a large number of pure fabrications were sent over to this country—[Mr. T. M. HEALY: What were they?]—and Questions asked about them in the House of Commons, and as even the most ingenious Resident Magistrate cannot foresee what particular story will be the subject of inquiry, it is impossible, without Notice, for those responsible in this House for the conduct of Irish affairs to keep themselves abreast of every Question which hon. Gentlemen may ask. But if the hon. Member will put down his Question I will endeavour to make myself acquainted with the facts.

MR. DILLON: I will put the Question down for Monday.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): The right hon. Gentleman has said the reports that came from Bodyke were fabrications. I wish to say that I was all through the eviction campaign and that every one of them was true.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the stories were more a fabrication than the story of the Galway midwife?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) asked, if the Government could state, presuming that the second reading of the Irish Land Law Bill would be got rid of to-night, what Estimates would be taken in Supply, and whether a Vote on Account would be taken?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Assuming that the Irish Land Law Bill is read a second time to-night, it is intended to proceed with Supply to-morrow at a Morning Sitting, and to ask for a Vote on Account for the remaining Civil Service Votes. It is absolutely necessary that we should obtain a Vote on Account for these Services without further delay. It is then intended to proceed with Supply—the ordinary Civil Service Supply—to-morrow at the 9 o'clock Sitting. It is proposed to take the Navy Estimates on Monday next; to deal with Supply on Tuesday and Wednesday; and to go into Committee on the Irish Land Law Bill on Thursday; so that there will be an interval of a week for hon. Gentlemen, if they think fit, to put down Amendments.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he could lay on the Table that evening his proposals with regard to the glebe purchasers and the purchasers under the "Bright Clauses" of the Land Act of 1881, so that the Irish Members might have an opportunity of consulting the people in Ireland who were interested in these matters?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he could not put the proposals down for a few days; but would do so as soon as possible.

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Vote on Account would cover the current expenses of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): The Vote on Account must make provision for the Civil Services for a month or five weeks; but I am not aware whether it will include the current expenses of the Mission. But, under any circumstances, there will be a substantive Vote on the Mission—within a very short interval of time—when the subject to which the hon. Member refers can be raised.

In reply to Mr. Bryce,

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, E.) said, it was impossible, without reference to the Account Department, to say whether the Vote for Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission was exhausted or not; but he certainly would inform the First Lord of the Treasury before the Vote on Account came on.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, he would endeavour to give the House as much information as he could in the course of the evening; but it was not possible to give an answer off-hand to the Question.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth) asked, when this Bill would be taken?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster) said, he was under an engagement not to take the Bill on Friday. It might be done; but he promised the hon. Member to give good Notice of the day on which the Bill was proposed to be taken, with the view of concluding the Committee on the Bill. He hoped hon. Gentlemen who were interested in the meausure would confer with the Home Secretary with the view of decreasing the number of Amendments on the Bill, and so save the time of the House.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY BILL.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, Whether the Government had definitely abandoned the idea of introducing the Employers' Liability Bill this Session?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I am not in a position to say so.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL—THE DEBATE OF JULY 12—CORRECTION.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) said, when he spoke in the debate on the Irish Land Law Bill, he mentioned that, along with the hon. Member for South Derry (Mr. Lea), he received a Resolution in favour of the second reading of the Irish Land Law Bill from the Ulster Tenants' Defence Association. He received the Resolution just before entering the House; but he now found that it was from a Special Committee, composed mainly of prominent members of that Association, and not from the Association itself.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL [*Lords*].

[Bill 308.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [11th July], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to Land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for affording such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act,"—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): Mr. Speaker, as I have not ventured this Session to address the House at any length, or, indeed, at all with any observations on Irish affairs, and finding the House once more in consideration of the Irish Land Question—which is to me not altogether unfamiliar ground—I hope I may, without undue presumption, ask the indulgence of the House for a brief period while I offer some observations on the subject. In the first place, I would make, with some boldness, this proposition, that we have, in our dealings with Irish land, arrived at a very critical period. We have before us an opportunity, which Parliament may or may not be able to avail itself of; but it does appear to me that we have arrived at a point where the roads seem to part, and where it is possible for Parliament to follow the road of inaction, or of failure to legislate with regard to the Irish Land Question—a road which, I believe, will lead to immeasurable tumult and immeasurable disorder in Ireland—a state of things in which the last state of Ireland will be worse than the first. Or we may be able to follow now a road which, if wisely followed and adhered to, might lead to the amelioration and to a vast improvement of agricultural affairs in Ireland. In these matters, we should be careful to avoid, as far as possible, unnecessary conflict; and it is for that reason—viewing the situation in Ireland at the present moment and the surrounding circumstances—that I respectfully, but very earnestly, deprecate the Amendment which has been brought before the House by the right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). It appears to me that that Amendment raises altogether a false issue, and does what I both deplore and deprecate—that is, it raises unnecessary conflict, and it forces Parties in this House to range themselves on this question in sharp opposition; and I fancy the general disposition of the House to be not to so range itself. What is the principle of the Bill? On that principle, I imagine, there will be considerable agreement. I take that principle to be this—that it is absolutely necessary in the interests of Ireland and of the United Kingdom generally that relief should be afforded by legislation to the tenants of Ireland, and that that relief should take the form of remedying those defects and applying those shortcomings which have been proved, and are admitted to be proved, to exist in the working of the Land Act of 1881. I will make one general assumption, which will be the foundation of all that will follow in what I say. It may be considered a large assumption. I think it is undeniable that there is a general desire among all Parties to find some way, if possible, of coming together in order to ameliorate the condition of the Irish tenants. That, I take it, is the position of the Government; and I say it is absolutely certain that it must be the desire of the Government. It is absolutely idle, and seems to me almost extravagant to impute to the Government bad motives, want of intentions, and want of *bona fides* in this matter. I appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite, if there is any method conceivable to the mind which would more alleviate the anxieties of the Government, and more remove difficulties from their path, than legislation that might be satisfactory to the Irish tenants. I come now to the regular Opposition, and I cannot for a moment suppose that it would be disagreeable to them—on the contrary, I think it would be agreeable—that the defects and shortcomings of that great Act of 1881, where those defects are proved, should be remedied and settled in a manner agreeable to the wishes of the Irish tenantry. Well, then, I come to the Irish Party; and of this I am perfectly certain, that whatever may be their views with regard to the future government of Ireland, whatever may be their views as to the nature of the treatment which that question has received from this side of the House, still, when they remember how critical is the condition amongst the tenants of Ireland, and how greatly the Irish tenantry are supposed to be in their charge and under their protection they will dismiss from their minds every thought but one—how they can extract from the general wisdom and desire of Parliament such a settlement as may improve the condition of those whom they think look for protection and support. Therefore, I do not think it is an extravagant proposition when I say that the foundation of my observations will be that there is a general desire on the part of the House to provide a satisfactory settlement of this matter—a Parliamentary settlement of this matter, rather than by a Party settlement. That being so, I pause for one moment to allude to the attitude of the Irish Members, as it seems to be supplied in the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) on Tuesday; and I would address, in view of what I have already said, a remonstrance to the hon. Member with regard to a certain line of observation which he made. He quoted from Lord Salisbury's speech a passage in which Lord Salisbury invited from all quarters comments, advice, and Amendments—[Mr. DILLON: Stated that he had invited.] Yes; but the hon. Member said that Lord Salisbury did not invite comments and advice from the Irish Members. Well, I can see nothing in the speech of Lord Salisbury on this question, and I am sure there was nothing in the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) the other night, that should give any cause whatever for the hon. Member to suppose that the advice and opinions of the Irish Members on the Irish Land Question would not be received with attention by the Government. I am sure of this, though I do not profess to have any knowledge whatever of the feelings of the Government, except what I have gathered from their attitude and their speeches in this House, that, whatever the feelings of the Government may be on the matter, I am quite certain that there are very many Members on this side of the House who are not prepared to allow the heated controversies upon this great question in which we have been engaged to disturb their minds to such an extent as to prevent them from hearing with attention, and receiving with all care and consideration, the opinions and proposals for the relief of the Irish tenants which may emanate from those whose authority and experience on the subject qualify them to offer suggestions to Parliament. At the same time, I am bound to say this—that I think it is only due to the House and to themselves that the Irish Members should, on this very difficult question, make suggestions of a much more definite character than any which they have yet made to the House. There is one very disagreeable and gloomy feature in the situation, and that is the time of year at which we have arrived. Now, this is the situation. We have, it seems to me, reached a period of the year at which anything like prolonged controversy has become almost impossible. There is an absolute necessity for the Government—a necessity even *in limine*—to legislate on the subject of Irish land before the Session closes. That necessity is imposed upon them, not only by their pledges, but by their official responsibilities. I can imagine no more terrible and odious task than for the Irish Government to have to administer the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill, which has passed through this House, and is now in the other House of Parliament, unless the administration of it is made easier by the passing of a measure for the redress of the grievances of the Irish tenants; and, therefore, even having regard to the administration of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill itself, it is almost absolutely and imperatively necessary for the Government now to legislate on the subject of Irish land; yet I admit that I think that the Government are to be commended for having adhered so frankly and faithfully to the pledges which they gave some time ago with respect to the settlement of the question, because one could hardly imagine a stronger temptation than that which is presented to a Government to shirk a labour of this kind at this time of the year, and to delay the fulfilment of their pledges. But that temptation has been resisted, and for that, I think, some measure of praise is due to the Government. But while this imperative necessity for legislation on the Irish Land Question exists, another inexorable fact imposes a limit upon our legislation on the matter, and that is the period of the Session which we have reached. We have come to a time of the Session when, I assert with considerable confidence, it is not within the range of physical possibility that hotly contested and hotly opposed legislation should be carried through Parliament. The legislation which Government can carry through Parliament at this time of the year may be beneficial in the highest degree, but I think it must be legislation in its nature and essence, founded upon the consent and agreement of all Parties; and it does not appear to me possible for the majority of this House, with regard to the question of Irish land, or, perhaps with regard to any other legislative question, to impose its will upon a strongly resisting minority. But I am not at all clear that it would be advisable to do so, even if it were possible. Perhaps the great fault of the Land Act of 1881 and the origin of all the difficulties under it, arises from the fact that it was forced upon the Conservative minority and also upon the Irish minority by the great strength of the Liberal Party of that day. Therefore, whether having regard to what is physically possible, or to what is politically expedient, legislation as to the Irish Land Question must, as far as possible, be founded upon the agreement and consent of all Parties in this House. May I then be allowed to examine very cursorily and very rapidly the clauses of the Bill in the light of the reasonable probability which exists as to that general assent and agreement being arrived at. And I do not hold that I am departing from the custom of the House in giving a cursory examination to the clauses of the Bill, viewing them collectively and separately, as the second reading is practically the only occasion on which such an examination can be made by a Member of Parliament. If, then, I glance as rapidly as I can at the clauses in order to discover the possibility of agreement, I find as follows:—The 1st clause received a good deal of approval from the hon. Member for East Mayo and the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), both of whom are specially tenants' Representatives; but both of them object to the restriction upon Clause 1. I find no difficulty whatever in agreeing with those hon. Members in their objection to those restrictions. In agreeing with their objection, I am only agreeing with many Irish landlords and Members of the House of Lords; and as we have it now admitted that a great mistake was made in the Land Act of 1881 by excluding leaseholders from the operation of that Act, I think that our reparation for that mistake should be full and complete. And as a reparation we should not endeavour to mar the effect of this Bill, or to spoil its general operation by restrictions which do not seem to rest on any strong or solid ground. If you are redressing grievances among the people, there is no greater mistake than the one which this House has often made, but which I hope in this instance it will cease to make, to give with one hand and to withhold with another; and I am told on high authority that if the restrictions on Clause 1 are maintained by Parliament, the effect would be to exclude almost half of the leaseholders of Ireland from the operation of the Bill. That, I believe, would certainly not fulfil the intention of Parliament, or of the Government; and I feel confident that after discussion in this House and in Committee there will be no difficulty in arriving at agreement on that point—at least, I cannot imagine why there should be any. Then, as to Clause 2, that is altogether approved by hon. Members opposite, and to Clause 3 much the same remark applies. Now we come to Clause 4. Here I differ from a Gentleman of great authority, the hon. Member for South Tyrone; but I am not impressed with the benefits of Clause 4. I have the greatest possible doubt whether that clause will work in the way that I am certain the Government wish it to work. I am aware that the defence of that clause by the Government is not only an honest and a genuine, but a very plausible defence; but, at the same time, I should greatly fear to entrust, not to Irish landlords, but to their land agents and attorneys, the powers that would be given by that clause. I would only put one question to my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury on this point. I put it especially to him, because I understand that he will represent the Government in the debate to-night, and because I know to my certain knowledge that he is more acquainted with Irish matters than any of the Colleagues who sit round him. Surely it is within the knowledge of many hon. Members opposite, and of many on this side of the House, that the First Lord of the Treasury has for years paid a close attention to the Irish Land Question. Therefore, I put this question to the right hon. Gentleman that he may judge, in the only way that he can, not only as to the merits, but the dangers of Clause 4. What would the state of Ireland be at the present moment if, in the course of the last autumn and winter, Clause 4 had been the law of the land? I have little doubt that the state of things would have been this—that one-quarter, or perhaps one-half, of the tenantry of Ireland would have been caretakers at present; and the great remissions of rent which have been made by the landlords would probably not have been made, because of the irresistible pressure that would have been put upon them by their agents or their attorneys if Clause 4 of this Bill had been the law. The state of things would have been appalling, and such as one dreads to contemplate. Whether the First Lord of the Treasury agrees with me in that or not, it is evident that Clause 4 will be hotly opposed, and would lead to protracted controversy. I could not, therefore, find it in my power to condemn severely any protracted opposition to the clause, which seems to me to come within that category of legislation which it is not in the limits of physical possibility to proceed with at this period of the year. For that reason alone, I would counsel the Government again to examine with great closeness and minuteness the operation of the clause, and take advice from disinterested quarters, and, if possible, to lighten the Bill—as they undoubtedly will to a most considerable extent—by omitting that clause from the Bill altogether. The First Lord of the Treasury will observe that Clause 4 is a very long clause. It takes up two whole pages of the Bill. Therefore, my advice to him is to come to a conclusion with regard to it, and I think my advice is really practicable, when I counsel that the Government, if they possibly can come to that conclusion, should withdraw it. I now come to Clause 5, as to which there is no opposition, and which is a beneficial clause. Clause 6 also excites no opposition, but as to which the hon. Member for South Tyrone, with a great deal of justice, urged the extension of its operations. I do not think that this is a matter which will excite prolonged controversy in the House. It may be carried out without exciting Party heat. Clauses 7 up to 19 are clauses connected with the purchase of land, and I do not imagine that these clauses will excite any hostility at at. As to Clause 19 I have a word to say. I object to it, not on the grounds put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite, but for economical reasons. I suppose that in it you take powers to strengthen the Court of Appeal. I am not taking objection to that. You propose to add three new Members to the Court. Well, I suppose the object is to enable the Court of Appeal to overtake the arrears of appeals which come before it. But what do I find in Ireland? I find arrears of official business which ought to be dealt with undoubtedly; but, looking at it from a purely economic view, I think it is very advisable that the arrears should not be allowed to accumulate, but they ought to be dealt with by the present judicial staff, which is now largely underworked and largely overmanned. I feel strongly about it, and I say this—if you have judicial arrears you ought to apply your judicial staff which is underworked and over-manned, and your appointments of three or four new men will be unnecessary. And another thing to be considered in this connection is, that you will relieve the Lord Lieutenant and the Irish Government and Dublin Castle from the task, which they cannot undertake without exciting the greatest amount of criticism and hostility. I do not believe also that it is in the power of this Front Bench, or of that Front Bench if they were in Office, to strengthen the Court of Appeal by fresh appointments from one political Party or the other, without calling down upon either Party the fiercest condemnation from rival Parties in Ireland. I urge the Government, therefore, to consider whether, in the amending of this clause, they cannot make a considerable saving in utilizing the superfluous and superabundant strength of the Irish Judicial Bench. So much for Clause 19. Now, I come to a clause which gives me a little pleasure—Clause 20; and here I really cannot refrain from giving a little nudge and a pinch to my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, I think, must have slumbered soundly when the clause was put into the Bill. I invite the Chancellor of the Exchequer's special attention to it. I invite him to contrast it with the sub-section introduced into the Land Act of 1881. I invite him to estimate the total amount of unnecessary charge which it will put on the public. When he has done that, then I am perfectly certain that I have said all that is necessary, and that he, being the vigilant guardian of the public purse, will come down to the House and propose himself to omit Clause 20 from the Bill. It is unnecessary to detain the House on that point. I come next to Clause 21, and I again advise the Government to reconsider their position with regard to this clause; because I believe that if they do consider that position, they will come to the conclusion that they will do more injustice than justice by pressing the clause. I expect you will find, in cases where an Irish landlord has lands unlet, in innumerable cases it will be impossible to relieve him from the charges of management, and if you cannot relieve him you have no right to relieve him from the rates for local expenses. But I wish to remind the Government, and especially the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that the Skye landlords were in almost an analogous difficulty to the Irish landlords. In many cases they got no rent for their farms for a very long time, and when they thought of refusing to pay the local rates, not only did the Government come down upon the Skye landlords with all the powers of the law, but they were told that the proposal to relieve them from the rates was perfectly ridiculous and absurd. They were ordered to pay them, or to submit to the penalty of non-payment. I see no reason why you should extend to the Irish landlords a totally different and a much more favourable treatment than was extended to the Skye landlords, and only a very short time ago. As to this Clause 21, I would say that it seems to be a clause which is likely to excite such long discussion, and to arouse such strong opposition, that unless the Government are of opinion that its provisions are absolutely dictated by the highest possible principles, they would do wisely to omit it from the Bill. Now I come to Clause 22, which provides for conferring on County Court Judges large powers of equitable jurisdiction with regard to claims by landlords for arrears of rent, and I am bound to say that I find this a most valuable clause, and much more valuable than the Irish Members seem to think. It is valuable for three reasons. In the first place, the application of the clause must tend to diminish harsh and unreasonable evictions. I believe that most of the evictions in Ireland take place for arrears of rent for two or more years; and, therefore, to arrest evictions on the ground of non-payment of arrears of rent is most valuable. But the clause is most valuable, also, because it gives to the County Court Judges the power to make an equitable composition. [*Home Rule cries of* "No, no!"] I think it does. It gives them very great power indeed with regard to spreading payment over a very long period, and this practically amounts to a composition for arrears. It is also extremely valuable because it affords to the House a basis for the expansion of its provisions. Allow me to pass from that. Then I come to clauses—no less than 10 of them—of great length, which provide for relief being given to certain tenants in Ireland by means of proceedings in bankruptcy. I hope that hon. Members opposite will not think that any remarks I make on this subject are prompted by a spirit by which really they are not dictated, and will not twist or distort them from the purpose to which they are directed. I conceive that no more difficult subject could well come before a Government than the question of how they might most speedily and effectually remove the present difficulties in Ireland. I can imagine that the Government, balancing one proposition with another, might light on a proposal which, at first sight, might not command the assent either of the House or of the country, and I cannot admit that any blame attaches to the Government in this matter, even if these clauses should not receive the assent of Parliament, or even if Parliament should put pressure upon the Government to alter them. With regard to these clauses I must say I see immense difficulties, and, subject to the maturer and better judgment of the Government, there appear to me to be objections to them altogether insurmountable. My chief objection is based upon the morality—or rather, I should say, the immorality—of driving or inducing a large portion of the community to have recourse to bankruptcy for relief from their debts. Undoubtedly, a great deal of our legislation in regard to Ireland has not been directed to raising the fibre and strengthening the character of the people. [“Hear, hear!” *from the Treasury Bench.*] Ah, but you who have made that objection —with which I entirely agree—are you taking steps to formulate legislation of a different kind? Are you quite certain that, by these 10 clauses, you are not doing more to lower the moral tone of the Irish people, when you invite them, as it were, into the Court of Bankruptcy? That is an objection which has been taken before; but it is an objection to a plan which, if passed, may have disastrous consequences to the moral tone of the people. But there are other objections to the clauses. I take it that these clauses must produce an innumerable mass of litigation. Think how much more prosperous and how much better cultivated Ireland would have been if you could get back from the lawyers the thousands and tens of thousands of pounds which in recent years have flowed from the pockets of the tenants and the landlords into the pockets of the lawyers. That is a stupendous matter. Is it not time to be extremely careful about taking any steps in Ireland which shall promote a great additional mass of litigation? Not only do you provide that any number of tenants almost can have recourse to these bankruptcy proceedings, but you admit an appeal in each single proceeding. That alone will give to the House an idea of what is likely to be the mass of litigation which will arise in the course of these proceedings. Then look at the machinery. Again, I cannot help referring to my economical grounds. Again, I cannot help thinking that the Chancellor of the Exchequer slumbered whilst this Bill was being drawn. Look at the army of officials it is proposed to create. Under Clause 26 you give to the Irish Lord Chancellor a power which I would give to no Irishman, and certainly not to an Irish Lord Chancellor—namely, the power to employ almost any number of briefless barristers, who will undoubtedly be highly paid, to assist the County Court Judges. More than that, under Clause 31 you give the Land Commission power to create a whole army of valuers, who may be paid what the Treasury thinks fit, and I know how impotent the Treasury is to limit their remuneration. Whether on the ground of this unnecessary public expenditure, whether on the ground of the strong temptations to jobbery and improper appointments, which you offer to a system which is not able to resist temptation of that character, I say, on one of these grounds or another, even if there were no other objection to the Bankruptcy Clauses, almost insurmountable objections can be raised against them. Then, as far as I can make out, under Clause 25 you propose that the County Court Judge shall be responsible in the minutest detail for the agricultural management of thousands and tens of thousands of acres of Irish land. Power is also given to the Official Assignee to interfere with the holding for 18 months. Now, can anything be more preposterous than that you should place in the hands of the County Court Judges the agricultural management of innumerable holdings, and that you should expect in such circumstances that agriculture could possibly flourish? Then look at the enormous temptations you offer to fraud. I see endless openings to collusion between landlord and tenant—endless inducements to both tenants and landlords to act in collusion in order to mislead the Courts of Justice which you have created. That is a very simple, and everyone will come to the conclusion that it is an extremely probable, result. There is one more objection—there are hundreds, but I will not dare to mention them all—and the one other objection I wish to mention is the utter want of finality about the Bill. What is going to be done at the end of 18 months? As far as I can make out, at the end of 18 months, even suppose your Bankruptcy Clauses come into operation, and can be carried out in the way you suggest—at the end of those 18 months, during which the Official Assignee will have in his possession the resources of the tenant, the state of things will be fifty or a hundred times worse than it is now. Yes; there can be no doubt that during that time an immense proportion of the resources of the tenants of Ireland will be in the hands of the Official Assignees. How, then, at the end of that period, can the tenant be in a better position than he was before? He must be in an infinitely worse position, and the object of your Bill, which is to put the tenant in a better position at the end of the 18 months, will not be attained. Then the Chief Secretary for Ireland said, and rightly enough, that the Government look upon this Bill as only a temporary Bill, and, in fact, as a *modus vivendi*, until a much larger Bill of Purchase shall be brought into operation. Now, I do not believe there is any question more full of inextricable complications, more large, more widespreading, more likely to arouse the fiercest Party conflicts in this House, than the question of Land Purchase in Ireland. It is, I think, a question which must not only be brought before Parliament, but which will involve the fate of more than one Government and possibly of more than one Parliament. Are you wise in thinking, and in basing your proposal on the thought, that it will be sufficient to legislate for 18 months, and that at the end of 18 months your larger measure will come into operation? That appears to me extremely dangerous, and therefore I do not think the House ought to be guided for one moment in considering this Bill by the fact that a larger Bill may come into operation. There is another point. I spoke of the large numbers who will take advantage of this Bill, and I am completely confirmed in that view, not only by the machinery, the vast machinery, which the Government have proposed for dealing with a number of cases likely to come into Court, but also by the speech of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) the other night. So far as I can recollect the speech, it was to the effect that there were 200,000 tenants who had had their rents fixed, of whom a large number were on the brink of insolvency. My noble Friend said that you must provide some machinery which will not only free them from their debts to their landlord, but also from their debts to their other creditors. It is obvious that the noble Lord contemplated that the large number of 200,000 will come into the Court of Bankruptcy. But suppose there are only two-thirds of this number? Then some 150,000 tenants will have recourse to the Court of Bankruptcy. Further, as far as I read the Bill, I am distrustful of every limitation. Other tenants beside those who have had their rents fixed can go to the Bankruptcy Court, and there is no reason why 300,000 tenants should not have recourse to it. Mark also what inducements you offer them to do so, for you relieve them not only of their debts to the landlords, but of all their debts. Further, you put a premium upon the tenants who come into bankruptcy and you put a penalty on the tenants who keep out. You say that in the course of next year you are going to bring in a great Purchase Bill which will settle the Irish Land Question. But when you bring in that Bill, it is quite on the cards that then half the tenants of Ireland will be in the throes and agonies of bankruptcy. How can you propose an advance of public money, for that must be made under a Bill of this description, on any reasonable basis to an enormous number of people whom by your legislation you have invited to come into bankruptcy? It seems to me you are endeavouring—only the assumption is too absurd—to build up a great system of national credit upon a widespread foundation of national insolvency. Now, there was a proposal with respect to bankruptcy which came before me last year. It was a proposal which I understood at the time and still believe originated with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). But it was a very different proposal from the present one, though even then I did not see my way to agree to it. I understood the proposal to be this—that certain provisions for the relief of debtors which are sometimes acted on in this country might be extended with benefit to certain of the smaller tenants of Ireland in such a way that the name and stigma of bankruptcy should not necessarily apply. But it was very different from the proposals in the present Bill. Certainly, I do not see the objections which my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland sees to it. My right hon. Friend says that we could not grant the tenants relief without attaching to them the stigma of bankruptcy, and the reason he gives is that such a course has not been pursued in any other country in the world. Well, that is the oddest reason for any Minister to give for not doing a certain thing in regard to Ireland that I ever heard. I think there was a good deal to be said for the proposal, though I also see some objections to it. Why not? Look at your dealings with Irish land, and tell me whether in any country in the world you can point to any analogous proceedings to those of the last 10 years with regard to Irish land? It is no argument at all, if the suggestion is good, to say that it cannot be tried because it has not been attempted before. However, in any case, I think there would be considerable objection to a proceeding of that kind. I come now to what appears to me to be the enormous difficulty of the situation, to those Members, at any rate, who wish to see a satisfactory settlement arrived at. Our difficulty is this—there is no alternative proposal. The Bankruptcy Clauses, to use an expression which has become classical, "hold the field." If you omit your Bankruptcy Clauses and do not expand Clause 21, your Bill will not afford any adequate relief to the Irish tenants. If some substitute is not suggested, your time will have been altogether wasted, and Parliament will have made another abortive effort. I say, moreover, that it is absolutely impossible for a private Member to suggest an alternative proposal. What is it that makes it almost an act of folly on the part of private Members to suggest any alternative proposal? That impossibility arises from the constant attitude of the Irish Members on these questions—an attitude which I will venture, I hope without exciting their indignation, to describe. The Irish Members have a way of coming down to the House and stating Irish grievances with great force and colour; those grievances lose nothing at their hands, except, perhaps, some of that close communication with fact which the statement of a grievance ought to maintain. Their case is generally stated with immense force and colour, but with great exaggeration, and English Members on both sides of the House are generally ready to admit that there is a great deal of truth in the grievances laid before the House. But what happens? English Members are foolish enough, unwise enough, inexperienced enough to admit the grievance, and they submit a remedy; the admittance of the grievance is seized upon, but the remedy is denounced as ridiculous and absurd, with all the Parliamentary force of the Irish Party. The admission of the grievance is not only seized upon and made much of, but it is used against you, sometimes with most terrible and fatal consequences. I would illustrate that assertion by what occurred when the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) declared that no settlement of the Irish Land Question could be of the smallest value unless a general admission were made that all prices had fallen, and that no Bill could have the smallest effect on the land difficulty that does not reduce the judicial rents 40 or 50 per cent.

MR. DILLON: I made no such statement; I said nothing that could bear such an interpretation. I only said that the hon. Member for West Birmingham had understated the extent of the Irish grievances.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I apologize to the House for having misrepresented the hon. Member. I am delighted that he should correct me in the manner which he did. I only intended to use what I thought was a fair and correct illustration, to show the uselessness of making alternative proposals for the remedy of Irish grievances. I would suggest, acting upon what I said before, that I think it their duty to make definite suggestions upon the point. I say this—suppose the Irish Members were, on their own authority and responsibility, to suggest such an expansion of Clause 21—[*Cries of* "Clause 22"]—well, the Equitable Jurisdiction Clause—as would give to the Judge not only the power of dealing with rents, but of composing rents, and replacing on an equitable footing rents fixed before; well, no one could prophesy what would take place. I would not be so foolish or presumptuous as to prophesy what would be the fate of such a proposal; but of this I am sure—that it would not only commend itself to the very careful consideration of the House, but would, if election were permitted between it and the proposals of the Government, outweigh and outbalance and displace the Bankruptcy Clauses. What would be the effect of that? Why, the Bill would be lightened by one-half; the Bankruptcy Clauses, which must inevitably excite not only doubt and distrust, but protracted opposition, would disappear from the Bill, and the Committee upon the measure would be immeasurably relieved. But we have no such proposition before us, and the fact is that the clause, which must excite doubt and distrust, is without alternative. I will now indulge in another proposition. I suppose a suggestion that, in view of the great and general grievances, recognized in the House on all sides, a certain fall in prices had rendered a certain number of rents unfair, instead of fair—I suppose that in view of that fact, and in order to alleviate the suffering of the Irish tenantry, and to reduce the mass of litigation which must arise, Irish Members should suggest that power should be given to a Land Court to review generally certain rents all over Ireland, on a large scale, according to the different counties, and to make an order that certain reductions should take place, counterbalancing the fall of prices which is admitted to have occurred, and giving as a safeguard to the landlords the power of showing cause before the County Court Judge or Court of Appeal why the reduction should not operate upon a particular holding. Such a course, I think, would not be impracticable, although, of course, great objection could be raised against it. But I take this course and compare it with the Bankruptcy Clauses, and I have no hesitation in saying that it would be far superior to the proceedings under the clauses which I have named. But we have no alternative put before us by hon. Members from Ireland, or from any other quarter, which will allow us to deal with it; and I say that, viewing the necessity for legislation, the imperative necessity which is imposed upon the Government to give relief to the Irish tenants, if no alternative proposal, backed up by sufficient authority, is made, I shall be forced, greatly as I dislike the Bankruptcy Clauses, and insurmountable as are my objections to them, to vote for those clauses, rather than run the risk of giving no relief at all to the tenants. That I find to be the position, and I think it is really worthy of the consideration of the House, if the object be to establish some large, complete, and final settlement—some settlement which, at any rate, shall be final as far as the fixing of rent is concerned. I have only one more point to bring before the House. I hold very strongly indeed that the time has arrived and is propitious for taking into consideration the position of the Irish landlords as affected by the former Land Laws, and by the proposed laws of the present day. I do think there is a general and widespread opinion on both sides of the House that it would not be inequitable or unreasonable or impolitic for the House to consider the position of the Irish landlords as affected by the legal reductions of rent—their position, I mean, in connection with settlements and mortgages. I wish to press most urgently upon the Government the adoption of some such course as that. Of course, it could not be carried through in the face of hostile and bitter opposition; but the Government, I think, might well test the temper of the House upon the point. Could they not devise and put into the Bill some clause giving power to the Land Court to review, with a large, equitable jurisdiction, the charges and mortgages on an estate on which there have been judicial reductions of rent? Could they not give that Court the power to make certain reductions in the charges and mortgages, which should be in proportion with the reduction of rents forcibly effected by Parliament? I make that suggestion in the interest not only of the Irish landlords, but also of the Irish community at large. It is not to our interest, nor is it our business, to ruin and extirpate the Irish landlords; neither is it the business of hon. Members opposite to fleece, and ruin, and extirpate the landlords, who might, in certain circumstances, some day be a class doing incalculable benefit and good to Ireland. If, therefore, you are determined to pursue a course of legislation which will give substantial relief to the Irish tenant, you would be wrong and unwise and unjust if you left out of your calculations the demand for relief of the Irish landlord. Those are the observations which I wish to address to the House, and I wish to thank hon. Gentlemen for having allowed me to make them. I hope that I have not in any way added to the difficulty of the situation. My one object and desire has been to mitigate, at least, if I cannot entirely clear away, all difficulties, so far as I am able, because I believe that if the House of Commons can pass a Bill which shall deal effectually with the most pressing grievances of the Irish Land Question it will do more to secure tranquillity and order in Ireland than could be done by any other Bill which the human mind can devise.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): We have listened to a most interesting and instructive and, I will venture to say, most satisfactory speech. If we were asked to give a second reading to the Bill drafted by the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) I think there would be no opposition. The noble Lord has invited the expression of the views of the Government upon the statement which he has made, and we await that expression with the greatest interest. If they are prepared to accept—I do not say in every detail, but in the main—the doctrines laid down for their guidance by the noble Lord, I am quite sure that there will be no disposition to oppose the second reading of the Bill. The noble Lord has performed, with all the skill of a first-rate surgeon, a capital operation upon the Bill of the Government. The operation was performed under chloroform, but there were not wanting signs towards the end that the effects of the anæsthetic were wearing off. He has cut off every member of this measure; he has eviscerated it and re-stuffed it with a great deal of new and good material. He has told us that he expects to find a convert in the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), who is the only one of his former Colleagues who he thinks knows anything about Ireland. That is, after all, not unnatural, for the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury did once pay a visit to Ireland. As I listened to the noble Lord, the thought struck me that by some breach of confidence the Amendments that we intend moving had been communicated to him. It was a very satisfactory speech. But what a pity it is that that speech was not made last autumn.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: We had not the Report of the Commission then.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: There were persons in the House then who did know something as to the state of Ireland if he did not. We have certainly progressed since last autumn. There was then a Bill brought in which contained almost all that the noble Lord has left of this Bill. What has he left of it? I think that if Clause 1 is entirely altered so that the limitations to it are removed, and if Clause 22 is made entirely different to what it is, and if all the Bankruptcy Clauses are cut out, and if something proposed by the Irish Members be put in, then the noble Lord is prepared to recommend this Bill. The noble Lord has invited and almost implored the advice of the Irish Members. I am glad to hear that language from the noble Lord, and I will not say of him what I am obliged to say of the Government—that by every form of calumny and insult they have rejected and repudiated the advice of the Irish Members. It signifies not on what question it be—whether on the political or land government of Ireland—if the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) or any one of his Party make suggestions the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), or the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) jump up, and with their organ, *The Times* newspaper, give but one answer —"You are the companions of assassins." It is upon that assertion that you are trying to win public support, and that you are losing it. Last autumn the hon. Member for Cork introduced a Bill that would have admitted 100,000 leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act. [Mr. T. W. Russell: No.] The hon. Member for South Tyrone denounced that Bill.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I opposed it just because it did not do that.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Bill distinctly provided for the admission of leaseholders, and if the hon. Member objected to some of the other details he could have endeavoured to amend the Bill in Committee as he now proposes to do with regard to this Bill. Why is it that he takes a different course now? He has warned the Government that unless they do justice to the leaseholders Ulster will be lost to the Union. I dare say it will; but I think the hon. Member probably saw a still greater danger —namely, that he himself would be brought to the Unionist Party. How did you treat that Bill which, with your majority, you could have amended as you like? The men who now sit on the Treasury Bench denounced the Bill, and they set up the Home Secretary to state that it was not within the moral competence of an honest Parliament to meddle in any way with the settlement of 1881. The Government took up an attitude of *non possumus* and of complete refusal to modify in any way that sacred settlement. What part did the Liberal Unionists take? I heard with great satisfaction the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) the other night; but last autumn when the hon. Member for Cork's Bill was brought forward, he was basking among his flowers and in the smiles of his hon. Friend—I forget the constituency he represents—I mean the hon. Member for the three acres and a cow. The right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) was also absent, but by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) the Bill was denounced. Yet now it had been stated by two right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Treasury Bench that this Bill goes further than the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): If the right hon. Gentleman refers to me, what I said was that this Bill was more comprehensive than the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think it was the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) who made the statement I refer to. However, all this is very encouraging. It shows progress. One of these days the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, or the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, or the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, or the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, will get up and say in introducing their Home Rule Bill that it goes further than the miserable Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). Let us therefore take comfort. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that we must in considering this Bill have regard to the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and he said the landlords formed a weak and unpopular class. He added, in his usual courteous and generous spirit, that I was naturally the sworn friend of the opponents of any unpopular class. If he referred to the Government he was not far wrong. That they are an unpopular class I am not in a position to deny, and my opposition to them is quite natural. But when he says that the Irish landlords are weak I am at issue with him. They have the Government and 30,000 bayonets at their backs. They have still a giant's power, and both the Acts of 1870 and 1881 proceeded upon the basis that Parliament could not trust the Irish landlords to do justice to their tenants; that certain restrictions ought to be imposed on them; and that if due restrictions were not imposed there would inevitably be illegitimate combination on the part of the tenants. We told you last year that your refusal to legislate on the basis of the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork was the immediate cause of the Plan of Campaign, of which you complain so much. Now, how have the landlords of Ireland used their powers? I have not wantonly introduced this matter into the consideration of the Bill; but it belongs to the subject as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself says. He has started with the extraordinary theory that admitting the behaviour of the Irish landlord has been different from that of the English it is because you have put him in a different position from that of the English landlord; but before 1870 he was in the exact position of the English landlord, and it was because he had abused that power so grossly that you were compelled to pass that Act. After 1870 he used every ingenuity to defeat that measure, and when he found he was unable to confiscate the improvements of the tenants in one way he proceeded to do so in another by raising their rents. In 1881 you fixed fair rents by law, because you could not trust the Irish landlord to fix a fair rent. You gave the tenant fixity of tenure to prevent the landlord from evicting him unjustly; and you established free sale, because if you had not done so by law, then the landlord would have proceeded to take advantage of the tenant in that respect. What is the meaning of this Bill? If you can trust the Irish landlord, why are you going to re-open leases? You are not going to do it in England. Thousands of English landlords have made fair allowances to their tenants. Why do you compel the Irish landlords to have a revision of rent? Why, because you cannot trust them. Why have you got an Equity Clause? Because you cannot trust the Irish landlord. You say, when you hear of shortcomings in this Bill—"Oh, it is true we do not provide for everything, but trust the Irish landlord; you only put exceptional cases, he is sure to show mercy and to do justice." Lord Salisbury made a remark in his speech, which I think shows that frank cynicism which is characteristic of him. He said—

> "I greatly doubt whether the conduct of any large class is guided in the long run by anything but an appreciation of their own interests."

That is quite true; and it is more true of the Irish landlords than of the members of any other class. Then Lord Salisbury proceeds to show that it is to their interest to get rid of the tenants as a burdensome obligation, and then, with the utmost inconsistency, he makes this appeal—

> "I think we must look to the holders of property in Ireland from high and patriotic motives to exercise some restraint."

What is the use of making that appeal? I have on this subject the authority of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who spoke on this argument of whether abatements had been or would be made by the landlords in Ireland? What did the hon. Member for South Tyrone say? He said—

> "It was no answer to say that the case had been met by reductions given by landlords. In the South and West it was an answer where the landlords had given abatements, and where intimidation had done its work, and he thought that it was a scandal that this should be the case. Ulster was precisely the province where these reductions had not been made."

That is to say, where the National League has had the power reductions have been made; but in Ulster—loyal Ulster—where there is no fear of bad passion, where everybody is good, and peaceful, and admirable — there the landlords make no abatement. That is the testimony of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. There is one very remarkable piece of evidence which I should like to read, although I do not wish to overweight the House with quotations. Here is the evidence of Mr. Waine, who was the agent for Lord Gosford's estate, given before the Cowper Commission. I believe that Lord Gosford is not an exceptionally bad landlord, but a very fair specimen of a good Irish landlord. His agent was asked—

> "Do you think that the arrears now due are caused by any inability on the part of the tenant to pay?" Answer.—"I am afraid in many cases they are." "Have you given an abatement?" Answer.—"Not on the judicial rents since 1881."

He admits, therefore, that in many cases the tenants were incompetent to pay, and yet no reduction was given. Mr. Waine went on to say—

> "I consider it a very unwise thing for any landlord to do, because he is taken advantage of the very moment he does it. The fact of abatements having been given was mentioned in the Land Act, and I think if the landlord gives abatements now it will be said that he considered his present rent was too much, and that fact will be brought into argument when it comes to purchase."

Yes; the landlords of Ireland are screwing and keeping up rents with a view to the purchase of their estates, to which they are looking forward. That is what this means; and yet this is not the case of an exceptional landlord. Mr. Waine was asked—

> "And you do not think that the landlord should give any reduction upon the judicial rents?" Answer.—"I do not think so." Question.—"And so you think that the landlords in other parts of Ireland are acting foolishly?" Answer.—"If I was a landlord I would not do it." Question.—"Are there no landlords in your locality who have given some reductions?" Answer.—"Not a penny." Question.—"It is not customary?" Answer.—"No."

I cannot quote this evidence at length to the House, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham said he had read this evidence and had come to the conclusion that abatements had been generally made. I come to the opposite conclusion, and I say that abatements have been rare. As the hon. Member for South Tyrone tells us, they have not been made except upon the compulsion of the National League. I may be allowed to read to the House some evidence from Clare, which has been held up to the House by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as being a particularly bad county. It is the evidence given by Mr. Stacpoole, a proprietor and agent to relatives and friends in all directions in the County of Clare. He is asked—

> "Are the farmers on the estates with which you have to do receiving abatements?"

Answer.—"Where their rents were not judicial I gave them 15 per cent." Question.—"But not on the judicial rents?" Answer.—"Not on the judicial rents." Question.—"As to those who are not paying, do you think they can pay?" Answer.—"In the majority of cases I think they could pay. There are some few cases in which it is not so." Question.—"In these cases do you intend to give abatements?" Answer.—"I do not intend to give abatements on the judicial rents at all."

That is the kind of language that runs through the whole of this Report. Now, you are going to disarm the tenants by your Coercion Bill; you take from them their only protection which has enabled them to get abatements; what are you going to give them in its place? The landlords plead their poverty very much as the apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet;* but I should have more sympathy with that plea if the poverty had originated in money being borrowed on mortgage for the improvement of their estates; but in these Irish mortgages how much money has been spent upon the improvements of estates and on the welfare of the people? The landlords borrowed money for the improvement of their estates, but that money has been advanced by the tenants, whom they evict because that money has been spent. The Government talk about a great purchase scheme as a remedy for the condition of Ireland. I doubt whether any great purchase scheme ever can or will be carried in this country. For party and political purposes you fouled and poisoned that ground at the last Election. You never can have a purchase scheme which puts one single farthing upon the English Exchequer after the language you have used and the manner in which you have acted. If you are going to make a scheme of purchase out of the resources of Ireland, then, I tell you this, that if you are going to buy the land in Ireland at anything like a fair market price, the bankruptcy will not be that of bankrupt tenants, as you now propose in your Bill, but of bankrupt landlords, because, if these landlords sold at a fair price, they would not have enough to pay the charges on it, and when that comes to be felt you can only carry a Purchase Bill on those terms. Well, now, the speeches of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington just now, are only illustrations, enlargements, confirmations of the admirable speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). The objections made to this Bill may, indeed, be said to have been identical from every quarter of the House. There has not been a defence of the Bill from anybody. Where is there a person who has a word to say for the Bill as it stands? There is one point on which I will say a word. I agree with the noble Lord that the Appeal Clause is a very dangerous clause, and I hope it will be reconsidered. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland tried to fix me with some responsibility for it on account of what I had said of the treatment by the House of Lords of the Commissioners in 1882. I repeat again the censure which a great majority of this House pronounced on the conduct of the House of Lords in that matter. I say it had a most injurious effect upon the working of the Land Bill of 1881. We have had the misfortune in our land legislation that in no Bill that we had produced has the House of Lords failed to endeavour to introduce the seeds of failure, and part of that failure is due to the manner in which our Bills have been treated by the House of Lords. What did the House of Lords do? They appointed a committee of vigilance to look after the Commission. The argument upon which Lord Salisbury rested himself was this—namely, "We never understood rents were to be lowered; we never would have passed the Bill if we had thought so; and we will take as good care as we can that they shall not be." Lord Salisbury then attacked the Commissioners by name, and added—"The landlords of Ireland were plundered by the operations of a packed tribunal." But are you quite sure when you have constituted your court of appeal there may not be equally violent language used, that there may not be some who will say that the tenants are being "plundered by the operations of a packed tribunal?" What does your Friend the hon. Member for South Tyrone say with reference to these appointments of Irish officials? He says that "the recent appointments in connection with the Land Court have filled the tenants with fear and dread;" and he asks whether these appointments would be left to the "underlings of Dublin Castle, who would wreck the best Government that ever lived?" Well, there—on the Opposition Benches

— is the best Government that ever lived; they are being wrecked by the underlings of Dublin Castle. Yet the hon. Member for South Tyrone was the most constant and vehement supporter of that Coercion Bill which is to be administered by those very underlings. Those underlings are the tools of Orange landlords — all those landlords who mobbed and denounced Earl Spencer when he was in Ireland because he would not do their will—even the Chief Secretary and the Government are, where they are, very much as the agents of the Orange landlords of Ireland. Well, now, it is quite unnecessary, after the speech of the noble Lord, for me to go into details upon the clauses of the Bill, further than to express my entire concurrence in almost every sentence he expressed. It is said we want to throw out this Bill. We do not want to do anything of the kind. We have not got the power to do so even if we had the will, and we have not got the will if we had the power. First of all, technically speaking, the character of the Amendment would not throw out the Bill, but it might throw out the Government, which is a more important thing. What we want to do, in concert with the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, is to turn the Bill inside out, to make it a totally different Bill, to turn out all the bad in it, and to put into it all the good which it does not contain. For that purpose it is obvious that the Bill must be kept alive. We want to make it a just Bill, instead of an unjust Bill; a real Bill, instead of a sham Bill. Then it is asked, why do you move an Amendment? Well, everybody who has any knowledge of the House of Commons knows that you cannot have a debate in which attention will be concentrated on the leading features of a Bill unless you have Amendments; and the speeches of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and, above all, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington are a justification, in my opinion, of our having moved the Amendment. What we propose is, as regards the 1st clause, that all the limitations should be struck out, and that the operation of the clause should be in the option of the leaseholder. That makes that clause satisfactory, and, so far, so good. I doubt whether the noble Lord has left anything else alive. There are the Bankruptcy Clauses; but after the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs those clauses have been dead for some days. They died from the ridicule heaped upon them by my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] I assume the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary is a respectful mourner over these clauses. Now, if my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham were here I should have made an apology to him. He imputed to me that I had charged him with the authorship of the clauses; but to my infinite surprise the noble Lord has fixed him again with the responsibility, and I cannot reconcile the two accounts. The truth is what has happened reminds one of the plays of Sheridan, wherein he says the gipsies disfigure the children whom they have stolen in order to make them pass for their own; and so I have no doubt the gipsies of the Treasury Bench stole the Bankruptcy Clauses of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and then they disfigured them in order that they might pass them for their own. The noble Lord has alluded to the Equity Clause; but his testimony as to its merits rested rather, I think, on a misapprehension of its character.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said it was a most valuable clause. I suggested its enlargement.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I quite agree as to the enlargement. The noble Lord said it gives power to the Court to give a composition. But it gives no such power without the consent of the landlord. The equity supposes, first of all, a man who is in bad circumstances, and who cannot pay his rent—we will assume that this is one of the judicial rents which is too high—a man cannot make immediate payment, he goes into Court. What is the equity? That he shall pay the rent that is unfair in instalments. That is surely only like renewing an evil; you spread it over a time, but you do not redress the injustice. It is a farce to call that relief. The Court has no power to reduce the rent, or in any degree remove the arrears. It is obvious that will not prevent evictions at all.

If a man makes default in the instalments the eviction takes place at once; and, therefore, this so-called Equity Clause has precious little equity in it as it stands.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, rising, read as follows from the Bill:—

> "The Court may put a stay upon the execution of the judgment of the Court for such time as the Court thinks reasonable, and the Court may, if it thinks fit, order that the arrears of rent and the costs, or such sum in satisfaction thereof as may be agreed upon between the parties, shall be paid by such instalments as the Court may appoint."

I would add that it is in the power of the Court to spread the instalments over a quarter of a century.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not see what benefit it is to a man to have instalments of an unfair rent spread over a quarter of a century when that unfair rent is running *de die in diem.* We condemn it, and we propose that the Court shall have the power of fixing composition on the basis of a fair rent, and to fix a fair rent in the future. Then you will have an equitable clause. There was nothing of the kind now, and the clause will do nothing whatever to stop unjust evictions. I agree with the noble Lord in what he said about Clause 4. It is a most mischievous clause. Clause 4 is only meant to hide the scandal of not giving any redress, not to redress the evil. It is not to cure the sin; it is to avoid the shame. The consequence of it will be that notices will descend on the tenants of Ireland like flakes in a snowstorm. You will then turn all these men into caretakers at once; and then you think you have avoided English public opinion by the process. But you will not; you have to evict the caretaker in the end; it will come ultimately to eviction; you will only postpone the evil for six months; and, in the meantime, you will have encouraged people to make these evictions, relying on the facility of the process and also on the Coercion Bill; and the consequence will be, therefore, that so far from diminishing evictions, the Bill will greatly increase them. There was a portion of the noble Lord's speech which was a little less clear than the rest, and that was the part where he spoke of the Equity Clause applying to the insolvent tenant. But what has been demanded by the hon. Member for South Tyrone, the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, and the right hon. Member for Stirling District, is that you shall do something for the solvent tenant. That is what the Cowper Commission asked you to do. It was not to send the insolvent tenant into equity or bankruptcy. They wanted the man who was struggling to be honest, and who could pay, but who was greatly impoverished by excessive rent, to have some remedy, and an opportunity of getting a fair rent. It is necessary, therefore, that you should deal with these cases. Lord Dunraven stated that this Bill did nothing for the cases commented on by the Cowper Commission. The bankruptcy proposals of the Bill are so futile and ridiculous that they are not worth talking about. Are you going to stay eviction against the solvent tenant? Under your Bill you must be ruined before you help him. Injustice to this man will be greatly aggravated by what you are going to do to the leaseholders. One of the great defects of the Act of 1881, I admit, is the omission of the leaseholders. Why were they omitted? In face of your violent opposition the Bill could not carry any more weight, and the leaseholders were omitted. You are now going to give the leaseholders the benefit of the judicial rent on the fall of prices; but you leave the judicial renters, whose rent was fixed, say, a year or two ago, in a worse position than the leaseholders. On the information which has been given to me, the leaseholders will get a reduction on the present prices of something like 40 per cent. The judicial renters have had a reduction of something like 20 per cent, and if this is so, then they will be twice as badly off as the leaseholders. It is impossible that you can leave 200,000 men in Ireland with their rents fixed on the old prices, when, at the same time, you have 100,000 whose rents are fixed on the new prices. What we propose is this. Until you learn that you have to take the advice of the Irish Members you will never get on in Irish questions. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Yes; an hon. Member groans at the notion; but it is that groaning at the notion of taking the opinion of Irish Members on the Irish Land Question that has been the cause of a great deal of mischief. If you had tried to settle this Land Question according to the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, probably a better job would have been made of it than this Bill will now make, because that Bill came from persons who thoroughly understand what they want. The suggestion I have to make on behalf of my Friends is this—that you should put the leaseholders and the men whose judicial rents were fixed before the fall of prices on the same footing in respect of revision; that you should introduce a sub-section in the 1st clause, and that you should give to the leaseholders, without exception, at their option, a right to go to have their rent revised under the Act of 1881; and you should also give to the men who had their judicial rents fixed before the fall of prices the right to go in a similar manner and have their rents fixed on the present prices. That is the suggestion I have to make for the consideration of the House, and especially of the Irish Members. If you adopt it you will do what you must do in the end—put the leaseholders and the judicial renters on the same footing. If that is done, then we shall have got a satisfactory Bill. We shall have a Bill which in Clause 1 will do equal justice to the leaseholders and to the judicial renters in respect of their rents fixed before 1885, or some other date, and you will have an equitable clause with reference to the insolvent tenants who cannot pay, which will give to the Court a power of staying evictions on a fair composition, which will be based on a fair rent. If there is any disposition on the part of the Government to meet us in these matters we shall withdraw the Amendment at once. We have no desire whatever to throw obstacles in the way of the progress of this Bill.

Mr. DALRYMPLE (Ipswich): Then why this debate?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: A Member of the Government makes the remark. He is of opinion that this debate has been injurious to the progress of this Bill. I do not think he will get many hon. Gentlemen sitting on his own side of the House to agree with him. I believe that in the few days' debate on the Bill a great deal has been done in the progress of the Bill. It was only possible at this stage to take a view of the Bill as a whole. I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, in spite of the observation of the hon. Member, will agree that any time has been wasted improperly on this Bill. If time has been wasted who has it been wasted by? I suppose by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who have taken up a large part of the time of this debate. If there is to be, as I hope there is, a concurrence in those points, surely the Government will give us some intimation to that effect. I have been a little surprised that the Government intended to postpone for so long the Committee stage of this Bill. We are quite ready with our Amendments, and the Irish Members are no doubt ready with theirs. What is this delay for? The Government cannot make up their minds what they are going to do. Under the pressure which is coming upon them from behind and before they cannot announce how they are willing to transform their Bill. For my part, I should be glad to go on with the Committee on the Bill after the speech of the noble Lord on Monday. The Government thought 24 hours long enough to put down Amendments on the Coercion Bill; and now this Bill, condemned as it is from every quarter of the House, cannot be proceeded with because the Government are at their wits' end to know what to do with it. Let the Government pluck up their courage. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give us the views of the Government on the subject, and will say that he agrees generally with the sentiments expressed by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham—sentiments in which we cordially concur. That is the support which the noble Lord invited for the Government. We offer that support. To their Bill as at present framed we must offer opposition. We consider it a worthless Bill. With the exception of an imperfect clause dealing with the leaseholders, there is nothing good in it. A great deal needs to be put into it, and a great deal to be cut out of it, and if you give us a skeleton Bill we will try to put some decent clothes on it. It has been said that the Bill of the Government has been stripped so bare that it is not decent. There is nothing of it left. Let us make something of it. That is the best we can do under the circumstances. And as there seems to be a general concurrence of views as to the case of leaseholders, as to the remedy for the solvent tenants, as to making the Equity Clauses for the insolvent tenants better and more effective than they are, why should not the thing be done? But all this depends on one very serious consideration. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) asked the question whether the right hon. Member for West Birmingham meant business? Does the right hon. Member for West Birmingham mean business; does the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale mean business; and does the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington mean business? If those Gentlemen mean business, we mean business, and the Irish Members below the Gangway mean business. I hope the Government will make a virtue of necessity, and throw overboard the inside of the Bill. You can leave in the last sheet—"A Bill for the Amendment of the Land Laws of Ireland"—strike out all the remaining pages, and then, by putting in a couple of pages with some sensible clauses, we may make a very good Bill of it. I think that is a very reasonable proposal, made in the spirit of peace, and if we have a general co-operation all round we shall get the Bill through in a reasonable time. I hope we shall begin it on Monday, and if the Government are amenable to the advice they have received from every quarter of the House there is no reason why it should not be finished next week. Do not tell us after that we are obstructive. We offer a programme which is not obstructive at all, but a programme which is worthy of the House of Commons, which would lead to a spirit of union among Parties that is much to be desired, and which would be of advantage to the tenants of Ireland.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.): I would urge that if we are to consider the question of the revision of judicial rents, we should also introduce a clause to fix the tenant right at the same time. If Parliament is not very careful, after having bought out the landlords, we shall have to buy out those further landlords created by the giving of those large tenant rights. Statistics show, and I will admit, that the condition of a great part of Ireland is most deplorable, and that many of the tenants, as a class, are very much worse off than they were before, and have not the means of paying their rents. But the reason for the passing of the Land Act of 1881 was that the tenants could not pay their rents; and that Act not only reduced rents from 18 to 20 per cent, but it also introduced into the law the system of tenant right and the power of free sale for the tenant. The Act enabled the tenant to sell his holding at any price he could get, and also to borrow money on the security of his holding. Some of the tenants, after having their rents judicially lowered, have sold their tenant right in some cases for 10, 20, and even more years' purchase; and the incoming tenant has thus practically to pay a proportionately-increased rent, which is higher than the old rent before it was judicially reduced. The practical result of further reducing judicial rents, as is suggested by the Amendment before the House, will be to benefit the existing tenants; but the ultimate result, in a very few years, will be that in re-selling their holding the tenant right will increase, and more than the amount of the reduction in the judicial rent will be added to the tenant right. The lower the rent the greater the tenant right, and the greater, therefore, the temptation to the existing tenant to sell. Between 1881 and 1886 the loss to the Irish tenantry from fall of prices and other causes amounted to £15,000,000 on crops, and £9,000,000 on stock; and is it to be supposed that that heavy loss can be made up by reductions of rent to the amount of £2,500,000? If they had their land rent free, would the position of those poor people be substantially improved? I much fear that no legislation can place them in a comfortable position, and that reduction of rent is a thing altogether beside the question. Mr. Tuke's evidence before the Commission is conclusive that the people cannot live upon their land, rent or no rent. The living is not in it, and other sources of living and employment must be resorted to. To talk about reduction of rent in such circumstances only encourages delusive expectations; and, on that ground alone, I think the Amendment is to be condemned. Before we can get Ireland into a fair course of improvement we must get rid of the idea that by the reduction of rent living on the land may become possible. If a landlord charges too high a rent, there is a law by which it can be altered; but something more is necessary to ensure prosperity to the country and contentment to the people. No reduction of the rents in the poor and miserable districts will remove the difficulty. What are the facts of the case? The total agricultural rental of Ireland is £13,000,000, and a further reduction of 20 per cent on the judicial rents will reduce this total by about £2,500,000. If every person in Ireland got an equal share, the reduction would amount to about 2½*d.* per week per person. I believe strongly in the power of the penny; but it will be absurd to say that that sum will convert the tenants into contented and comfortable citizens. And, moreover, it will be the well-to-do tenants who will get the bulk of the money. The fact is the poor districts are over-populated; for, although the population of Ireland has decreased very largely in the last 30 or 40 years, the decrease has not extended all over Ireland. In some of the poorer districts the population has increased fully 10 per cent. I deny, further, that a reduction of the rent will affect evictions. Agriculture may be improved, technical instruction in agriculture may be afforded, and much good may be done thereby; ten times more good than will be effected by the mere reduction of rents. I trust that even hon. Members below the Gangway opposite will see that something more must be done than reducing rents and keeping the people on the soil if the Irish problem is to be settled, and Ireland made a prosperous and contented nation.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle) said, no one could have turned his attention to the question of Ireland and Irish land without being immediately struck with the great difficulties of dealing with so complex a question. He gave to Her Majesty's Government every credit for bringing in this Bill as an attempt to deal with it, encompassed as they were on every hand with difficulties of one sort or another; but what disappointed him was to find from the various Members of the Government who had addressed the House that the tendency was to look to this as a temporary measure only, dealing only with the fringe of a large and important subject, with the hope in the future for something better; something, perhaps, more radical, something, at all events, more satisfactory. The word "temporary" was so used that they were obliged to come to the conclusion that, while Coercion Bills were to be perpetual, relief to the Irish tenant could only be dealt with by temporary expedients. It was a conclusion he did not like to draw. It was the duty of a Government dealing with the question to look well at the state of the country, to see what evils were to be redressed, and then bring in a measure as large and comprehensive as they could devise to redress these evils. The temporary character of the Bill was upheld by the leading journal of the day, which described this as "stop-gap" legislation, and as such he could only look at it; but he hoped to show that there was no need at the present moment for stop-gap legislation. The House was in a position to deal with it thoroughly, or, at all events, to a far larger extent than the Government had endeavoured to deal with it. The Bill certainly had been pretty well criticized by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), who had anticipated many of the criticisms he (Sir Joseph Pease) had intended to offer. First, he must congratulate the Legal Advisers of Her Majesty's Government for incorporating in this Bill more Acts of Parliament than he had ever within his experience of Parliamentary proceedings seen incorporated in any one Bill. The 13th and 14th *Vict.*, the 20th and 21st, the 23rd and 24th, the 33rd and 34th, the 35th and 36th, and he might go on till he arrived at a total of some 13 or more other Acts of the Reign of Her present Majesty embodied wholly or in part in this Bill. He wished to discuss this question, keeping ever before him what he had always considered the great feeling as to this and other Irish questions—the preservation of the Union of the United Kingdom. There was, in his opinion, no real Union at the present moment; it was but a parchment Union; and the House had the duty to devise measures to make the Irish people one in feeling with the people of this country. All those who travelled the streets of this City during the recent Jubilee celebrations could not have failed to mark the unmistakable loyalty of all classes; but crossing the narrow channel no such feeling to such an extent was found existent, and there lay the duty before Parliament, that of creating by just legislation a feeling of loyalty to the

Crown and Government, equal to that in England, Scotland, and Wales. It was no use Liberal Members being told they were taking part with those who had done those things they ought not to have done. If there had been evil associates of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway at one period of their history all the more reason existed for redressing the grievances that had given rise to such association. Did not the history of all time show how justice ignored and grievances unredressed had torn countries to pieces? Go through Ireland, and the traces of the evils found there were met with at once—great poverty, great complaints of high rent, the unequal incidence of taxation in many instances, with other evils not alluded to by the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) who had just sat down. On the small holdings of the West of Ireland the absence of the work that the people formerly found in England and Scotland, together with that which every Englishman could not fail to be struck with, a total want of sympathy between landlord and tenant. Non-resident landlords had been and were one of the great evils of the country. That non-residence arose from causes he would not now dwell upon; but accustomed as Englishmen were to go about among their tenants, or the tenants of their friends, they found that all that harmony, sympathy, and mutual support that existed in other parts of the Kingdom were absent in Ireland. Too long had landlords been non-resident, spending the rents they drew from Ireland elsewhere than in Ireland. During his travels he found thousands of people living on nothing but potatoes, cabbages, and Indian meal. Sometimes these poor people got white bread, and sometimes a little tea. One wondered how they lived. They lived as no Englishman would live, as no working-class toiler in this country would live. Still they toiled early and late. He maintained that the landlords of the district had been living in a great measure on remittances sent by the servant girls of New York, and on the poor people who had emigrated to that country, and who sent money across to Ireland to pay the rents of those miserable holdings. There was proof sufficient that even the rents fixed by the Land Court were much too high. Those rents were fixed utterly irrespective of what some hon. Members thought at the time of the passing of the Land Act ought to be the case, that there ought to be a sliding scale for rent according to the price of produce; but, of course, it was very difficult to draw a clause providing for such a scale. The value of the stock of cattle had been greatly reduced in Ireland, and the land had yielded small crops, worth but little in value; but still the people were asked to pay the rents fixed in 1881 and 1882. That was the great difficulty of the Irish Question, because if the rents were left alone tenants would 10 years hence be paying the same price as they did when the stock and crops of Ireland were worth £20,000,000 sterling more than they are at the present time. It could not be questioned that the rents were much too high at the present time; indeed, Lord Cowper's Commission distinctly recommended that the Irish rents should be revised every fifth year. The recommendation, however, had been scattered to the wind just as their other important recommendations had been disregarded. High rents were the cause of all the agitation in Ireland. General Buller considered it was the pressure of high rent which produced agitation. Lord Milltown said that all the agitation for rent was forced on the people by the conduct of the landlords. That had been his belief for years. He had lately inquired into the facts connected with the Bodyke estate, where the evictions had recently been taking place, and he found a large number of cases in which the old rent was twice as much as the Poor Law valuation. The people over a course of years had been bled to death. If the Land Question were settled he believed we might give Ireland Home Rule with perfect safety. Indeed, if the Land Question were settled, he was assured the existing great demand for Home Rule would be limited to those really Irish questions which ought to be in the hands of every free people. The Bill of the Government declined to carry out the principal recommendation of the Cowper Commission, the five years' revision; it declined to deal with solvent tenants, and would only deal with tenants when they were bankrupt. But they did not want bankrupt tenants on the farms, they wanted to place them there in such a position that they would be solvent. He quite believed that before they had done with the question they would get to the solution of an annual revision. There was another great evil in Ireland—that was the charges and mortgages on the estates. He believed that so soon as the State stepped in and said that it would fix the rent and break the contracts, it was bound not only to deal with the income of the estate, but with the outgoings also. There was nothing in the Bill dealing with the charges on an estate. They would never get the landlords to reside in Ireland until they had some margin of income over the charges on the estate. The Cowper Commission said that those charges should be settled by a competent tribunal. Mr. Townsend Trench very strongly held that view. There was under the present system a great greed of land, and a great greed of rent, and it was painful to hear on what slender excuses the rents were raised. The people of Ireland were of the opinion that they were not fairly and generously used; they felt that every possible occasion was taken of raising their rent when the rent was not already settled by the Land Court. Those were matters which bred discontent, and with which the Bill did not deal. Then there was the question of the congested districts. He believed that emigration or migration was most essential for the people in the South and West of Ireland; but there was nothing in the Bill to provide for that. The country would be better when some of these congested districts were freed from their congested population by a good scheme of emigration, or by migration only. Then they came to the evictions. People were now being evicted at the rate of 20,000 a-year, and the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale had described them as sources of danger, scandal, and disgrace. It seemed to him also that the eviction of a caretaker at the end of six months would be more troublesome than that of a tenant, and the eviction must come, and he could not see how the Bill would stop evictions in any way—it only postponed them for six months. Evictions could only be stopped by putting the rent down to a figure which the man could afford to pay, which the Bill did not provide for. The Bill dealt with leaseholders, but that only in an emasculated way. Clause 21, which provided that landlords and tenants who were getting on well together should pay the rates of those who were not, was monstrous. There seemed to be nothing in favour of the tenant unless he was bankrupt, or in favour of the landlord except the posting of the notice of eviction instead of actual eviction at the moment. The Government seemed to say they would give the Irish people coercion perpetually, and would reduce none of the burdens which were so heavily oppressing them.

Viscount CRANBORNE (Lancashire, N.E., Darwen) said, a great number of speakers on the opposite side had fallen into the error of looking at this Bill as the Government plan for settling the Irish Land Question. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham (Sir Joseph Pease) spoke as if he thought that landlords in Ireland still had the power of raising their rents whenever they pleased. He also misconceived the nature of this Bill. It was merely a temporary measure, intended to tide over a short period; but the real policy upon which the Government would be judged by posterity was the policy of land purchase—a measure to carry out which the Government had emphatically promised to introduce as soon as the state of Public Business permitted. He had been glad to hear the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) say that there was practically unanimity as to the principle of the Bill, though, as he listened to the noble Lord's criticisms, it was occasionally difficult to bear in mind that the noble Lord himself was in favour of the principle of the Bill. The principle of such a Bill as this ought to be not to disturb, under any circumstances, the settlement of the Act of 1881. He thought the words of Mr. McCarthy, one of the Commissioners under the Act of 1885, deserved to be inscribed in letters of gold over the door of that House—"I highly object to perpetual chopping and changing in legislation with regard to land." Did that Bill come up to that definition? With one great exception of the question of leaseholders he thought that it did. It appeared to him that the principle of admitting leaseholders to the benefits of the Act was radically bad; but there were many things which now made it advisable. Undoubtedly it remedied a logical defect in the Act of 1881, and they were not now called upon to inquire into the correctness of the principle of the Act of 1881. It appeared, also, that both classes interested in the land were in favour of this change. It had been said that the Bill gave nothing to the tenant class in Ireland. In his opinion it gave them a great deal; and he thought that the tenants of Ireland ought to be very grateful that such a measure was to be passed. Mr. MacElroy, who represented the farmers of Ulster, had given evidence before the Commission to the effect that the leaseholders of Ireland had entered into their leases freely and at rents regarded at the time as fair, although they had become unfair owing to the fall in prices. Was it to be admitted as a principle that when a man found that his bargain was not a good one he was to come to Parliament to be relieved from the consequences of his own act? Under the circumstances, however, he did not see any reason for being more in favour of the landlords' interest than the landlords themselves; and, therefore, he was not prepared to vote for the rejection of the Bill because the leaseholders were admitted to the benefit of the Act of 1881. Still, he thought it ought never to be quoted as a precedent for the future. For the rest, the Bill was emphatically a small measure, and was only intended to help those who could not pay through no act of their own; but he thought, under no circumstances, ought they to lower the judicial rents. With regard to the Bankruptcy Clauses, the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) seemed to think that they were drawn up entirely in the interests of the landlords, because the landlords had tried to put the Bankruptcy Law in force in order to counteract the Plan of Campaign; they had been foiled in their efforts, and, therefore, now came to Parliament to secure an extension of the Bankruptcy Law. He would point out, however, that most of those who had acted under the Plan of Campaign could not come under the Bankruptcy Clauses of the Bill except by perjury. It appeared to him that the principle was a very good one, and one which had been recognized again and again in legislation, and at this stage it was the principle of the Bill which they were to consider. Relief was given to those who were unable to pay through no fault of their own; and, secondly, the principle was laid down that occasionally it was for the interest of both debtor and creditor that the strict letter of the creditor's rights should not be enforced. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington had asked what advantage the Bankruptcy Clauses would be to the tenant. In the first place, if the tenant conformed to the requisitions of the Court he would have relief from the whole burden of his debt, and all that was necessary for him to work with would be left in his hands. The noble Lord had spoken of 200,000 or 300,000 tenants being in the hands of the Court; but the Bill was only to deal with exceptional cases. It must be remembered that it was impossible by any enactment to provide for the revision of the rents of a few solvent tenants in Ireland whose rents were too high without opening the door to the revision of all the judicial rents in the country. In his opinion the rents fixed before 1885, although calculated on higher prices than now prevailed, were still fair rents, and ought to be maintained. In fixing the judicial rents the valuers looked forward to a possible fall in prices. No doubt the Cowper Commission had recommended the reduction of the statutory term from 15 years to five; but Mr. Justice O'Hagan, the head of the Land Commission, in his evidence before them, said he would be sorry to alter the time at present. But there was a consideration more important than Judge O'Hagan's evidence. The Members of the Unionist Party sitting on both sides of the House had pledged themselves not to interfere with the judicial rents, and he did not think that Her Majesty's Government would ask them to be false to their pledges. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews), the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington had all declared against tampering with the judicial rents. He quite agreed with the remark of the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) that if the Government tried to conciliate every section of the House the Bill would be reduced to its outside sheet; but, at the same time, the only result of such an attempt would be to increase opposition to the measure on one side of the House in proportion to the decrease of opposition to it on the other. He trusted that all sides of the House would combine to reject the Amendment and to read the Bill a second time.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said, he hoped the Government, in considering Amendments which had been suggested to them, would not adopt the views and tone of the noble Viscount (Viscount Cranborne) who had just spoken. Hon. Members were in a state of perplexity as to what should be done with the Amendment before the House. The right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) asked the House to discourage a measure which contained great advantages in favour of an Amendment which did not, and could not, deal with arrears; and without dealing with arrears they could not stop evictions. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) had expressed a positive pleasure in the idea that Amendments should be made which would enable the Amendment of the right hon. Member to be withdrawn. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) had taunted the Unionist Party with inconsistency in not having done in August last what they were doing now. The right hon. Gentleman was certainly a good judge of consistency. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) did not know which would be the most curious piece of reading—the right hon. Gentleman on consistency, or consistency upon the right hon. Gentleman. Now, what those had to consider who were thinking how they would cast their vote on the Motion for the second reading was, what would be the result of the vote? They knew very well that there were great benefits in the Bill as it stood. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] That was so plain that he declined to argue the point. The Division List would be a curious study, because the House had heard a great deal as to the enormity and brutality of evictions in Ireland, and the Amendment afforded a quick and real test of the anxiety of right hon. Gentlemen who supported it to stop those unjust evictions. The country would scarcely understand the language indulged in about evictions if hon. Members cast a vote the effect of which would be to destroy a remedy for those abuses. Now, one could not criticize this measure except in direct connection with others which the Government had promised. The Government, having recognized the two principles of admitting the leaseholders and of preventing unjust evictions, would not, he trusted, hold back on a question of degree, for there had been no Amendment asked for which would violate any principle which they had adopted. He was aware of the enormous difficulties of a revision of the rents fixed under the Act of 1881, and it was marvellous how hon. Members on the Front Opposition Bench could speak so lightly of such a revision. But the suggestion made by Lord Spencer and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) that the landlords should make abatements for a year or two would, he thought, get over the difficulty. They had only to compel the bad landlords to do what it was understood the good landlords were doing. What was to be gained by carrying the Amendment? Of course, he was aware it might bring the former Government back into Office; but would not that postpone to an indefinite time the rendering to the poor people of the immediate help which they needed? He was aware it was commonly supposed that it was the duty of a Government which came in to proceed with the question on which it was returned; but he did not believe that the late Government, if it came back, would proceed to deal with this question—and he would justify his statement. Eighteen months ago the situation was similar to the present. The actors were the same. The right hon. Gentleman now in Opposition (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) came into power on an Amendment affecting the agricultural labourers—an Amendment far more defined than that now before the House; but as soon as they came into power they threw the agricultural labourers absolutely aside, and the question had not been dealt with to this day. He was not going to forsake experience for faith, and he would advise the Representatives of the Irish tenantry not to vote for the Amendment in the belief that they would get immediate help if the Amendment were carried. If the Bill passed, even as it stood, the scenes at Bodyke and Glenbeigh would not be possible, and he asked hon. Members if they were going to vote for an Amendment which would kill a measure that offered a remedy? By the admission of leaseholders to the benefit of the Act, the Government had the courage to do what had been persistently refused by right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition side of the House; and assuredly if those who sat on that side stuck to the old Radical doctrine of measures, not men, they would accept a measure which, good in itself, had been always refused by a Liberal Ministry when in power.

MR. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon) said, he did not intend to criticize the several proposals in the Bill, but to suggest a practical Amendment, which it appeared to him would remedy its greatest defect and secure the ends they had at heart by mitigating the hardships of the still solvent and striving tenant without doing injustice to the landlord. The plan he had to suggest would not only do that, but it would prepare the way for the Land Purchase Bill promised by the Government, for surely a Land Purchase Bill was impossible until you had first discovered some means of determining what were fair rents on which to base it. To be practical, any such suggestion must show a method of determining fair rents, resting upon a rule so simple, definite, and obvious that neither landlords nor tenants would find it difficult to understand or carry out. Neither would they find it to their interest to take cases into Court, otherwise the amount of litigation involved would frustrate the object of the Act. The principle of the proposal had actually been embodied in an Act of Parliament dealing with the leases of a large and important Irish Corporation. It has also been carried out to a very considerable extent in regulating payments in Scotland. Lord Salisbury said that he objected to constantly re-opening the question of judicial rents; but his objection would not apply to a self-adjusting system of settling rents more fairly between landlord and tenant. The plan he was about to suggest was not perfect. No such system could be perfect; but it would approach far nearer to justice than the present law or the proposals of the Government, and it would be valuable even more by indicating to landlords and tenants the basis of a fair settlement between them than by their applying to the Courts for its enforcement. Indeed, a just law was far more effective in that way than by actual process of law. They had a precedent for what he suggested in Scotland, where, he believed, the system of regulating payments by the value of agricultural produce had worked extremely well; and they had also precedents in the permanent leases of Trinity College, Dublin. By 14 & 15 *Vict.* c. 128 (1851), the leases of the College were to be revised, if required by either party, every 10 years, and the revision was to be made in accordance with fluctuations in the prices of certain kinds of agricultural produce in varying proportions. In fixing these rents oats naturally had the largest proportionate influence—very nearly one-half of the whole; beef and butter came next; and mutton and wheat were of less importance. The latter, in several markets in Ireland, had ceased to appear as a native product at all. The system had not been strictly carried out by the College, because it was found that the expense of ascertaining and settling by arbitration the prices of the various articles in not less than 10 different towns in Ireland was so great, when divided among the leases of a single property, that it led to a compromise; and the leases had been settled from time to time in accordance with the fluctuation of prices by general agreement, but without going through all the formalities required or adhering strictly to the terms of the Statute. But these difficulties would not apply to a large measure extending over the whole of Ireland, where you had got already in the Land Court and in the local Courts the means of dealing with the question, and where the expense of collecting information would, when applied to all the leases of Ireland, be very small. On calculating what would be the effect of working out such a provision, it seemed to him to confirm very much what had been found just by the Land Court in Ireland. For instance, in the first two years after 1882, when the new system commenced, there were very slight fluctuations in the value of produce; and, consequently, it did not seem to have been until after the considerable fall in 1884 that the Land Court in 1885 began making materially larger reductions of rent. In other words, the Land Courts had found it necessary, in their recent decisions, to regulate reductions of rent by fluctuations in the prices of agricultural produce, and what he proposed was to make these fluctuations of rent practically automatic. Anyone who wished to understand how the principle might be worked out had only to refer to an existing Act of Parliament, 14 & 15 *Vict.* c. 128, in the clauses and schedules of which he would find the system explained. A still more simple system might be adopted under which the Courts would experience no real difficulty in calculating the percentage of reductions which were to be applied in accordance with it to each county, and landlord or tenant could make his own calculations as easily as he could estimate the discount which he was to give or receive on ordinary business transactions, such as the payment of his tailor's bill. On this plan, of course, it would be possible for the rents to fluctuate annually with the varying prices of agricultural produce, as when once the system was established the calculations would be easily made, and he did not believe there would be many appeals ; but it was probable that a system, say, of triennial adjustment, would be preferred. Of course, it would be said against this plan that it did not take into account all the dangers to which farming was exposed; that you might have a year of high prices, and yet in Ireland of produce so small that the farmer might still be unable to pay his rent. From this or other causes there would always be exceptional cases, with which no law could be expected to deal with absolute justice. Therefore, this must be, as it were, a provisional settlement from which, in exceptional cases, there must be an appeal. He did not believe those appeals would be numerous, as they would be expensive ; and it might be assumed that, on the indication of what the law would give, the landlord and tenant would settle matters out of Court, particularly if, in cases of appeal, the Courts gave the grounds on which the settlement was arrived at, which would be a guide for voluntary and unofficial settlements out of Court. He had not troubled the House without first taking advice as to the practicability of drafting clauses to carry out such a settlement, and he was advised that such a system could be made very elastic. The Land Court might be directed to ascertain annually the price of various articles of agricultural produce, on the fluctuation in the prices of which they were to depend, and to decide periodically what in different districts—say in counties—should be the articles, and also the proportion in which they should influence the rents. The Court to which appeal was given in individual cases could lay down the principles on which it decided its cases, and on which, in deciding future cases, it would be guided in calculating the fluctuations of prices ; while agricultural districts in Ireland, which were very full, and might be made, if necessary, still more exact, would be guides to the Land Courts in making their decisions. You had the machinery at hand ; it would only need to be strengthened, and the House would see that if this plan would not deal with all the uncertainties which affected the power of the tenant to pay rent, it would deal with the largest and most important hindrance, and remove the great element of disturbance which had brought on our present difficulty. Of course, the Government would say that they were not prepared to accept a principle until they saw the clauses which were intended to practically carry it out. But he thought he could assure them that either by himself, or some more influential Member of the House, such clauses would be placed on the Paper.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) : I think it is unfair to find fault with the Bill of the Government because of its temporary character. All classes in Ireland, however they have been divided hitherto on the Land Question, and whatever opinions they may now hold as to the present remedies which can best be applied to existing grievances and complications, are agreed on the one point—that the only permanent settlement will be one that abolishes dual ownership in land. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) has pointed out sufficient reasons for excusing Her Majesty's Government from bringing on, at this period of the Session, a measure of such an important character. The present measure is designed to meet difficulties that have recently arisen, difficulties that the Government and the Opposition will admit could not have been foreseen at the time of the passing of the Act of 1881, and even at a much later period. The hon. Member for North Meath (Mr. Mahony), who has had considerable experience of agricultural operations, and with the working of the Land Act, declared his readiness to oppose the measure, because it falsified and was hostile to the principles of the Act of 1881. It is to be presumed the hon. Member was making use of an oratorical expression as a basis for his emphatic opposition to the Bill, for he did not attempt in his lengthy speech to point out—and, indeed, he could not point out—how any principles of the Act of 1881 were invaded—fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure. In no single point is the Bill hostile to these principles. In point of fact, the direct reverse is the case. In one particular the Bill does invade the Act of 1881. It encroaches on the immutable and permanent character supposed to exist in the old Act—a permanent character which its authors adhered to and refused to alter for any appeals, and it amplifies the benefits that Act conferred on the tenants. The Bill, on the one side, is attacked as being hostile to the interests of the Irish tenants; and subjected to criticism on the other side because the landlords do not accept it; but I hope Her Majesty's Government will decline to recognize denunciations coming from either extreme. It is their duty to satisfy themselves as to the nature of the evils existing and the best remedy, and apply the remedy as speedily as possible. Hon. Members have assumed the impossibility of anything favourable to Irish tenants coming from the House of Lords; but Irish landlords may well ask had the House of Lords an existence, for they have failed to discover on any one of these provisions any one favourable to the landlords. I am bound to say that throughout the measure is true to the principle for which it was brought in—the relief of the tenants. Only one clause may be said to be favourable to the landlords, that relating to rates, which exempts landlords from paying rates on a farm which is unoccupied, because of the action of certain combinations declared to be illegal. Hon. Members who adopt the Cowper Commission cannot find fault with that clause, for if there was one thing emphatically and unambiguously expressed, it was the fact that there were extensive combinations to prevent the payment of rents, and for other purposes. The Leaseholder's Clause has drawn a good deal of attention, and I rejoice that this large and important body of tenant farmers will shortly be relieved from the difficulties under which they are placed by the Act of 1881; but I will point out in face of the attempt to minimize its benefits that it will have a serious effect upon a portion of the Irish landowners. A suggestion has been made that Parliament should give relief to those landlords who will be injured by this portion of the Bill, and I should be glad to see the restriction upon the Leaseholder's Clause swept away, provided the House will consent to give some reasonable compensation to such interests as landlords are able to prove are substantially injured, and which they would have a right to place before a proper tribunal. Clause 6, dealing with town parks, has been denounced as a sham and delusion, but I cannot share that opinion. I am perfectly convinced it will confer great benefits on owners of town parks. It has always been a strong subject for complaint, especially in the North, since the passing of the Act of 1881, that restrictions, contradictory and unwise, had been placed on that property. I am glad that the measure will leave those charged with the administration of the Act no doubt as to whom they should admit to the benefit of the Act. The object of the Bill is to prevent harsh and capricious evictions — to relieve tenants from evictions which are the consequence of circumstances over which they have no control. The difficulty, however, to face is how to decide the meaning of harsh evictions, as in and out of the House various interpretations are given. The House has hardly any data to go upon. The evidence before them in the Cowper Commission is, to a great extent, contradictory, and even the extent of the fall in prices is disputed. The hon. Member for North Meath devoted a long argument to proving that the statistics of the Registrar General relating to the amount and value of agricultural produce are entirely untrustworthy, yet on these statistics the Cowper Commission has based one or two of its most important recommendations. It is perfectly evident that the House cannot apply a remedy to every evil. All that it can do is to devise a remedy to meet the average case. That is all that can be expected from legislation, and I believe that Clause 22, and the clauses following, are capable—though on this point I differ from the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell)—capable of providing a remedy that will meet efficiently the average circumstances. The clause which deals with the equity jurisdiction of the County Court Judge will not be sufficient to meet the case by itself, because it only relieves the tenant in an insolvent condition from arrears due to the landlord. It still leaves him embarrassed by the debts that hang round his neck to the money lender, and leaves him still sinking in his debts to other creditors. If the Bankruptcy Clauses are struck out, and the tenant is relieved in another way from the landlord's arrears, he will only be set up for a few months longer in a tottering condition, growing worse and worse. A way out of the difficulty of casting on the tenant the opprobrium of bankruptcy is by developing the Equity Clauses, and I should be delighted if some method could be discovered by which the stigma of bankruptcy could be avoided. I would suggest, not being quite sure if it can be carried out, that the County Court Judge should have within his cognizance and jurisdiction the liabilities owing to the money lenders and other creditors, at the same time that he deals with the tenant's obligations and arrears of rent. That will probably meet the position of affairs in Ireland at the present moment. It cannot be the desire of anyone that the tenant shall be in a worse position than he now occupies; but I wish to impress on the House, as I said before, that it is no use releasing the tenant from one class of creditors while he is left sinking in debt to other creditors; and if the Bankruptcy Clauses are cut out, without replacing them by something equally beneficial relieving the tenant from other creditors, little good would be done. But the measure is temporary, and I look forward to the measure to which I understand the Government is pledged with the assent of all sides, though hedged with difficulty, a measure directed to the abolition of dual ownership. The question is, in reality, so complicated not only by the social, but also by the political relations of Ireland at the present moment, that, for my own part, I think the Government is quite right in only dealing with it in a temporary manner in the Bill before the House. I must say that, without dealing with the more controversial points of the Bill, I think that some of the clauses have sufficient merit to entitle the Bill to the favourable consideration of the House, so far, at all events, as to induce us to read it a second time, with a view to afford to the Irish tenant farmers that relief which they require in their present difficult and embarrassed position. There is only one other suggestion made in the course of the debate which I should like to allude to—that is as to the charges of various sorts which exist on many Irish estates. These charges are, no doubt, in many cases very heavy; nor can it be denied that they have, in many cases, placed many landlords in a position of great embarrassment and difficulty. If this House, or if Parliament, is now prepared to consider, with a view to legislation, the question of affording relief to the Irish landlords, either by diminishing the claims of the mortgagees, or reducing family charges, or by granting such assistance to the mortgagors as they have given to the tenants in Ireland—[*Cries of* "No, no!" *from some of the Parnellite Members*]—then there can, in my opinion, be no conceivable objection to the dealing with any property which landlords may now have in Ireland. Then there is another part on which I wished, in conclusion, to say a few words. The hon. Member for South Tyrone has turned his attention to, and has made some observations on, the political aspect of this measure. Now, I must say that I do not think that it would be right for the House to legislate on this matter with regard to any possible or probable effect which its legislation may or may not have now or hereafter upon the political situation in Ireland. I must say that I differ to a great extent from the opinions which the hon. Member for South Tyrone has expressed, as to the effect this Bill may have upon the tenant farmers of Ulster. It cannot, indeed, be denied that our farmers do entertain very strong feelings upon the Land Question, in which they are so deeply interested; but, at the same time, I do not think that they are prepared or disposed, as the hon. Member for South Tyrone seems to suppose, to repudiate their political feelings or opinions on account of any relief which may be granted to them, or withheld from them, by the Imperial Parliament in regard to the tenure or the rent of their land. I firmly believe they will, at all events, receive the measure which is now engaging the attention of the House of Commons as an earnest and an honest attempt to benefit and to relieve those classes of the cultivators of the soil who are now, and have been so long, suffering from the severe agricultural depression.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Those hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who, in the course of this debate, have spoken of the great difficulties which surround this subject have only done justice to the position of the Government. A more complicated question, a question more surrounded on every side by almost insolvable difficulties, has seldom been presented to Parliament. We may be at issue, and we shall be at issue, more, perhaps, than my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) contemplates, during the course of this debate; but I think that all the right hon. Gentlemen who sit on the Front Benches opposite will freely admit that we have a task before us in endeavouring to settle, temporarily even, this land problem, which is equal to any difficulty which they themselves have had to deal with in previous times. Whatever the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby may think, I do not believe that it is possible to reduce the opinion of this House upon this question, or even the opinions which he holds, and which are held by hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, to a sufficient state of unanimity to sustain the confident belief entertained by him that it would be possible in two pages of space, and within a week of time, to solve one of the most intricate problems that could ever be submitted to Parliament. We do not disguise from ourselves the difficulties which are before us, and, in rising to give utterance to the views of the Government upon a good many of the points which have been submitted to us in the course of the debate, I wish to speak with the greatest frankness and with such clearness as I may be capable of. Let it be distinctly understood that we do not wish to buy a single vote on this stage of the proceedings by holding out any hopes which we may not be able to fulfil, or by pretending or assuming any agreement of opinion which is not an absolute agreement, and which would not express the convictions which we hold. I fear that the words which may follow from me may disappoint some of the hon. Members and the right hon. Gentlemen who have spoken in this debate. But there are great questions of principle involved, and there are principles in this Bill which we intend to maintain by speech and vote throughout the whole of the proceedings on this measure. Now, as if the difficulties which arise out of the Bill itself were not enough, some further considerations have been submitted to us as to points with which we ought to deal. My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) have both submitted that we should attempt to deal with an extremely grave question which lies outside the present proposal, though it is one which might fairly engage the attention of Parliament at a future day—I mean the question of family charges and of mortgages upon the estates of Irish landlords. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington certainly spoke with much eloquence and with much justice as to the position in which we stand at the present moment of the Session, and he deprecated the introduction of unnecessary topics and of any subjects which would require lengthened debate into the Bill, and he advised us to drop as much controversial matter as we could manage to throw overboard. But, at the same time, he invited us to discuss as thorny and difficult a subject as could possibly be submitted to our attention. I do not propose to argue at any length this question of mortgages and family charges; but I am perfectly willing to admit that it is a question which deserves the attention of Parliament and must be thoroughly examined, and perhaps it is one which Parliament may find itself ultimately willing to address itself to. But there are the most serious problems connected with it. In the first place, what ratio should we apply in dealing with family charges and mortgages; and what date will you assign to the commencement? And will you limit this new principle to Ireland, or are you prepared to set a precedent which is to be applied universally in future; and are family charges and mortgages to be interfered with throughout the British Isles? Because clearly this is not a measure which can be logically or consistently applied to Ireland alone—it is a question that must be raised in connection with Great Britain generally. Ought it to be contended that in Ireland, where reductions of rent have been forced upon the landlords by the State, mortgages and family charges should be reduced, while elsewhere, where landlords have made voluntary remissions of rent, a similar relief should not be applied? Again, when the time comes, it will be necessary to submit to the attention of Parliament and the public to what extent the interference with mortgages and family charges would destroy the possibility of raising any money upon land and obtaining any credit for the purpose of agriculture, and to what extent it would injure permanently and deeply the prospect of the application of capital to land in future. These, it strikes me, are matters which would not require simply a week's consideration at the end of a long and protracted Session, but the attention of the best men in Parliament consecutively and closely for a considerable time. I do not wish to convey the impression that the Government reject the idea that family charges and mortgages may have to be dealt with. But we declare it utterly impossible to deal with the question in the present Session, without far more and closer inquiry than it would be possible for the Government or Parliament to devote to it now. That is one of the points which have been submitted to us, as having been omitted from the Bill, and as deserving to be introduced. I have shown that we do not consider it possible to deal with the question in the present Session. I will now approach the consideration of the various clauses in the Bill, taking them somewhat in the order in which they were dealt with by the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. It was most interesting to see on Tuesday how my right hon. Friend the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) had nothing whatever to say with regard to the Bill itself, except to echo the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. And, again, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby to-night accused the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington of taking his Amendment, which might have been communicated to him by some indiscretion. The right hon. Member for Derby spoke in a very amusing manner with regard to the possible effect of the Bankruptcy Clauses originally in the mind of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham being adopted by the Government; and he now accuses the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington of having stolen his Amendments. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Our thunder.] Your thunder. I know that the thunder of my right hon. Friend is very loud; but I understood that his Amendments had been stolen, and that by some indiscretion Amendments which were to have been proposed by the right hon. Member for Derby had got into the hands of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. I wonder whether the right hon. Member for Derby thought that the same fate would befall his Amendments in the hands of the noble Lord as has befallen those of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, or whether he was content with the position taken up by the noble Lord, because he hoped that during the rest of the debates the noble Lord and the right hon. Member for West Birmingham would be found working together to eviscerate the Bill. That was evidently a process which had great attraction for the right hon. Member for Derby, and he revelled at the prospect of holding out his hand again to the noble Lord; but to what extent that prophecy will be fulfilled remains still to be seen. However that may be, the Government have their own views with regard to the Bill before the House, and views which they will endeavour to maintain and induce the House to accept. I think that I shall best give the key to the anxiety of the Government by, at this point of my observations, stating what we conceived to be the cardinal points in introducing our Bill. It has been stated before, and I desire to state it again, that it is a temporary measure, and that we do not wish by the introduction of any principles into this Bill, or by the admission of any clauses to damage that prospect of purchase, which we consider to be essential to the solution of this question. [*Cheers.*] I do not quite understand those cheers coming from hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. I will re-assert the proposition. We wish to admit nothing to damage purchase, and in some of the propositions made from different quarters of the House there lurks the danger that if we accept them, plausible as they are, we may do something that may posssibly be destructive to purchase. The right hon. Member for Derby ridiculed the idea of our carrying out a purchase scheme at all. He thought the question was so beset with difficulty, and that the events which took place in connection with the scheme to which he himself was a party were so decisive, that we should not be able to carry out a purchase scheme under any circumstances. That is not the view of the Government. We think that to end dual ownership is the one great object to be aimed at in regard to Irish land. We are aiming at that, and we wish to resist all proposals in connection with this Bill which seem to us to be inconsistent with that cardinal principle. We shall not resist Amendments which do not touch that cardinal principle. There are many points as to which we are prepared to consult with the House in order to the best means of solving the difficulty; but where we come into conflict with that great principle, the House, I think, will not find us to be in a yielding mood. I will test the 1st clause by what I have just laid down. It has been suggested that we should give up the restriction which includes what are called the English-managed estates—namely, the restriction with regard to those cases where the landlord has spent large sums upon the estate. It is urged that we should extend the benefit we propose to grant from leases of 60 years to leases for a far longer term. It is urged upon us that we should omit the words as to tenants being *bonâ fide* in occupation of their holdings, and it is also urged upon us that we should extend our concessions to perpetuity leases. When we are asked to extend our concessions to perpetuity leases, we seem to come into conflict with the principle of purchase. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members must not think that ridiculous. It is a fair argument, though they may not agree with it. Our point is this. A perpetuity lease is simply another form of purchase; and you might as well say, when a man has received a sum down for the land which he sold some 10 or 15 years ago, that he ought to give up a portion of that sum because the transaction has turned out badly for the purchaser since, as say that you ought to make a reduction in the perpetuity rent which was agreed upon in lieu of a sum down. A perpetuity lease is simply, I repeat, a form of purchase; and that is a view which commended itself to my right hon. Friend on the Front Opposition Bench some time ago. I would be prepared to admit, however, that as leaseholders under the Land Act of 1881 were admitted to the benefit of the Act, if it could be shown that any undue pressure had been brought within a certain period to secure those leases, so if it could be shown to the satisfaction of the Court that these leases had been obtained by coercion or any undue means the Court should have the option to revise them. That is a suggestion which we should not be averse to entertain. But we hold that simply to say that perpetuity leases should be treated like all other leases is inconsistent with the principle of purchase; and you might as well argue, after you have passed a Purchase Bill, that the instalments ought to be varied according to prices, as to say that perpetuity rents ought to be altered with reference to prices. With regard to the question of the English-managed estates, by which term I describe the reservation which is made in the clause in favour of landlords who have expended a certain amount upon their properties, the object of that clause was this—to distinguish between cases where the landlord has done his duty to the land, and has spent a large sum of money on the holding, and where it is consequently considered that the leases should not be broken, and other cases. On that point the right hon. Member for West Birmingham made a suggestion which is worthy of consideration—namely, that the interest upon the capital which he has expended should be treated as a kind of preferential charge, and that the remainder of the rent should be treated in the ordinary way. This is a matter the Government would be prepared to examine in order to see whether they can meet the views of hon. Members. There is another phrase which limits the benefit of the Act to cases where a leaseholder is in beneficial occupation. It was suggested by the hon. Member for South Tyrone that these words had been put in by an insidious lawyer with some intention to take away with one hand what had been given by the other. But a study of the Land Act of 1881 would have shown him that it was an historic phrase introduced by the Law Officers of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. This shows how ill-founded suspicions may arise with regard to the phraseology of these clauses, and how unfair it would be to visit upon the present Government precautions and reservations which were contained in the original Land Acts which place upon us tremendous difficulties in endeavouring to amend them and bring them to something like a practical form. There are legal decisions which have made these words necessary; and if better words can be found in order to meet the difficulties of these recent decisions, the Government will do their best to meet any such suggestion. I only protest, and I have a right to do so, against the supposition that the words have been put into the Bill by Her Majesty's present Advisers with any malevolent intention of limiting the advantages of this clause, which otherwise commends itself to the approbation of almost all parties in the House. I now come to an important clause on which great differences of opinion exist, by which we seek to substitute the service of a written notice for the cruel process of eviction. [*Laughter.*] Yes; I am going to grapple with this. Hon. Members have had their say on this clause; I hope they will allow me to have mine.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): We may laugh, surely.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I wish to grapple with the position they have taken up. I do not know whether hon. Members who have not looked carefully into this matter know the peculiar state of the law as regards evictions. In almost every case there are two evictions, or there may be two evictions where one would suffice. In the first place, an eviction takes place in order to certify the fact, as it were, that the landlord has got the right to turn the tenant out. Then he is reinstated as caretaker, and if he makes no arrangement with his landlord during the following six months he may have to be again evicted at the end of that time, and so there may be two evictions from the one holding. It would strike most people that it would be well to get rid of evictions as a preliminary process, and then, considering that a vast number of tenants settle during the six months, the total number of evictions would be much reduced. Let it be thouroughly understood that if you do away with these first evictions you will have done away with the great majority of evictions, and there will be left only a certain balance of evictions which occur at the end of the six months. Then read Clause 4 along with Clause 22, which stays evictions for arrears, and you will see the extent to which the Government go. They are confident that by the two clauses they will be able to diminish greatly the number of evictions. But to our surprise not only Irish Members opposite below the Gangway, but right hon. Members above the Gangway, and even the noble Lord on our own side, prefer that evictions should continue.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S,): I never said anything of the kind.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I would not misrepresent the noble Lord, and I am glad that that was not the tendency of his argument. But hon. Members below the Gangway maintain distinctly that it is an object to keep up the number of evictions, because they have an influence on English public opinion. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] It was said that the incidents and the publicity of these evictions acted on public opinion, and we were accused of attempting to do away with these evictions in order, as someone said, to hustle tenants out by notice without attracting public attention. That is to say, needless evictions are to go on in order to keep English opinion up to the mark. This enables one to understand how it was that in a great number of eviction cases aged and sick persons were not removed from houses that were fortified to resist the attacks of the police. One would have thought that such persons would have been removed from motives of common humanity to the houses of neighbours while gallant defenders were pouring boiling water on sheriffs and the police. I now understand that the object in keeping the aged and the sick in the houses of the tenants who were to be evicted was to excite public opinion by making the evictions appear to be carried out in a barbarous manner. Therefore, hon. Members do not wish to put a stop to the evictions; they do not wish to see notices given quietly. In order to prejudice public opinion against landlords by the horrors of evictions they wish to keep up what we consider to be a barbarous and unnecessary process. I shall be interested to see to what extent hon. Gentlemen will continue to support this process of eviction, which is unnecessary when a written notice will suffice. Do they see no public advantage in doing away with the scandal of these evictions, and in doing away with the cost of the police and the presence of the military? Do they not object to see the law brought into disrepute? How is the law brought into disrepute? It is by the spectacle of people shaking hands with the girls who pour boiling water on the bailiffs and police. It is by the exhibition of sympathy with the law-breakers against the agents of the law. Can hon. Gentlemen opposite wish to continue these scenes? If not, is it not desirable to substitute some other process for them? There is nothing ridiculous in that. [DR. TANNER: Indeed, there is.] I can tell hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite that they will not promote the efficiency of these debates by ridiculing a serious subject. This is a serious subject. I wish to ask right hon. Gentlemen opposite, if they are law-abiding, whether they do not see that the law is brought into disrepute by these processes; and, if so, why it is that they wish to continue these evictions? The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington has repudiated any sympathy with the view that these evictions ought to be continued; but he is disposed to go against the clause.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never said anything about it. I said there were grave doubts as to the wisdom of the clause.

MR. GOSCHEN: And he put a very pointed question to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Let him answer it.

MR. GOSCHEN: He asked what would have taken place if the clause had been in force before, and I gather that he thinks it would have been a misfortune if this clause had been in existence; in other words, that it would have been a misfortune if a written notice had before now been substituted for the present process. Well, it appears to me a dangerous thing to continue these evictions—dangerous to the good government of Ireland—and I trust that hon. Members will assist us in doing away with them. The noble Lord spoke of several of the clauses as if they had escaped my attention as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and as if I had not been sufficiently vigilant in the interest of the public purse; but to the noble Lord, as a most economical Chancellor of the Exchequer, I would put this question. What is the cost of these evictions? What is the cost of sending police and military, and of having a series of sieges and military operations, in order to do that which a written notice will equally do? Looking to the protection of the public purse I think I am justified in adopting the sensible, economical process of sending a written notice as proposed. That will be a far more satisfactory and a great deal more peaceful, and it will achieve the same thing.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It is not worth thinking about.

MR. GOSCHEN: We, therefore, are not prepared to accept the suggestion from various quarters of the House to drop this clause from the Bill. We consider that it will promote law and order and economy and the good government of Ireland. We do not wish to see the hillsides of Ireland devoted to eviction scenes simply for the purpose of calling the attention of Great Britain and Ireland to their existence. [*Cheers.*] Those cheers show how entirely right I am. If we put a stop to the evictions we put a stop to half the stock-in-trade of the agitators. I leave that clause and now proceed to the Bankruptcy Clauses. In the first place, I wish to refer to the view taken by the opponents of these clauses. It is the view that every creditor is to be satisfied, and the landlord alone is to bear the reverse. Much merriment has been made of the Bankruptcy Clauses, but I do not think that any hon. Gentleman has tackled the principle. If a tenant is insolvent not only through a high rent, but from other causes beyond his control, is the landlord to bear the whole loss? It may be that this principle is accepted by hon. Members opposite because they say—as it was said by the hon. Member for East Mayo—that the landlord's debt is a dishonest debt, fixed though it was by a Judicial Court under the Act passed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It is a dishonest debt, although fixed by the law of the land.

I make no comment on that view further than to state the proposition. Now, as the clause is drawn by the Government, if the tenant is insolvent his creditors generally must contribute to his release; that is the release to which hon. Members opposite object. They desire that the whole loss should fall upon the landlord so long as there is any rent to pay. He is the man from whom everything is to be deducted. That is their position with regard to the *fi. fa.* The landlord is to be prevented from entering, but other creditors are to be allowed to seize the tenant's goods. On this matter of *fieri facias*, the Government are perfectly prepared to meet the views of hon. Members if there is to be the same justice and equal treatment for all creditors. That is to say, the Government are absolutely determined and anxious to stop evictions, and for the sake of stopping evictions they have proposed Clause 22. But in case Clause 22 is insufficient, and there is a door open through some other legal process by which the landlord can bring about a similar result, we wish to close that door. But we do not think the remedy should be taken from the landlord, and at the same time all the other creditors should be at liberty to seize the goods and sell the goodwill. We shall appeal to the House, and we trust with success, to see that while all assistance is given to the tenant the principle shall be upheld that, if sacrifices are to be made, other creditors shall be called upon to contribute to them and to suspend processes by which otherwise the tenant might be ruined by his other creditors. For, remember, the tenant may be ruined by the gombeen man as well as by the landlord. It would be doubtful policy to leave all his remedies to the gombeen man, such as the power of selling the tenant right and the stock—to leave these untouched, and, at the same time, to lock the door on the landlord. But to return to the Bankruptcy Clauses. We are prepared to investigate these clauses with the help of the Committee. These clauses we frankly and honestly believe to be to the advantage of the tenant. They are introduced with the object of assisting the tenant. But the landlords do not like them—naturally they do not like them; and if the tenants refuse them, then I admit there will be very little encouragement to the Government to leave these clauses in the Bill. But the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington spoke as though we were going to found a system of purchase on insolvency; and it was one of the best points in his able speech. It was a very clever thing to say that we were founding national credit upon national insolvency. But the truth is—and it was pointed out the other day by the right hon. Member for West Birmingham—it is not the fact of going into the Bankruptcy Court that makes the tenant insolvent, but the fact that he is insolvent which obliges him to go there. I am not arguing this point, because I am willing to admit that a certain number of solvent tenants might go into the Bankruptcy Court on the ground of insolvency. But it might be argued with much greater force that the purchase scheme is to be successful it would be no use to introduce it with a number of insolvent tenants with debts round their necks, and it would be a natural preliminary to such a scheme that if they are insolvent, if their debts are such that they would never have a chance to relieve themselves, they should be given a fresh start by going first into the Bankruptcy Court. But said the noble Lord—it was a strong objection—"It would injure the moral fibre of the tenants in Ireland to be asked to go into the Bankruptcy Court." At all events, I do not think their morals would be injured to the same extent as by the Plan of Campaign. I call attention to this view of morality. Break all contracts with your landlord, ask for a revision of rents fixed by the State; the moment it is inconvenient to pay, tear up all agreements affecting your tenancy. That is no matter. But it is an injury to your moral fibre if you do not pay the gombeen man. I admit that all these measures are injurious to the morality of all classes. We have been injuring the morality of the tenants in Ireland ever since we embarked in the course which has landed us in our present difficulties and put us in this position, that, turn where we may, we seem to be confronted by these difficulties. It is too late in the day to say that these clauses would injure the moral fibre of the tenants of Ireland. I have stated the view of the Government with regard to these clauses. I must apologize to the House for having taken so long; but I have to touch on one point still, which is, perhaps, the most important of any with which we have to deal, and that is the counter-plan which is suggested to us as compared with our Equity and Bankruptcy Clauses—namely, the revision of rents. We are asked to revise rents. No hon. Gentleman, no right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench has given us any indication whatever how far they would carry that process. We are charged, in the first instance, with having rejected the recommendations of the Cowper Commission. From what some hon. Members say who have not read the Report, it might be thought that the Commission recommended a general revision of rents. It is nothing of the kind. The Commission does not suggest an immediate revision. But the extraordinary remedy it suggests is this—that instead of having a fixed rent for 15 years you are to have a revision every five years. I think the expression is that a time should be fixed so short that there could be no likelihood of serious error. Then they go on to recommend five years. If five years had been taken in 1884, the next revision would have taken place in 1889, and therefore, during this period of a fall in prices we should not have been a single inch farther than we are at the present time. A serious error has resulted during the quinquennial period. Therefore we cannot accept the recommendation made by the Cowper Commission. I do not think that sufficient attention has been drawn to that point, for when we examine the Report of the Commissioners we see that their recommendations would not deal with the present difficulty if we had attempted to adopt that recommendation. There are only two proposals possible. Are you with every serious fall in prices to revise the rents throughout Ireland? We cannot disguise from ourselves that that is the question with which we have to deal. If now we were to accept the view of a revision of rents in Ireland who can tell that in two years there might not be a further great change in prices and that we should not have again to revise the rents? It is clear that you could not, except with a gigantic machinery, revise the rents again so as to bring them into accord with prices. I do not speak merely of the enormous expenses; but before you had completed the process the new decisions would again be wrong, for in two years you might have another fall or another rise in prices. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby wishes to have a uniform scale. He says—

> "If you admit the leaseholders you must put the others on the same footing, and on the same scale of prices as the leaseholders."

But long before you arrive at that there will again be a change. You cannot continually revise, and the question is, does the House intend to commit itself to a revision of rents or to a scheme of purchase? And here I come to one of the main arguments which has influenced the Government in deciding against a revision of rents. Such a revision must be a revision on the scale of prices, and if you once establish that you will have done away with one of the greatest inducements to purchase. If you tell the tenant that his rent is to be varied according to prices, you will have established a totally different principle, which goes to the whole root of purchase. The principle of purchase is that there should be not a fluctuating price, but one which is to be fixed once for all. We attach great importance to the question of regular purchase and of instalments, and we believe that a fatal blow would be struck at that system if you were to approve the system which is now recommended to us. I think that must be acknowledged by hon. Members. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) is in favour of purchase, but he thinks it is very difficult for the tenants to wait until we shall be able to carry a Purchase Bill. I trust that the majority of the House, at all events, will believe us when we say that we are absolutely sincere in our determination to carry a Purchase Bill at the earliest possible opportunity, if we have the power to do so. We should hold, however, that a great blow had been struck, and that we should almost feel ourselves relieved from our responsibility to carry a Purchase Bill if the House of Commons were to decide that they would substitute for that system a system of rents varying according to profits. That would continue that dual ownership against which I thought every section of the House had decided to vote. We cannot, therefore, accept the suggestions which have been made with regard to a general revision of rents. We will do our best to improve our Bill in the direction of the Equity and the Bankruptcy Clauses, but the Amendments proposed must be consistent with the general principle, and we are averse to a revision of rents, which we believe would destroy the general policy on which we are embarked, namely—to solve ultimately this great Irish Land Question on the broad basis of purchase as a final settlement.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) upon the determination which he has announced to-night of the Government to which he belongs, that they intend to stand by the system of purchase and the abolition of dual ownership of the land in Ireland, and to resist any Amendments to this Bill that would seem to impede the adoption of a system of purchase as the ultimate settlement of the Irish Land Question. I cordially agree with him in that; but I think the right hon. Gentleman is rather looking to the price at which this purchase shall take place, and to the swelling of that price and the maintenance of that price at a fictitious height and value, rather than to the impediments which the Amendments we seek to introduce into this Bill would throw in the way of dual ownership. By all means do not set up any artificial barrier against a large scheme of land purchase; but when the right hon. Gentleman devotes his great ability and financial experience to this attempt to bolster up the inflated rents on Irish estates under the present system, he is doing all he can to prevent any system of purchase from being adopted, or, if adopted, to doom it to a near and speedy failure. The right hon. Gentleman tells us that he desires to abolish eviction; and so do we. But the way in which the right hon. Gentleman proposes to abolish eviction is by calling it by another name. Under the system of the right hon. Gentleman, proposed in Clause 4, evictions will take place just as they take place now; but none of them will be recorded in your Blue Books. Undoubtedly it presented itself to the candid mind of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in looking over the long record of evictions in the Returns presented to the House, that it would be a most desirable thing to abolish this record. Evictions of caretakers are not called evictions in Ireland. They are not carried out by the Sheriff, and they are not given in any Return to Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman will not get rid of a single eviction; evictions will take place just as hitherto. The only thing he will do will be to get rid of the record presented to Parliament. What happens now is that the tenant, after the actual eviction, has a six months' period of redemption. Within that period he can redeem his holding and save his title from being broken, by the payment of rent and costs, either in full or in part, if the landlord agrees to take less than the full sum. But under the system which the right hon. Gentleman lauds when he tells us that a written notice will suffice, the title of the tenant will practically be broken, without chance of redemption, by the written notice, and by eviction which will follow it all the same. It will be possible for the landlord to break the title which the Land Act of 1881 conferred upon the Irish tenant by the use of this written notice with which the right hon. Gentleman is so much in love, followed, of course, by the summary process of dispossession on a magistrate's order. It is not because we think that this system of written notice will get rid of the scenes that have shocked public opinion in this country that we object to the 4th clause, but it is because we know that this system will not get rid of evictions, and will not do away with the scenes either. The scenes will take place all the same; the dispossession will have to come all the same. Evictions under another form will come all the same, and you will find that these evictions will come home to your consciences and the consciences of our constituents just as they do now. The right hon. Gentleman will find that he has been baffled in the amiable purpose which has governed the minds of the authors of Clause 4. This is a very good example of the way in which a Minister of the Crown thinks that he is entitled to mislead the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman actually attempts to prove in this House that by substituting a written notice and postponing the process of eviction for six months he will get rid of evictions altogether. Now I come to the question of the leaseholders. I fear that, after the declaration just made from the Ministerial Bench, the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) will find that his confidence in Her Majesty's Government has been somewhat misplaced. The hon. Member sought to deprive me of any credit which may attach to the Leaseholder's Clause in the Relief Bill I introduced last year, by interrupting the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) with the announcement that the clause would not have admitted the leaseholders of Ireland, and that, therefore, he refused his support to the Bill.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): Would not have admitted the whole of the leaseholders?

MR. PARNELL: The hon. Member did not say that. That may have been, and undoubtedly was, his meaning, but he did not say it. However, I accept his correction, and I say that the clause in my Bill, which he refused to support because it would not have admitted the whole body of leaseholders, would have done far more than the clause of the Government, the Bill containing which he now supports. The clause in the Relief Bill was the same as the clause of the Government, minus some of the important restrictions in the latter, and consequently it was a better clause than the clause of the Government; and I ask the hon. Member for South Tyrone how he can consistently defend himself for refusing to support a Bill containing a better Leaseholder's Clause than that in this measure?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: If that clause had stood by itself in the Bill of last year, I should certainly have supported it; but the Bill contained a fatal clause which I was not prepared to support. Inasmuch as I was not prepared to support Clause 1, and as I thought Clause 2 defective, I voted against the hon. Member's Bill, and I should do so again.

MR. PARNELL: Then I am afraid I must class the hon. Member in the category of unrepentant sinners. The hon. Member having sold himself to his Party in connection with the Crimes Bill, and having agreed to vote with that Party, and to be bound by the decision of the majority of that Party——

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I never gave such a pledge.

MR. PARNELL: The hon. Member now finds himself in the position of being dragged at the tail of the Party because they refuse to support him—at least, we understand the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Party does—and we believe that the Leader will carry the majority with him notwithstanding the puny efforts of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The hon. Gentleman finds himself left in the lurch. I appreciate at their true value the exertions of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain). I look upon that Gentleman as a unit and nothing more in what is called the Liberal Unionist Party. I look upon him as possessing as little influence in the Party and in the country as any other Member of the Party, and certainly as possessing a great deal less influence than some Members of the Party. I hope that the hon. Member for South Tyrone when he revisits his constituents will provide himself with some better excuse for his conduct and perfidy than any which he has given to the House. Now I come to the question of the revision of the judicial leases, which appears to be the question that will excite the greatest difference of opinion when the Bill reaches Committee. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has used the most extraordinary argument. He has told us that any attempt to interfere with judicial rents will discourage purchase. Why will it discourage purchase? It will not discourage purchase, as the right hon. Gentleman would have us believe, because it will unsettle the prospect of variable rents. It will settle the mind of the tenant, because the tenant who is desirous of converting his variable rent into a fixed and terminable rent will have the inducement of being able to diminish the rent at which he starts. It may, however, interfere, in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, with the prospect of purchase, because he thinks that he has thus got the tenant in a cleft stick, and that he and the Irish landlords are in the position of being able to say to the unfortunate rack-rented tenants—"Purchase, or else go out!" And that is the keynote of all the proceedings of the Government in reference to this question. They wish to keep up the prices in order to force the tenant to purchase. I believe this is a very mistaken policy, from their own point of view, for I am convinced the tenants will not purchase on the basis of the present prices, for if they did the result would be disastrous both to them and to the English taxpayer. I do not believe the common sense of the English people would permit such a job as that which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Colleagues in the Government are seeking to perpetuate in this attempt to bolster up the judicial rents as the basis of purchase, and to send the tenant forward upon his new career with a small stone round his neck.

Mr. GOSCHEN: I am sure the hon. Gentleman does not wish to misrepresent me. I did not say that the judicial rents would be the basis of purchase; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that the purchase would not be based on any rent at all.

Mr. PARNELL: Well, Sir, I am rather at a loss to know whether the right hon. Gentleman intends to join the "No-rent" standard, and to abolish rents altogether before he brings forward his Purchase Bill. In that event, undoubtedly, there would be some people —I will not say in Ireland, but over in New York—who would cordially agree with him—Mr. Patrick Ford, for instance; but I do not see on what lines the proposed system is to be based, except upon rents, unless it is upon no rents at all. Surely, if you are going to buy property, you estimate it by its yearly value — by what it produces yearly; and how is the right hon. Gentleman going to estimate the yearly value of Irish farms unless he first ascertains what the fair rents of those farms are going to be? It strikes me as being the only common-sense way in which this operation can be gone about —namely, to ascertain a fair rent, and then proceed to fix the number of years' purchase. If it is otherwise, you and the other persons concerned will have no standard of value whatever upon which to go. You will be in a perpetual state of uncertainty; first of all, as to how many years' purchase should be given, and, secondly, as to the principle of fair rents on which the number of years' purchase should be estimated. But I have another criticism of a more valid character to offer against the plan of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He proposes that these rents should remain as they are, lest their reduction should interfere with the ultimate solution of the question by purchase. That means that the tenant is to be left without any protection except that afforded by 18 months' interregnum constituted by the Bankruptcy Clauses—which, by-the-bye, have now been given up by the Government—it means that the tenants are to be left without any protection except that afforded by the illusory 22nd clause, until this system of purchase, which is to be based upon some other plan of estimated value than what the rent may be, is brought into effect. The right hon. Gentleman is a financial authority of great experience; but has he ever calculated the number of years it will take to investigate the titles and carry out a scheme of purchase upon any proportion of the land of Ireland? I have heard such an estimate made by good authorities that the period required has been put at from 10 to 15 years. I do not see how you can possibly hope to complete the scheme of purchase in the minds of the Government, to abolish the system of dual ownership in Ireland, in a lesser period than eight or ten years. During those years are the Irish tenants to be left at the mercy of these rack rents, for that is what is proposed by the Government? The Government say—"We will not interfere with the Act of 1881, but we will abolish dual ownership with the view of protecting the tenants from unjust and unfair payment." I maintain that long before the system of dual ownership could be abolished by means of your system of purchase it will have abolished itself by the extermination of all the tenants of Ireland. The best authorities in the country have agreed that it is impossible for the tenants to pay the present rents. Why, then, in the name of common sense, cannot the so-called Unionist Party set to work to solve this problem, and give protection to the tenants from unjust rents? We have been blamed for being desirous of keeping this Land Question open. Some people say we want to keep it open in order to increase the strength of the National movement, in order that the sores of Ireland may be exhibited, like those of Lazarus, for the compassion of the world. Others say that we want to close the question in order to get rid of the landlords, and so abolish British rule in Ireland. In my judgment, both set of critics are wrong. I certainly do not wish to keep this Land Question alive for the purpose of attracting attention to the grievances of Ireland. I believe that, whether you settle the Land Question radically, as proposed by us, or whether you leave it open, it will make no appreciable difference to the strength of the National movement. If, however, you leave it unsettled, you will have a continuation of those scenes which occurred lately, you will have the disaffection of the people excited as it is against your rule, and you will have the indignation of the nations of the world against your rule. You will also have to answer to your consciences. [*Laughter.*] Perhaps they are not sufficiently tender for them to trouble you; but, at all events, you will have your constituents finding fault with your proceedings in the government of Ireland, as they have done at some recent elections, and you will continue to exhibit yourselves and your Government as permanent monuments, or monuments more or less permanent, of stupidity and ineptitude. I could not have believed it possible that the Government would be so foolish and stupid, and so regardless of their election pledges and every principle upon which they took their stand when they were making their appeal to the country at the last Election, as to deal with the Irish Land Question as they have dealt with it since they came into Office. Your whole platform was that you were strong enough and willing enough to do justice to Ireland. How have you dealt with this question? In the first place, you introduced the Bill into the House of Lords, kept it there for weeks while you were chopping and changing it; and now, when it has come down to this House, instead of announcing that you will meet the wishes of the country and bow to the inevitable, you shift and shuffle and bring forward futile and insignificant excuses. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has misrepresented the Report of the Cowper Commission. The Cowper Commission recommended that there should be a revision of rents every five years, not from 1884, as represented by the right hon. Gentleman, but judicial rent in each case was fixed. The result of that would be that 100,000 tenants would have gone into Court to get their rents revised, and the revision would have taken place without any of the difficulty or delay suggested by the right hon. Gentleman, because, as he admitted, it would be a revision conducted on the basis of the difference in prices between the time at which the rents were fixed and now. This provision would be a mere actuarial calculation, necessitating no visiting of the farms, or any of the proceedings which characterized the fixing of judicial rents. The revision in respect of these 100,000 or 120,000 tenancies could be disposed of most rapidly. It would not occupy more than a few months; indeed, there would have been none of the delay or difficulty anticipated by the right hon. Gentleman. It may be necessary for us, when the Bill reaches Committee, to show you some way in which the difficulty can be met. I hope the Government will be in a better frame of mind by that time than they are in now, and that they will reciprocate the way in which we have met them in regard to this matter by coming forward half-way, as we have come forward more than half-way, to meet them in the settlement of this great question. Now, Sir, a revision of some kind of the judicial rents is absolutely necessary, and it will be impossible for the Government to go to the country, or to go over to Ireland and administer the Coercion Act, in face of the fact that they leave the grievances of the judicial tenants unredressed. They will be constituting a fresh inequality. Whereas the Act of 1881 left the grievances of the leaseholders unredressed, and whereas every year's experience of the working of that Act showed how more and more necessary it was that the leaseholders should be included in the Act, until at last the Government have admitted that they ought to be included, the working of this new Bill will show every year how necessary it is that the judicial tenants should be admitted to the same privileges as the leaseholders —that they should be allowed to apply to the Court to have fair rents fixed at a time when a great fall in prices has taken place, a fall which, unhappily, as far as all human judgment can foresee, is bound to continue for many years to come. Sir, I have dealt with the different points of the Bill, and I come now to consider the attitude that ought to be adopted by the Opposition at this stage of the measure. The Government have dropped the whole of the Bankruptcy Clauses, which constitute one-half of the Bill as it stands at present. Possibly, by the time we reach the Committee stage, they may make up their minds to drop another quarter of the Bill, and substitute for that quarter a couple of pages of common sense and of justice; at least, I think it will be wise for us to give them the opportunity of doing so. I think it will be wise for us, in view of the progress that is being made upon this question, to allow the Government to see our Amendments on the Paper before we challenge a hostile decision of the House of Commons. The responsibility that will be thrown on the Government in the interval between now and the Motion to go into Committee will be very great. No body of men have ever faced a greater responsibility. You talk of having been placed in this position by the legislation of 1881. The people who talk in this way talk like fools of that which they know not of. You know not what the legislation of 1881 did. It was not the Coercion Act of 1881, it was not the Coercion Act of 1882, that broke down the Land League movement—it was the Land Act of 1881. I know well the truth of what I am saying. I watched from Kilmainham 90,000 tenants going into the Land Court, and I say that if it had not been for the Act of 1881 it would have been possible for us, even from our cells in Kilmainham, to have pushed the Land League movement to any extreme goal we chose it to reach. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his Colleagues in the Government, and the Irish landlords, may thank the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) for the lifeboat, as it was truly called at that time, which he launched to their assistance. He saved the Irish landlords at that time, and if the results of his measure have not been so fortunate as they might have been, it is not for you to throw that failure in his teeth; it is not for you who, during 50 nights of opposition in the House of Commons, obstructed the efforts of the Government of the day, and who, subsequently, in the Lords, cut out of the Bill some of its most valuable provisions, who afterwards dogged the proceedings of the Commissioners by every species of intimidation, at one time by Motions in the House of Commons, and at another time by the appointment of Lords' Commissioners to examine and heckle the Land Commissioners in the discharge of their duties—it is not for you to taunt the Government of the day with the failure of that message. If it failed, it failed, in the first instance, owing to your exertions; and, in the second place, owing to the operation of the natural laws which brought about the fall in prices which we have since witnessed. However, we are now on the threshold. The Government have conceded something; they have conceded some points; they have given up, as I have said, a great deal of their Bill. Will the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) who has moved this Amendment consider whether, under the circumstances, it would not be right and fair to allow the Government a little breathing time after the two very important speeches that have been delivered, but especially after the very important and able speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill)? Everybody who is concerned in this matter, everybody who has any responsibility upon him, should hesitate long and carefully before taking any decided step. I shall be very unwilling, while the mind of the Government may be open —for all I know it is still open, I sincerely and ardently hope that it is still open—while, I say, their minds are still open and while there is some time, let us not close in hostility with them, let us give them the necessary time, even as long a time as is sought by the Government—namely, till this day week—for the consideration of the Amendments we may place on the Paper and the final making up of their minds. If, then, the Government should make up their minds against justice and in favour of sending this stone to the Irish people when they have asked for bread, upon them will be the sin and the shame of what may follow in Ireland, upon them will be the responsibility if the Bill should be lost.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, I think that upon one point at least hon. Gentlemen in all quarters of the House will agree in a common opinion that we have listened to a debate during these three nights of remarkable interest and remarkable ability. The House has applied its mind to the subject, and great light has been thrown upon all the main propositions of this Bill. I do not, Sir, under these circumstances, and I should not even if the hour were earlier, propose to enter upon any repetition or upon any detailed examination of any of these arguments; but I wish to answer, if I may, the appeal which has just been made to those who sit near me by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). I wish likewise to direct, as far as I can, the mind of the House to that which appears to me to be the one vital question in the consideration of this Bill, in which all other questions, however important, are included and absorbed. The hon. Member for Cork is of opinion that it would be well, on a double ground, that the Amendment now before the House should be withdrawn. The ground, as I understand, is, in the first place, that the mind of the Government may still be open to consider the changes which would make this measure a really valuable law; and, in the second, that a disposition has been shown in various independent quarters of the House—if any quarter of the House can be called independent—to sympathize with the hon. Member for Cork, and to deal with the position in a manner which may greatly improve the Bill and endow it with increased strength. When my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) undertook to give Notice of this Amendment, we acted alone as a small minority of this House—a minority scarcely exceeding one quarter of the entire House. We had no reason, excepting from general declarations and inferences, to know what were the views upon the present Bill of the hon. Member for Cork, or any of those who act with him, and still less had we any opportunity of obtaining information respecting the section of the House who have played a most important part during the present Session, and who are for the most part represented by my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington). But I need not say that at no period, upon no question, in no conjuncture of the many questions that have arisen during the course of the present laborious and anxious Session, have we been ever favoured, directly or indirectly, with the smallest indication of the course those Gentlemen were likely to pursue. We had to act for ourselves, and we deemed that the point which was put forward in the Amendment of my hon. Friend was the one great and vital point upon which the ultimate decision of this measure would have to depend. In looking at this Bill, and at the condition of the Irish tenantry, we have brought before us two large bodies of persons. Those two great bodies are dealt with in this Bill upon principles, not only different from, but contradictory the one to the other. The one body is that of the leaseholders, numbering, perhaps, about 120,000 persons; and the other is that of the tenants under judicial rents, who, taking those whose rents were determined by the Courts and those whose rents were fixed by agreement sanctioned in Court, together amount to 200,000 persons. What we have felt all along is that it is impossible to deal with these two classes upon opposite principles. By this Bill the leaseholders are to be admitted to the benefit of judicial rents. Why? What pretension is necessary in order to justify the admission of leaseholders? Simply this—that they are over-rented, and that, in many cases, the present rents are unjust. Why should not the judicial renters also have the benefit of the same principle? When you come to deal with them you adopt a principle totally different, and which tends, as we think, and as was admirably pointed out by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), to degrade and demoralize the people in Ireland. What says the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) on that subject? In a portion of his speech, which, I confess, I heard with some surprise, he said it was made an objection to the Bankruptcy Clauses that they tended to diminish and deteriorate the moral fibre of the people of Ireland. What answer did he make to that objection? It was that the moral fibre of the people of Ireland had undergone so much deterioration already from the Plan of Campaign that it really was a matter unnecessary for him to examine whether it was likely to suffer further in consequence of the enactments now proposed. Why, I want to know, is a different principle to be applied to tenants under judicial rents and under leases? If there is any argument for this broad distinction, it is in favour of the judicial renter, because he has submitted to a rent fixed for him by public authority, while the leaseholder has accepted a rent which, according to all palpable and available evidence, has been fixed at his own discretion. I do not say that it has not been under pressure and difficulties; but it is, at least, by his own act, and not by public authority, that he has incurred the rent which he now pays. Why is the leaseholder to have his rent reconsidered, except on the ground of inability to pay? If it is just that the leaseholder should have his rent reconsidered, why is not the judicial renter to have the benefit of the like consideration? Those are the two points on which this question depends. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has indicated the willingness of the Government to make certain concessions, which are of a secondary character, as he himself would admit. They are in themselves not unimportant, but they do not touch the great and vital question of the principle upon which you have to deal with 200,000 occupiers who are now subject to judicial rents. The right hon. Gentleman has pointed out that the Government, as at present advised, are opposed to a revision of rents. The question raised by the right hon. Gentleman was regarded as one so vital and so difficult to deal with in an effective manner in Committee that we considered it impossible to do otherwise than to call attention to it on the Motion for the second reading of the Bill. Since that time we have had an opportunity of learning the views of the Government, and we have also had an opportunity of learning the views of Gentlemen who call themselves Liberal Unionists on the subject. I cannot say that I am sanguine as to the views of the Government. I might distinguish between the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Government would not assent to the revision of judicial rents except in cases of inability to pay, and the reasons upon which he founded that decision—those reasons referring simply to the difficulties which would arise in establishing a relation between rents and fluctuating prices. I hardly think that so acute a Gentleman as the right hon. Gentleman is believes that his reasons are of the slightest practical use. If I understand the right hon. Gentleman rightly, he indicated that there was some disposition on the part of the Government not to press the Bankruptcy Clauses in the face of the objections taken in so many quarters. But the Government in dropping the Bankruptcy Clauses will drop that which all along they have put forward as the main remedial provision contained in the Bill. They have not proposed or glanced at any substitute for the Bankruptcy Clauses, and consequently we shall have to obtain in the best way we can the judgment of the House upon this important question—namely, when shall the judicial renters in Ireland, who are now suffering, like the leaseholders, from the extraordinary abatement of agricultural values which have taken place, be admitted to the benefit of a reconsideration of their covenants in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission which had the confidence of the Government. What are our means for bringing the question to an issue? We have no right whatever to suppose or to hope that we have any chance of pressing it to an issue, except on the part of a very decided minority of the House. My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) has made a speech containing propositions of the greatest importance, corresponding in the main perhaps, without any very material difference, with the views which have been independently taken in another quarter by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. The announcements which have been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham on the question of Amendments to the Land Bill have probably been the subject of careful and renewed consideration among hon. Gentlemen forming that section of the House with which he acts. Until I know something to warrant such a supposition, I will not repeat the question put by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon)—whether it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to use his utmost exertions to press upon the House the Amendments he had explained with so much ability? I hail this speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and the propositions contained in it, as substantially adopting the principles that are put forward in the Amendment of my right hon. Friend the Member for the Stirling Burghs. Another important announcement was made to-night in the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. No person could possibly have listened to that speech without the conviction that it was the offspring of deep belief in the mind of the noble Lord, and of a careful consideration of the matter on which he was addressing the House. I am not disposed to say anything to decrease the difficulties in which the Government are placed in regard to this measure. I beg pardon; I intended to say that I am not disposed to augment the difficulties in which the Government are placed in regard to it. There is no principle of Party which ought to compel the Government to reject the proposition made to them by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham in favour of the revision of judicial rents under the extraordinary and exceptional circumstances which have effected agricultural values within the last few years. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke against the arguments of the Commission in a manner that caused me some surprise. The right hon. Gentleman was not a Member of the Government when that Commission was appointed; but has he considered the moral pledge given to the people of Ireland by the appointment of that Commission? Is it possible for you to hope that after you have made the *primâ facie* admissions involved in the very appointment of that Commission, when you have selected a Commission composed of men after your own heart, who would look at the question from your own point of view, after that Commission has carefully examined the whole subject, and has reported and has made it the first and most vital of its recommendations that judicial rents should be revised, is it not demanding too much of the people of Ireland, under the pressure of agricultural distress, to expect that they should be able to acquiesce in your rejection of the opinion and advice and authority of your own confidential representatives, and that they should be content to accept forms of relief which are given to them under no other conditions than those of a previous submission to what they justly deemed degradation? Sir, we have to think not merely of the strong recommendations which have been made to the Government, but of the general tone of the House. We have seen no disposition in any portion of the House to sustain the Government in the extraordinary and, I think, unfortunate course that they have determined to adopt in refusing the principal and simple recommendations of their own Commission. I cling to the hope that if happily we can keep this question free from the entanglements of Party associations and recollections, there may be so effective a movement in the House that the Government may, even with some promptitude and before embarrassments thicken around them, be disposed to make changes in the Bill which will bring it to the condition of a valuable measure. Hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House who have assumed to themselves the name of Liberal Unionist must be sensible that upon this question they have an enormous responsibility; that it is for them to determine, in the main, which way the judgment of the House shall be. Most singular, indeed, will be the spectacle exhibited to the world if, after the close cohesion that they have shown upon all subjects connected with the repression and restraint of the liberties of the people of Ireland, they should go to pieces, and prove that they have no cohesion as a Party when it comes to a question of ministering to the practical wants of that people, and so avoiding the recurrence of scenes such as those which have recently shocked the nation. I hope I do not seem to utter that language in the tone of suspicion and mistrust. I utter it in justification of my confidence; I utter it at the same time, I frankly admit, because of the words by which the hon. Member for Cork has somewhat disparaged the weight and importance of the declaration which has been made by my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham, and which, until I know to the contrary, I shall believe he has made on the part of those with whom he has so closely and so consistently co-operated, and on the part of those whom he has so constantly undertaken to speak. Well, under those circumstances, I agree with the hon. Member for Cork, and I give effect to what was stated by my right hon. Friend the Member for Derby in thinking that our main contentions have obtained, in some respects unexpectedly, a vantage ground which, a week or a fortnight ago, we had no reason to anticipate. What we wish is that that impartial judgment of the House should be taken upon this question, and should be taken especially upon the subject whether the great body of the tenants of Ireland who are affected by the judicial rents are or are not to be treated upon principles of equality with those who are now known as leaseholders. We have every prospect I think on going into Committee—I regret there is to be so much delay, but that after all is only a matter of a few days—we have every reason to hope upon going into Committee that the prospect may be improved—the more days intervene between this time and Committee the better it may be for our opinions—we have every prospect of bringing to bear all the elements favourable to the proposition of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). I know I speak his sentiments and the sentiments of those near me when I say that it would be wise in the general interests of the question, and would undoubtedly tend to keep it free from Party associations and Party animosity, if we were to save the House the trouble of dividing on the present occasion, and allow to go forward a Bill to which we can give no sanction or countenance as it stands, but in which we recognize the capability of being brought by judicious Amendments, recommended in an impartial spirit from very different and separate quarters of the House, to such a state that it shall become a valuable and important boon to the people of Ireland, and contribute in its degree to the solution of the great Irish Question.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): There is at least one portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) in which I cordially concur, and that is in the desire that the House will approach the consideration of this great question free from Party influences and Party aims. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain). Only a few days ago the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham advocated the second reading of the Bill on the ground that it was a much more generous and liberal measure than has at any time been proposed. It is on these grounds that we ask the House of Commons to read the Bill a second time this evening, and to read it as it is. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) has expressed our readiness to accept Amendments consistent with the general principles of the Bill, those principles being to extend the benefits enjoyed by the tenant from year to year to the leaseholder, and to put a stop to harsh, unjust, and cruel evictions. We desire to give relief to the tenant when he is unjustly and cruelly pressed, and, at the same time, to admit the leaseholder to the benefit of the Act of 1881. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) says that we are now extending to the leaseholders benefits which the judicial renters will not share. It is remarkable that throughout the whole of his Land Law legislation the right hon. Gentleman had denied to the leaseholders the benefits he has been ready to extend to the judicial renters. I cannot conceive that there is any difference whatever in the position of these two tenants. One has entered into a contract as well as the other. One is as free to make a bargain as the other; and it seems to me that the tenant under a lease is at least as much entitled to the benefits of the Act of 1881 as the tenant from year to year. But what is the contention of the right hon. Gentleman? It is, virtually, that the benefits which have been derived by the last tenant under the last fixture of the judicial rent, under the last fall of prices, under the last condition, which can in any way affect the tenancy, shall be applied to all tenants—to all leases and to judicial rents fixed by the Court. A contention of that kind is a contention which destroys all possibility of finality and of settlement under any circumstances whatever. Here is a settlement which has been made under the Act of 1881, an Act passed with great solemnity, and under which we were assured there would be a settlement for a term of years which would not be disturbed. I, for one, should very deeply regret if any of the rents so fixed should, owing to change of circumstances, become onerous and severe on the tenants; and if that is the case, there is a power under the Equity Clause of this Bill, Clause 22, which will enable the tenant to put pressure upon the landlord to bring about a settlement; and, for my part, I would infinitely prefer that the old system, under which landlord and tenant came together and made their own bargain for one year, or for two or three years, should be revived. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) referred to the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and said that the object of my right hon. Friend was to maintain an impossible rent in order that impossible terms of purchase should be exacted from the tenant. I entirely deny that that is either his intention or the fair and reasonable meaning to be attached to the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the previous evening the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. A. J. Balfour) distinctly stated that the basis on which the Government contemplated purchase was the real value of the land and not the judicial rent. I am sure the hon. Member for Cork must be very well aware that the judicial rent does not express the real value of the land in a variety of cases; the land may be worth more or less years' purchase. If the principle which was embodied in the Bill of last year were followed a certain number of years' purchase would have been applied to the judicial rent wherever it was found. That is not the meaning we attach to a scheme of purchase. We believe that the value of the land must be found at the time the bargain was made. That is the basis on which we hope to go; but it is conceivable that if Parliament substitutes for an arrangement of that kind a rent expressed by, if you please, a fresh valuation or a fresh adjustment, all inducement for purchase is gone, all motive for purchase is gone; and I am afraid that for a long time to come we may have that condition continued which every statesman and every Member of Parliament looks upon as most disastrous, and I am afraid the dual ownership of land must continue. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) referred to the Bankruptcy Clauses. We hold to the Bankruptcy Clauses as beneficial to the tenant. If hon. Gentlemen say that they are not beneficial to the tenant, and if they put obstacles in the way of these clauses being considered and adopted by the House, upon them must rest the responsibility. I am not able to agree with the remarks of my noble Friend the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) with reference to the stigma which is supposed to attach to a man who has been applied to avail himself of bankruptcy in consequence of inability to pay all his creditors. It seems to me that any other method of paying less than the full sum of debts carries equal stigmas to that which is attached to the process of bankruptcy in open Court. It was suggested that the end might be obtained without the stigma of bankruptcy. Let us, at leaat, be frank, straightforward, and open. If a man is not capable of paying all his debts let an arrangement be made under which his creditors will share alike without distinction, and then we shall have a basis on which a man may start again as a free man, capable probably of discharging the duties of life. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred to the conditions under which purchase may be carried out—possibly by men relieved in this from the liabilities which hang round their necks. I am sure that any hon. Gentleman who is acquainted with the condition of the tenantry in Ireland would very much prefer they should start free from debt and liability than that they should have these encumbrances dragging them down. I will not at this moment occupy the attention of the House further than to refer to the 4th clause. Reference has been made to the 4th clause of this Bill as being an insidious clause. It is intended honestly to put a check upon evictions. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] I assure hon. Gentlemen opposite that there is one thing we desire as much as they, and that is the peace and prosperity and happiness of Ireland. Now, the 4th clause must be taken in connection with the 22nd. Under the 22nd clause, any tenant against whom any process of eviction is levelled can go to the Court and obtain a stay of eviction; therefore, none of these preliminary processes need be gone through if the tenants can show good cause why processes should not issue. If a tenant can only show that his failure has not been due to any fault of his own, the County Court Judge is compelled by the provision of the section to put a stay upon the execution of a process and to order that the debts due to the landlord shall be paid by instalments. And then the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork says that this is a mere insidious attempt to carry out eviction without obtaining the discredit connected with it. Why it is notorious that 75 per cent of these preliminary evictions do not issue in ultimate evictions.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) That is not so. Where are your figures?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am satisfied that when these clauses come to be examined they will be found to be real boons to the tenants of Ireland, and they will assuage many sores and troubles which we all deplore, and will bring about, I hope and believe, a better state of relationship between the landlords and tenants. I have been reproached for the delay in taking the Committee stage of the Bill. I must, however, remind the House that we are in a difficulty with regard to Supply. It is absolutely necessary that we should take the Navy Estimates on Monday, and the Civil Service Estimates on Tuesday and Wednesday. The exigencies of Supply compel us to postpone the Committee stage until Thursday next.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* next.

CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND) PROCEDURE (No. 2) BILL.—[Bill 196.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

CONSIDERATION. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Bill, on Consideration, as amended [12th July].

And which Amendment was to leave out Clause 39.

Question again proposed, "That Clause 39 stand part of the Bill."

Debate *resumed.*

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I rise to support the omission of Clause 39, and I hope the House will not misunderstand the object of my rising. Although the clause is in no way against the interest of prisoners, yet, as it is only to relieve jurors, and involves no real principle, and as public opinion seems to be suspicious that it might injuriously affect accused persons, I have decided not to press it.

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR (Clackmannan, &c.): I agree with the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate that there does seem to be a strong feeling in the direction indicated, and I can quite understand the proposal which has been made to omit the clause. On the other hand, when I was in Office, it was found that there was a great hardship in jurors being summoned from a great distance in seed time and harvest, and it seems to me that the House should be made aware of the strong feeling which exists throughout the country on this subject.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause *left out.*

Clause 44 (Prevention of delay in trials).

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendment made:—In page 15, line 29, at end, add,—

> "Provided also, that where a person accused has been incarcerated for eighty days, and an indictment is served upon him, and he is detained in custody after expiry of such eighty days, then, unless he is brought to trial and the trial concluded within one hundred and ten days of the date of his being committed, till liberated in due course of law, he shall be forthwith set at liberty, and declared for ever free from all question or process for the crime with which he was charged; provided also, that where any person accused has been liberated from prison after having been committed till liberated in due course of law, he shall not be detained in prison more than one hundred and ten days in all, but unless his trial is brought to a conclusion before the hundred and tenth day of confinement in prison subsequent to commitment, till liberated in due course of Law, has expired, he shall be forthwith set at liberty and declared for ever free from all question or process for the crime with which he was committed."

Mr. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I would put it to the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, whether this clause is not one which might very properly be left out of the Bill? I admit that the Amendment just made does, to some extent, remove the objection there was to the clause; but I am still of opinion that to omit it altogether would be the better course.

Mr. SPEAKER: I call the attention of the hon. Member for Inverness-shire to the fact that the House has already amended the clause, and the Motion to leave it out of the Bill cannot now be made.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I ask, Sir, if it is not the practice first to amend a clause, and then to put the Question, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill?"

MR. SPEAKER: That is not so on Report.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: I am quite sure that everything in this clause is to the advantage, and not to the disadvantage, of the prisoner. The clause is not perfect, no doubt; but the accused person will be benefited by it, because it will enable him to bring his case into Court at an earlier date than hitherto was possible.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 47 (Sittings of the High Court).

Amendment proposed, in page 16, line 14, after the word "necessary," to insert the words "on the requisition of the Lord Advocate."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): It is proposed by this Amendment that the High Court of Justiciary shall only hold sittings for the purposes of this Bill, for which the Lord Advocate makes requisition. It might happen that the prisoner's counsel wanted to move the Court to fix the trial on a certain day; in that case, the Court would not have the power to do so in the absence of the Lord Advocate's requisition. That seems to me to be putting a restriction on the High Court inconsistent with the powers and dignity of the Court.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: The requisition must come from the prosecutors; and if the prisoner is affected injuriously by the course taken, he has the right of applying to the Court.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 55.—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause 56 (Clerk to state charge and swear jury).

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I think that in this clause the Lord Advocate is imposing on the clerk of the Court a duty which may be performed in a very perfunctory manner, unintelligible to the jury, and perhaps not distinctly heard; and, being in favour of the law as it stands, I propose to leave out the clause.

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 56.—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 56 stand part of the Bill."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I cannot consent to the hon. Gentleman's proposal to leave out this clause. In England and Ireland it is the power of the prosecuting counsel not only to state to the jury the nature of the case, but to state it in an argumentative manner, and practically influence the jury by pleading before the evidence is led. What we propose is that the charge should be stated by the clerk in the form set forth in the Schedule to the Bill before the jury is sworn; and I do not agree with the hon. Gentleman opposite that this will necessarily be done in a perfunctory manner.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR (Clackmannan, &c.): I entirely agree with the Lord Advocate in his view of this matter. I think it must be within the experience of most lawyers that sometimes the laying of the indictment before the jury tends to confuse them and cause delay, owing to their studying the documents given to them, without considering the facts before them.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): What the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour) has just stated might apply to indictments in the present form, but has no relation to the new form of indictment that will be laid before the jury. It is impossible that any jury can misunderstand the nature of such a charge as this in the Schedule of the Bill—"You are indicted at the instance of Her Majesty's Advocate, and the charge against you is that on the 20th of June, 1888, in a shop in George Street, Edinburgh, you did steal a shawl and a boa." The new form of indictment lays the case before the jury as simply as it can be done by any Judge. I think that it would be well, and it is only a matter of small expense, as, by means of a manifold writer, the necessary number of copies of the charge against the prisoner can be easily taken, and laid before the jury. In centres where the people are not so highly educated, the statement made by the Judge of the charge is very often forgotten five minutes afterwards. It is not fair that you should alter the system of procedure in Scotland which has worked so well, and which ensures that the jury, at least, know what the charge is, and which might, in the way I have suggested, be laid before them in four or five lines.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth): I believe the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. B. Balfour) opposite is correct in saying that to place a document before the jury is likely to mislead them. An intelligent jury, such as I cannot doubt would be found in Scotland, would have no difficulty in understanding the charge stated by word of mouth; but if there should be a jury so unintelligent as not to be able to remember such a simple charge as that of stealing a shawl, for instance, I am afraid that any document you might give them would only tend to confuse them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 64 (Statutory offences which are offences at common law).

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I think that when the Public Prosecutor brings up an accused person, he should make up his mind beforehand that the indictment should be for an offence either against Statute, or against Common Law; but to give him power of getting conviction under both or either is a thing which I altogether object to, and I shall, therefore, move the omission of the clause.

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 64.—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

Question proposed, "That Clause 64 stand part of the Bill."

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I cannot agree to the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman. It is the present law of our country that the same narrative of facts may constitute a crime either under the Common Law or Statute Law—that is to say, one statement of facts is sufficient, provided that statement includes what is necessary to constitute the statutory and the Common Law offence. The provision made here is, again, very favourable to the prisoner. The Judge is enabled to exercise his discretion and give a man six months' imprisonment under the Common Law, who would, under Statute, necessarily be sentenced to penal servitude for seven years.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): There are many things which are crimes at Common Law in Scotland where convictions could not be taken, because of the difficulty of framing the indictment so as to bring it under the Common Law. That was the case with bankruptcy offences. Formerly, every offence under the Bankruptcy Law was an offence against the Common Law; but it was found impossible to obtain convictions, even in case of the grossest fraud. I mention, as an instance, that there are many things which are offences against the Common Law in Scotland that it would be very undesirable to sweep into the net of the Procurator Fiscal. For that reason I shall be inclined to support the Amendment of my hon. Friend, unless we have some further information.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth): There are some agrarian offences with regard to which it has been thought right to give the prisoner the chance of conviction for the minor offence. I do not think you ought to be able to get convictions under both Statute and Common Law; that, in my opinion, would be very unfair.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): At present the prosecutor may indict the prisoner either under the Statute or at Common Law. The whole question is, whether the crime is to be libelled under the Common Statute or Law? If the crime do not amount to crime under the Statute, the prosecutors are required to prove the facts as at Common Law. The Lord Advocate wishes, if the indictment fails under the Statute Law, to turn round and, without any previous notice or indictment at Common Law, to say this is an offence under the Common Law. But if you are going to ask for a verdict at Common Law, as well as the chance of a verdict under the Statutes, you must libel both in your indictment. The alternative of Statute or Common

Law must put down on the face of the indictment.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): Where a man is charged with murder, by the law of Scotland he may be convicted of culpable homicide or manslaughter. In its operation this is a merciful provision of the law. The result is that a man may get off on the lighter charge, who, if the jury were pushed to extremity and there was no alternative but acquittal, would be convicted of the graver charge. I think the Lord Advocate has put the case fairly. The proposal that if the facts of the case justify the prisoner may be found guilty of the lighter charge is in the interest of the prisoner, and is in accordance with the whole spirit of the Bill.

Question put.

The House *divided* :—Ayes 170 ; Noes 61 : Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 300.) [1.40 A.M.]

Clause 69 (Recording previous convictions).

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendment made :—In page 21, line 29, at beginning of Clause, insert—

"Previous convictions against an accused shall not be laid before the jury, nor shall reference be made thereto in presence of the jury before the verdict is returned ; but nothing herein contained shall prevent the Public Prosecutor from laying before the jury evidence of such previous convictions where, by the existing Law, it is competent to lead evidence of such previous convictions as evidence *in causa* in support of the substantive charge and."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 72 (Variance between indictment and evidence).

Amendment proposed, to leave out Clause 72.—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'no trial shall fail,' stand part of the Bill."

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): This clause is framed with the view of preventing the escape of prisoners on mere technicalities in respect of some difference between the evidence and the indictment. Many cases have occurred in which there was no doubt whatever of the guilt of the prisoners, and yet, because there was some slight discrepancy between the indictment and the evidence which came out, the prisoners escaped. It is highly undesirable that that should take place. I quite admit that this clause was framed too broadly; but I take the example of an English Act of Parliament; and I propose, as the hon. Member will see, to insert an Amendment afterwards, which I think will take away the difficulty which existed before. We simply adapt an English Act of Parliament to Scottish procedure.

Mr. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): I hope my hon. Friend will not press his Motion. The clause is one which is highly beneficial to the administration of the Criminal Law, and the Amendment of the Lord Advocate, I quite agree, will avoid any question of injustice.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of The Lord Advocate, the following Amendments made :—In page 22, line 25, leave out "sentence," and insert "the case for the prosecution is closed ;" in line 28, leave out all after "always," and insert—

"That such amendment shall not be allowed unless the court shall be satisfied that such discrepancy or variance is not material to the merits of the case, and that the person accused cannot be prejudiced thereby in his defence on the merits."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

WATER COMPANIES (REGULATION OF POWERS) BILL.—[Bill 141.]

(*Mr. Fulton, Captain Colomb, Mr. Ernest Spencer.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Water not to be cut off where the water rate is payable by the owner).

Mr. FORREST FULTON (West Ham, N.): The clause as it stands provides that the interest should run from the expiration of one month from the time the claim has been sent in by the Company. It seems to me, on consideration, that perhaps some legal difficulty might arise from time to time, in the way of proving when the claim had actually been made, and that it might be fair to the Water Company if I expunged the words "from the expiration of one month," and substituted the words "has become due to." The effect of that Amendment would be that the rate of interest would run from the time the money became due, instead of a month after the time.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 26, to leave out the words "from the expiration of one month."—(*Mr. Forrest Fulton.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I must ask my hon. and learned Friend to adhere to the Bill as it stands. I think, if the interest is to run at 5 per cent, it would act as a premium on the Water Companies in sending in their claims. I do not say they would take advantage of it for such a purpose; but I think it is only fair that they should be bound to send in their claim, and that the interest should only run from a reasonable time after the claim had been sent in.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

MR. FORREST FULTON: As the clause stands, it is required that notice should be given "to him"—that is to say, the occupier. It is, probably, desirable that the words I propose as an Amendment should be added—namely, "or left at his dwelling house." That is the usual form in these cases.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 6, after the word "him," to insert the words "or left at his dwelling house."—(*Mr. Forrest Fulton.*)

Question "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. FORREST FULTON: The next Amendment I wish to propose is in line 7, to leave out "next," and insert "thereafter." It occurred to me that the words "next become due by him" would probably raise a difficulty in the case of weekly tenants, and that, probably, the best way would be to use the word "hereafter" in place of "next."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 7, to leave out the word "next," and insert "thereafter."—(*Mr. Forrest Fulton.*)

Mr. Forrest Fulton

Question, "That the word 'next' stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'thereafter" be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

On the Motion of Mr. FORREST FULTON, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 9, after "recovered," insert "at any one time;" and in line 10, after him," insert—

"Or which shall have accrued due from him since such notice shall have been given or left as aforesaid."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

COPYRIGHT (MUSICAL COMPOSITIONS) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Bartley, Bill to amend the Law relating to the recovery of penalties for the unauthorized performance of Copyright Musical Compositions, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Bartley, Mr. Addison, Mr. Dillwyn, and Mr. Lawson.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 322.]

House adjourned at five minutes after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 15th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment * (176).

Select Committee — Report — Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) [No. 174].

Committee—Report—Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) (164).

Report—Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) * (43-175).

NEW PEER.

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, Bart., G.C.B., having been created Baron Magheramorne, of Magheramorne, in the county of Antrim—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

TEINDS (SCOTLAND).

MOTION FOR RETURNS.

Moved for—

"Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881)."—(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN) said, he thought the Returns asked for would be most useful and instructive, as it was a question in regard to which the public should be better informed. He would ask the noble Earl, however, not to press for a Return of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland, as he thought it would be almost impossible to give them. It would be simple to give the value in each county where the valuation was printed; but that was not the case in all counties in Scotland, and there was no compulsory powers to compel their being given by the localities. In cases where the valuation roll was printed, the Return would be easily compiled, but given in this imperfect way, it would be very unsettling. With that exception, he should be most happy to give the Returns asked for.

Motion, as amended, *agreed to.*

"Returns of the rental of each parish in Scotland, and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881)."

Ordered to be laid before the House.

CHURCH PATRONAGE (SCOTLAND).

MOTION FOR RETURNS.

Moved for—

"Returns for each county in Scotland of the name of any parish in which a vacancy for the appointment of a minister had been filled up by the electorate established under the provisions of the Church Patronage Act (37 & 38 Victoria, chap. 82, 1874), specifying—(1.) The population, male and female, of each such parish according to the last census at the time of election; (2.) The number of persons, male and female, who were qualified to vote in each case, distinguishing communicants and adherents; (3.) The cases in which the elections were contested, the number of candidates in each such case, and the number of persons, male and female, who recorded their votes in each case; (4.) The parishes in which compensation for loss of patronage has been awarded to or surrendered by former patrons in connection with each election under the Church Patronage Act, and the amount of the compensation awarded to or surrendered by the patrons in each case (in part continuation of Returns No. 5, 1879, and No. 236, 1881)."—(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN) said, there could be no possible objection to granting the Returns the noble Earl asked for, as they were in continuation of Returns moved for by him in 1877. The noble Earl seemed to object to the Church Patronage Act of 1874; but on that point he was not at one with the general feeling of the people of Scotland, who were entirely satisfied with that Act. He should be happy to give the Returns asked for with the exception of No. 3, that relating to the number of candidates and the votes given for each, the information with regard to which it was impossible to obtain, as the elections took place under the ballot.

LORD BALFOUR said, he wished to call attention to the fact that the Return relating to compensation for loss of patronage could not possibly be given in the form asked. A very numerous body of patrons had surrendered their rights to compensation; as the amount of compensation for patronage which had been surrendered had never been assessed under the terms of the Act, and did not require to be, it could not be stated. He would suggest to substitute for Paragraph 4 of the Returns, the following:—

"The names of parishes in each county in Scotland in which patrons have retained their right to compensation under the Act, and the amount of compensation awarded in each case, distinguishing the cases in which a vacancy for the appointment of a minister has been filled up by the electorate established under the Act."

THE EARL OF MINTO said, he would accept the Amendments.

Motion, as amended, *agreed to.*

"Returns for each county in Scotland of the name of any parish in which a vacancy for the appointment of a minister has been filled up by the electorate established under the provisions of the Church Patronage Act (37 & 38 Victoria, chap. 82, 1874), specifying—

"1. The population, male and female, of each such parish, according to the last census, at the time of election;

"2. The number of persons, male and female, who were qualified to vote in each case, distinguishing communicants and adherents;

"3. The names of parishes in each county in Scotland in which patrons have retained their right to compensation under the Act, and the amount of the compensation awarded in each case, distinguishing the cases in which a vacancy for the appointment of a minister has been filled

up by the electorate established under the Act;
"(In part continuation of Returns No. 5., 1887, and No. 236., 1881)."

Ordered to be laid before the House.

PARLIAMENT (HOUSE OF LORDS)—TITLES OF PEERS—ENTRIES IN THE JOURNALS OR MINUTES.—RESOLUTION.

Moved to resolve—

"That when the name of any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be entered in the Journals or Minutes of Proceedings of the House, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament; and in the event of the Motion being agreed to, to move that the Motion be declared a Standing Order of the House, and be numbered XXXIIA." —(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, that, as he understood it, the Motion asked that the name of any Lord who had a higher title should be given along with his higher title, and the lower title by which he sat. The result would be that there would be three columns, one containing the name, then one containing the higher title, and the last the lower title.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he understood his noble Friend to desire that the same rule should be adopted with regard to the Minutes of the House as prevailed with respect to Divisions, that the higher title by which a peer was known should be stated as well as the title by which he sat in Parliament.

THE EARL OF MINTO made some observations, which, owing to the acoustic properties of the House, were not heard in the Gallery.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 164.)

(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

EARL GRANVILLE said: I read this morning that the noble and learned Earl (the Earl of Selborne) had expressed his regret that I was not present last night when he wished to make some observations on the present measure. I really think that I am not very much to blame in the matter. I followed in the debate the noble and learned Lord the Lord Chancellor of Ireland (Lord Ashbourne) and rigorously confined myself to what that noble and learned Lord had deemed were points of importance. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) replied to some of the observations which I made. In the long and eloquent speech of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) I did not catch any reply to the observations which I made. The noble Duke discoursed upon Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, upon all our late Colleagues, on Home Rule, on the Bill of 1881, and also upon that unfortunate Bill which is no longer before the House, and which does not appear to have fallen upon a bed of roses in the House of Commons. After that speech the noble and learned Earl spoke from a particular point of view very natural for him to take, but having no connection with my own remarks. I happened then to see that the clock was pointing to near 8, an hour which generally suggests to Members of both Houses of Parliament the idea of refreshment. After having listened to speeches for some four hours it struck me that dinner would not be unacceptable. I left the House for the purpose of dining, and, hurrying back, I broke my nose against the closed door of your Lordships' House. Before I left the House I had not observed that the noble and learned Earl had shown any signs of an intention to speak, and, knowing the attention that is usually paid to everything he says, I did not think that he would have selected the dinner hour for making his speech.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: In view of the fact that the other day the Front Opposition Bench asked for more time to consider this Bill, which had been before them for many weeks, your Lordships must have been surprised by the evident intention of the noble Lords who sat upon that Bench to close the debate as quickly as possible. The noble Earl (Earl Granville) may have been justified in leaving the House for the purpose of getting his dinner; but it is strange that he could not find one noble Lord representing the Home Rule section of the Liberal Party in this House who would sacrifice his dinner in order to continue this discussion. The noble Earl has endeavoured to depreciate the importance of the eloquent speech of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll); but it appears to me that he altogether omitted to refer to the real point made by the noble Duke, and which, in my opinion, the noble Earl is bound to answer. The noble Duke asked my noble Friends to say what was their alternative policy to this Bill. What is the policy which they recommend as an alternative to the policy of Her Majesty's Government to maintain law and order in Ireland? I cannot help thinking that it was something more than the advent of the usual dinner hour that accounts for the absence of my noble Friends from the House and for their remarkable exit. I cannot help thinking that there was somebody behind them to consult with, and who had to prompt them before they could give any reply to that question of the noble Duke. I will endeavour to lay before the House the exact state of the question as it stands. In 1885, when the Government of which the noble Earl was a Member was in Office, when there was no exceptional crime in Ireland, and when the condition of Ireland was much more satisfactory than it is now, they determined to introduce a Crimes Bill of a similar character to that which has recently passed through this House.

EARL GRANVILLE: That is not true.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The noble Earl has used the expression "that is not true." I will sit down and give him an opportunity of explaining.

EARL GRANVILLE: Certainly, as far as my knowledge goes, the statement which the noble Earl has made is inaccurate.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My statement is that at the time when Mr. Gladstone's Government determined to bring in a Bill similar in many respects to the present one the condition of Ireland was much more favourable than it is now. Does the noble Earl dispute that statement? I call as a witness the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer), who bore testimony to that effect. Mr. Gladstone himself in the other House stated that in consequence of the non-renewal of the Crimes Act of 1882 Boycotting had increased fourfold. Was there in 1885 a Plan of Campaign? In 1885 the number of agrarian crimes in Ireland had been reduced from 4,000 to some 800 in consequence of the Act of 1882. We are perfectly justified in asking for the reasons which brought about the sudden change of opinion in the minds of noble Lords with regard to the Irish Question. The noble Earl said that one ground for that sudden change of opinion was the large number of Home Rule Members that had been returned by the Irish constituencies. But everybody knew beforehand that that would be the inevitable result of the extension of the franchise in that country. We all know what was the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government at the beginning of 1886. What was the condition of Ireland at the beginning of 1886? As regards law and order, the circumstances of Ireland were becoming more and more serious day by day. As regards combinations against the payment of rent, Mr. Gladstone had before him evidence of those combinations in January, 1886. As regards the power of the National League, my noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant was of opinion that it was increasing day by day. With respect to ejectments, they were flying about in considerable numbers in the first quarter of 1886. With respect to the disturbance of the minds of the occupiers of land which my noble Friends admitted was at the root of the whole Irish question, the leaseholders were dissatisfied at not being included in the Land Act, and a fall of prices had taken place in 1885 which made it hard for the tenants to pay the judicial rents. This was the state of Ireland in January, 1886. Part of these unfortunate circumstances were the direct consequence of Mr. Gladstone's legislation. The condition of the Land Question in Ireland was the direct consequence of his legislation; and, moreover, any disturbance in the country and the consequent crime created by unfair ejectments must be attributed, more than any other man, to Mr. Gladstone, who for five years had never attempted to apply a remedy. The policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government under these circumstances was deliberately to abstain from attempting either to maintain law and order or to apply a remedy to the grievances with respect to the land which were disorganizing the whole social condition of Ireland. They thought it right instead of taking the practical course of dealing with evils as they existed to propose a measure to alter the whole constitution of the United Kingdom, and to make a new Government for Ireland. That policy failed in the House of Commons; it failed in the country. I hold that Mr. Gladstone's late Government is mainly responsible for the aggravation of the difficulties in Ireland which has been produced by neglecting to apply real practical remedies to the great evils which exist in that country. But although I, in common with many other Liberals in this House and the country, consider that Mr. Gladstone's policy last year was altogether wrong, it must be confessed that that policy was intelligible—that the two great measures which then held the field, the Bill for the Government of Ireland and the Land Bill, constituted a complete policy in all its points, upon which some argument could be raised and some real question discussed. But I have to ask your Lordships to consider what is the policy of my noble Friends now? Is it the policy which was defeated at the Elections of 1886 or is it some different policy? My noble Friends on the Front Opposition Bench, although they are somewhat inclined to be reticent in this House, have certainly not been reticent elsewhere. My noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has spoken several times within the last few months, the late Foreign Secretary has spoken twice, and almost all my noble Friends have expressed their opinions in the country upon the position of affairs, and upon the policy which they advocate upon the Irish Question. I am bound to say, having studied them with all the care I could, the pursual has left upon my mind the vaguest possible impression. My noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant in Cambridge defended both the Bills introduced by Mr. Gladstone in 1886. A month afterwards in London he had to admit that both those Bills were dead. The noble Earl the late Foreign Secretary (the Earl of Rosebery) at Glasgow the day after said—" Our policy is exactly the same as when you (the electors) sent us about our business." [Lord ROSEBERY: Hear, hear!] My noble Friend cheers. I shall show in a moment how my noble Friend has modified his opinion since the month of April. A month after came the remarkable speech of Mr. Gladstone at Swansea. and since then a great change has come over the speeches of my noble Friends. The question is what Mr. Gladstone meant. My noble Friend near me (Earl Granville) made a speech, and there is no one more adroit in making speeches, but when he came to this policy all he could say was that Mr. Gladstone made an eloquent speech, and that his explanations were such as to satisfy all reasonable men. But my noble Friend altogether abstained from saying what a single one of those explanations meant. The noble Lord the late Foreign Secretary cheered me just now. He also made a speech since Mr. Gladstone's speech—I think it was at the City Liberal Club—and what did he say? He said—

> "I do not know what is the real remedy for the wrongs of Ireland. I do not know the right way of governing Ireland."

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: That was a wholly inaccurate report of the remarks which I made.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: If he has been inaccurately reported I will leave my noble Friend to explain what his views are at a future time. It all comes to this, that whether a man be a Home Ruler, a Liberal Unionist, or a Conservative, the great problem he has to solve is to interpret Mr. Gladstone's policy about the Irish Question. I think this House requires from my noble Friends now, and the country requires from the Home Rule section of the Liberal Party, some definite, distinct, and plain answers to certain definite, distinct, and plain questions. The first of these questions is, under this new Home Rule policy, are the present Representatives of Ireland to remain in the House of Commons at Westminster, or are they not? Mr. Gladstone's views upon that point may be interpreted in every sort of way. They are interpreted by Mr. Morley at Manchester in one way, and in another way last night by the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) in this House, and for the life of me all I can find with regard to Mr. Gladstone's proposal is that he puts forth some temporary proposition with regard to the Irish Members remaining at Westminster, but whether they are to remain at Westminster until some future time when they may be removed, or whether they are to be excluded, and at some future time to be admitted, I defy anyone to gather from his words. If I am wrong in this interpretation of Mr. Gladstone's view I hope that either now or at some future time it will be clearly explained in this House, so that we may know who is right and who is wrong. The next question I have to ask my noble Friends to give a distinct answer to is this. Is Ulster to be treated separately from the rest of Ireland or is it not? Mr. Morley at Manchester said it was quite clear that Mr. Gladstone would do anything for Ulster, but there was absolutely no explanation of that enigmatical declaration of Mr. Gladstone, except that he had promised to hear the voice of Ulster. The third question I have to ask——

EARL GRANVILLE: I rise to Order. My noble Friend is not speaking in the least to the question before the House. He, an ex-Minister, is asking us for our policy on different subjects when the question with respect to the Bill moved by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Ashbourne) is before the House.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I submit that my argument is entirely germane to this question. My noble Friend, in his speech, has abandoned any attempt to dispute the facts put forward by the Government, and says that he objects to this Bill because he has an alternative policy. I have a right to ask what the alternative policy is. I assert that the Leader of the Home Rule Party in the other House, on the third reading of the Crimes Bill, distinctly said that the question was one of policy—that it was a question between the Government policy and the alternative policy of the Opposition. I hold, therefore, that my remarks are within the proper and legitimate scope of this discussion. You must recollect this—and it is a very important point, and one which will, I think, justify me in what I have said, and will, I hope, prevent my noble Friend from endeavouring to interrupt me again—you must recollect that it is a rare thing in the history of this country for an Opposition to think it right to refuse those measures to the Government which the Government think necessary to maintain law and order. If a course so unprecedented is rare in this House, it is still more rare for noble Lords to go about the country agitating against the Government on that very point of the maintenance of law and order; and I think if that agitation is carried on as it has been from the first, by putting forward to the country an alternative policy, it is unworthy of my noble Friends to attempt to evade answering plain questions here. They are asked to give plain answers to plain questions here, in this House, for it is utterly impossible for anyone to decipher the enigmatical words of the Leader in Wales and elsewhere. I have asked two questions—whether the Irish Members are to be retained at Westminster, and what is to be done respecting Ulster? The third question is what is to be the condition under the new policy as respects the maintenence of law and order in Ireland? Is that to be committed to the new Irish Parliament or not? And the fourth question which I have to ask is what is the new policy with respect to measures relating to land in Ireland? Is the power over the land to be committed or not to the new Irish Parliament? If it is, where are the safeguards which my noble Friend the late Viceroy so honourably and firmly demanded with regard to the measure of 1885, when he said it was a mean and treacherous thing to abandon the Irish landlords to the mercy of the Members of Mr. Parnell's Party? These are questions to which I hope we shall have plain answers, notwithstanding the evident disinclination of my noble Friends to give them. I should like to know further whether we are right in interpreting the Swansea speeches to mean that the plan of Home Rule is to be extended to Wales and Scotland as well as Ireland? I should like to know whether the late reception of the American Embassy at Dollis Hill is to be taken to mean that consideration is to be given to the views of American sympathizers——

THE EARL OF CORK: I really must rise to Order. I have had the honour of sitting in this House for over 30 years, and I have no hesitation in saying that I have never heard a discussion conducted as the noble Earl is conducting this. Our Rules are not so stringent as those in "another place," but I appeal to noble Lords whether this discussion would be allowed in any other Assembly. We are discussing to-night the question of the Crimes Bill, and not the question of Home Rule or the speeches made by Ministers or ex-Ministers out of doors.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I am really very sorry, but I have already explained my position, and I shall venture to continue a few minutes longer. This alternative policy of the Opposition is reduced to a certain amount of vague, abstract propositions, and my noble Friends are just beginning to see what a difficult matter they have in hand in taking up the question of Home Rule. They are just beginning to be in the position of Mr. Butt and others when they began this Home Rule agitation in the House of Commons. I will tell my noble Friends what was the answer to Mr. Butt's policy, which was much the same as Mr. Gladstone's policy now is, consisting, as it did, in abstract propositions. Mr. Butt said very much what some of my noble Friends have said. Speaking on the 20th of March, 1874, Mr. Butt said—

> "Did not the facts he had mentioned justify him in asking the House to recede from its policy of coercion and mistrust? The conclusion had been reluctantly forced upon him that conceding to Ireland a Parliament to manage its own affairs was the only way to establish a perfect Constitutional Government in that country."—(3 *Hansard*, [218] 116.)

That was Mr. Butt's view, and it has been expressed on many a platform of late. What was the answer given to Mr. Butt? It was an answer which I think, must be given to any such abstract proposition. This is the answer—

> "We shall first inquire if your plan is intelligible before we inquire whether it is expedient. . . . It is a dangerous and tricky system for Parliament to adopt—to encounter national dissatisfaction, if it really exists—with the assurance which may mean anything or nothing, 'which may perhaps conciliate the feelings of the people of Ireland for the moment, and attract a passing breath of popularity, but which, when the day of trial comes, may be found entirely to fail them."—(*Ibid*, 131.)

Those words were used by Mr. Gladstone in answer to abstract propositions such as are in the minds of my noble Friends on this question. I say that we have a right to discuss the alternative policy as it has been presented to the country now, and especially as the noble Earl, in his opposition to this Bill, putting aside his legal argument on the clauses for dealing with dangerous associations, which will be dealt with by my noble and learned Friend (the Earl of Selborne) on the Third Reading. The Government relied entirely on the alternative policy. The policy of the Government I consider to be plain, intelligible, and practical policy. They are determined to remedy those grievances that exist in Ireland, and that exist there to a great extent in consequence of the policy of the late Government; and, moreover, the Government are attempting to maintain law and order by a measure which I think none of your Lordships will dispute is in many respects precisely similar to a measure introduced by my noble Friends on the Front Opposition Bench, and which on some points is a great improvement upon their measure. At any rate, I hope we shall have a plain and intelligent answer to the few questions I have ventured to put to my noble Friends before the debate closes.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I think that our position in this House is a singularly unfortunate one. I suppose that all your Lordships will concur in that remark from different points of view. When I saw the general restlessness and irritation with which the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) has spoken, I trembled to think that the destinies of India and of our Fleet had ever been entrusted to him. What is our position with regard to this debate? Everybody who heard the noble Earl (Earl Granville) the Leader of the Opposition last night must admit that his speech was a very moderate and inoffensive one. He was followed by the noble Earl, one of the many Viceroys of Ireland, and again I may say that the speech of that noble Earl was more in the nature of a personal explanation, which was not at all premature. No one who recollects the declarations on the part of the Government that came from the lips of the noble Earl in 1885 will deny that the explanation of the noble Earl did not come a moment too soon. Following him we had an admirable didactic homily, which embraced every subject in politics known to your Lordships' House except the one question which was before us, delivered by the noble Duke (Duke of Argyll), who again imitated our example in retiring from the further discussion of the subject which was before the House. Then followed the speech of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Denbigh), when I confess I left myself, because I did not understand that the debate was likely to be continued after the noble Earl's speech. And I regret extremely that I did leave the House, because I think all will allow that the noble Earl made a speech which was singularly thoughtful and eloquent, and, what I cannot say for all other speeches, a singularly pertinent contribution to the debate. Having listened to this somewhat exhaustive debate, we left the House, and it turned out after we had gone that our noble and candid Friends above the Gangway, who had come down with great masses of manuscript which remained undischarged, were extremely angry with us because we did not make a House to listen to the diatribes of which the two specimens we had heard contained nothing whatever concerning the measure before us. In the other House of Parliament we are accused of unduly prolonging debates. We consider that the Bill had sufficiently been discussed in the other House, and when it came to this House we resolved for more reasons than one to confine ourselves to a simple protest delivered by our Leader against the measure as it stands. What is the result? We fall from the Scylla of obstruction into the Charybdis of not staying to listen to the speeches of noble Lords. While we are charged with delaying the measure in the House of Commons by debate, we cannot with equal justice be censured for allowing the Bill to get through a stage in this House. Either one imputation must be withdrawn or the other cannot be sustained. I wish to say a word as to the reasons which influenced me in thinking that the course we pursued in making one single protest against the Bill was, on the whole, better than prolonging the debate. First, the arguments regarding this measure were exhausted in the Lower House. Next, we are well aware that we occupy a very humble position as a minority, numerically speaking, in this House. We are not a minority at all numerically in the sense in which there are majorities and minorities elsewhere; we are rather *rari nantes in gurgite vasto.* I suppose this House has some 550 Members. If the noble Marquess continues in power, he will permit me to say I think that the House is more likely to increase than to decrease. But do you think we could have brought more than 50 Peers to vote with us on this question? In these circumstances it was quite clear that it was not wise to carry the debate to a Division. But a varied and discursive debate ranging over the topics selected by the noble Duke and the noble Earl and not ending in a Division would to my mind have been a barren and unprofitable performance. To go a step further, I do not think it would have added to the credit of this House. As to our own credit, we are able to look after that ourselves, in spite of the insinuations of the noble Earl who has just sat down; and I may claim to speak solemnly and emphatically on behalf of the credit of the House, because the Motion I made the year before last shows that I am not less attached to it than anyone else. Although at the last Election we were defeated, and handsomely defeated, we were followed by 1,344,444 voters in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and although we were defeated by some 76,000 votes, still, considering the largeness of the number arrayed on the other side, the defeat cannot be considered to have been a very decisive one. I think it would have had a most lamentable effect, as showing the relations that this House occupies towards the great masses of the people, if we had had a Division which showed that on this great question of conciliation or coercion in Ireland the House was not only not nearly equally divided, but that there was a majority of 10 to 1 in favour of coercion. Believing, as we did, that for the credit of this House it was better not to have a Division, your Lordships will not blame us if we thought it was better not to prolong discussion; and I confess I think our resolution has been amply justified by the nature of the speeches we have listened to. When I listened to the speech of the noble Earl I thought I was living in some delightful dreamland; that instead of sitting upon a Bench on which there happen to be some five noble Lords at this moment, and that instead of sitting in this position of dignified isolation, we were sitting on the Benches opposite, surrounded by a crowded and enthusiastic majority, only anxious to carry into effect the policy we were about to enunciate. I was under that delusion until I was rudely awakened from it by looking around and listening to the animated inquiries of the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) as to what our policy was to be, as to what our Irish Parliament was to be, and whether we were going to except Ulster. The noble Earl might as well have asked the state of our bankers' accounts, or any other matter which remotely and individually concerns ourselves. I have yet to learn that it is any part of the function of an Opposition in a small minority in the House to suggest an alternative policy to every measure that may be brought before this House. This is a doctrine that is as new as it is alarming; but if that doctrine is to be carried into effect, I venture to say that it applies with much greater force to the noble Earl and the noble Duke themselves, because they represent a much larger section of the House than we do. They are what are called by their own complimentary expression Unionist Peers; they are far more numerous than those who are called the Home Rule section of the Party. Therefore, if any Question is to be addressed to any section of this House on a question of policy it is not to the section which sits on this Bench that it ought to be put; it ought to be put to the noble Earl and the noble Duke. I cannot speak with the agitation and the fine frenzy of the noble Earl. I can speak in moderate and hushed accents with regard to the reply I propose to make to these four Questions put by the noble Earl, which he hopes will be answered before the debate closes. I can assure him, with all submission, humility, and kindness, that I propose to make no reply at all. I have yet to learn that it is the function of an Opposition, when a measure is brought before this House dealing with the repression of crime in Ireland, to explain every speech that has been made, either by themselves or by their Leader, in the House of Commons and in every part of the country. I have yet to learn that it is the function of the Opposition, which has not been more than 11 months out of Office, and whose policy when in Office, as the noble Earl said, was perfectly well known to him, to go on repeating it at every intelligible and unintelligible opportunity. At any rate, it will not be our function on this occasion. I will say in general terms what is the general nature of our policy. It will not take long I have said it often before. There is one part of the speech of the noble Earl which was not in the nature of an inquiry, and in which he showed a want of information so melancholy and so extraordinary that I must call attention to it. The noble Earl pointed to us as something so unpatriotic, so indescribable, that he did not venture to use the epithet upon his lips, because we oppose the proposals of the Government which they think necessary for securing law and order in Ireland. He said that no Government, when proposing measures for the preservation of life and property, had ever been seriously opposed for many years.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Since 1846.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The noble Earl named no such date, and I decline to accept the correction. When we were in Opposition I admit that we fought the six Acts of Lord Sidmouth with all the resolution in our power; we fought them, although we did not profess to have any alternative policy. In 1846, when the noble Earl was born, though I was not, there was an unholy alliance; I call it unholy, although the fathers of our Party entered into it, and the fathers of the Party opposite joined in it, and denied the late Sir Robert Peel the measures that he thought necessary for the security of life and property in Ireland. Well, I say there are precedents which the noble Earl might have had in his mind before accusing the Colleagues with whom he acted less than two years ago of conduct unbefitting public men in this House. The noble Earl has made a quotation from a speech recently delivered, in which I was made to say that I had no idea what was the proper remedy to apply to the Irish difficulty. We have recently had some experience in this House which shows that it is not always possible to report with accuracy. Obviously I did not say anything so flagrantly absurd as that I had no idea what was the proper remedy for the Irish difficulty. But to make quite sure, I went to an hon. Member of the House of Commons who was present at the banquet in question, and who does not belong to our section of the Party, and that hon. Gentleman entirely corroborates the inaccuracy of the report. What I did say was this—"Supposing, for the sake of argument, that I had not a proper remedy for Ireland; supposing, for the sake of argument, that our remedy was not a correct one." And then I went on to use the words quoted by the noble Earl. I cannot be held responsible for every report of what I am made to say. The noble Earl entered into a protest as regards our action as being ready to re-enact certain portions of the Coercion Bill which was in force in 1885. The noble Earl said that so far from doing it we proceeded in 1886 to produce those iniquitous measures which are only too well known to your Lordships. The noble Earl forgets that there were two very distinct epochs between our disappearance as a Government in 1885 and our re-appearance as a Government in 1886. There was, in the first place, the General Election, which brought back to the House of Commons an enormous preponderance of Irish Members elected by a free popular franchise for the first time, and pledged to what, in our opinion, were moderate proposals in regard to Home Rule. It has been said in the course of this discussion that we were well aware what the result of those Elections would be, and that therefore we ought to have discounted it. I only speak for myself, and I freely admit that I did anticipate the result of those Elections as regards the number of Members to be returned; but I did not anticipate what I consider the moderation of the demands which were made by the Irish Party. Did the noble Earl anticipate that the Irish Party would come back some 86 or 90 strong, prepared to demand a measure of Home Rule? Did he, or did he not? If he did not, he very inaccurately measured the extent of the Bill introduced by the Government in which he was a Cabinet Minister to extend the franchise in Ireland. If he did anticipate that, what is the irresistible conclusion we must draw but that the noble Earl with that foreknowledge deliberately extended to Ireland a great national franchise with a full and steady determination to refuse the main proposition which would be brought back by the Members elected under that franchise. I did not so understand the Franchise Bill. I have not understood that it is the function of Members of either House of Parliament to bring in a measure to enfranchise people with a fixed intention to refuse the only demand of those people when they come back to Parliament. Why did the noble Earl reserve all his anger for those who sat on his own side of the House? The noble Earl reminds me of the couplet—though I am not sure of the words—

> "But of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send,
> Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend!"

When the Conservative Government was formed in 1885, the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), one of the late Viceroys, had devolved upon him the task of sustaining the policy of that Government in Ireland. The Government was one formed by the Party of authority, the Party of law and order, who had come in to put down the license that had grown up under the previous Administration. They could not have known the information with regard to Ireland which the late Government possessed. Yet, almost without hesitation, they got up and deliberately said that, in their opinion, the time for coercion had passed away in Ireland. Last night the noble Earl gave the new and the true reasons why they did not propose to renew the Coercion Act—reasons for which they might read the memorable statement of the 6th July in vain. The Government then was substantially the same as now, though the noble Earl, by some unaccountable oversight, was omitted from it. What did the noble Earl say about coercion? Speaking then, no doubt for the Government, of which he was a Member, he said special legislation of this sort was inexpedient, and was still more inexpedient when it had to be renewed at short intervals. But the noble Earl went on to make a remark which told against his own argument. He quoted Cavour's saying that it was easy to govern in a state of siege; and said that, while it might be easy to govern in a state of siege for a time, the attempt to govern under it permanently was, he believed, impossible. Yet this was the policy of the Government. They were now bringing in a permanent measure of coercion for the Irish people. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) further said if this legislation was to be permanent, it ought to be universally and generally applied. I looked in vain through the present Bill for any provision making its application universal. I venture to say that if the conduct of the late Government in doing away with a coercive policy requires explanation, the policy of the present Government is one which no less requires something in the character of apology. When the policy of repression was deliberately, and in so eloquent, grave, and impressive a manner abandoned for ever, because we could not take up these things and drop them——

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My remarks hardly bear out the interpretation the noble Earl puts upon them. I never stated, as far as I can remember, that coercion was to be for ever abandoned. I distinctly said that we were making a great experiment, that I looked to trust engendering trust on the part of the English Government in their relations with the Irish people, and I sincerely hoped that the experiment which we were trying would prove successful.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: The noble Earl said it was only to be an essay in experimental legislation. When I made the remark that coercion was to be abandoned for ever, that was my interpretation of the noble Earl's language. But let me tell noble Lords that experimental legislation in matters of this kind is an exceedingly dangerous thing, and that noble Lords, however great their ability may be, have no right to come into a Government without any special knowledge of the subject and to drop those measures which a previous Government has considered necessary for the public welfare. We know perfectly well, however, that this was an experiment which had been resolved on long before. There is a speech made by Lord Randolph Churchill, in which he intimates that the Leaders of his Party had held a meeting, and had come to the conclusion that it was then expedient not to renew the Coercion Act if they were returned to power.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): What I stated was that they would not renew the Coercion Act unless information in the official possession of the Government should render a different decision necessary.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY: I quite accept the interpretation of the noble Marquess. Immediately after that a very close alliance was entered into between the Party under the guidance of Mr. Parnell and the Party of the noble Marquess—it was so close that it extended to duty on beer—and that alliance led to the downfall of the Liberal Administration. Now, my Lords, I have to return again to a point I have referred to before. This dropping of exceptional legislation for Ireland made it practically impossible for any Liberal Government to renew that legislation except under very exceptional circumstances. The Coercion Act of 1882 was one of exceptional severity, and I would point out that any comparison between that Act and this Bill of 1877 must be fallacious, because you have no such ground to form an Act upon as we had in 1882. No Government could have existed in the circumstances of 1882 that did not produce a strong Coercion Act. Your Lordships will recollect the circumstances of that year. The whole of the Executive Government, with the exception of my noble Friend near me (Earl Spencer), were struck down by the hand of the assassin in open daylight. Was it possible, I ask, at that time, when the principle of coercion had never been relinquished by either Party, to resist the introduction of a Coercion Bill? We are asked what our policy was after the relinquishment of coercion by noble Lords opposite. Our policy was then perfectly well-known; and the noble Earl who spoke before me has shown by his speech that he knew quite as much of our policy as we did ourselves. We are asked what is our policy now. Our policy is contained in the word "conciliation" as opposed to "coercion." We wish to make the law respected in Ireland; you will not make it respected. You have tried for centuries to make coercive legislation proceeding from London effective in Ireland, but you have always totally failed. Do not let noble Lords opposite suppose that the Plan of Campaign is countenanced—so far as I know—by every noble Lord who agrees with the Front Opposition Bench, or that we share in any of the extreme views that have been patronized by some extreme personages, any more than we think the responsibility which the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) was good enough to put upon them last night for Mr. O'Brien's visit to Canada. There is nothing too bad, I suppose, for our dear Friends to say of us. I do not believe that the visit of Mr. O'Brien to

Canada, undertaken, I have no doubt, in a conscientious spirit on his own part, was even approved of by the Chief of his own Party. It was certainly not approved of by the Chiefs of our Party—they had no more to do with it than the noble Duke or the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon)—and I say it is ungenerous and unfair that these charges should be brought in this House by any noble Lord or Duke, however friendly they may be to us, when they must know that they have absolutely nothing by which to substantiate them. We have heard enough of these charges. The noble Marquess the other day said a Party which we could not mistake to be our own is allied with every force that is opposed to social order in Ireland. We do not mind when charges of that kind are made by irresponsible politicians, so much as when they are brought by persons holding high Office. We ask, who is going to substantiate them? What proof have they got? If they could not bring any proof of the most weighty and close character, they are absolutely without justification in making these charges. I repeat, my Lords, that our policy would be to make the law respected, because we should make the law congenial to the Irish people. [*Laughter.*] I am not surprised that noble Lords opposite laugh, for no one can be better aware than they are that their policy is wholly uncongenial to the Irish people. Now, my Lords, the noble Duke behind me (the Duke of Argyll) compared the Act of 1881 to a sow's ear. At the very moment that he was making that happy comparison, Mr. Parnell—who, whatever his demerits may be, has, at least, the attribute of representing the views of the Irish people—was speaking in the other House, and he was able to give a little illustration of the difference of the policy of the sow's ear and the policy of the Bill of the noble Marquess opposite. Mr. Parnell stated that it was the Land Act of 1881, and not the Coercion Acts of 1880 and 1882, which broke the power of the Land League; and that but for that Act the Irish Party would have been able, even from their prisons, to have pushed that movement to the extreme. My Lords, never were more impressive words heard on this question than those used by Mr. Parnell when speaking of the Act of 1881, and I commend them to the attention of noble Lords. They contained the gist of our policy in this matter—namely, to remedy Irish grievances, to conciliate the Irish people, to attempt a policy which has often succeeded, and to forbear for ever from a policy which has invariably failed.

LORD BRABOURNE said, that he had not intended to take part in that debate but for some of the remarks which had fallen from the noble Earl who had just addressed the House (the Earl of Rosebery), and who had endeavoured to escape from the real issues before their Lordships. What was the fact? The measure before the House had been denounced in no measured language throughout the country by the Colleagues of the noble Earl. Within the past week it had been described by Mr. Gladstone as a "wanton, insidious, miserable, and dishonouring Bill." Recently also, at a meeting of the National Reform Union at which Mr. John Morley was present, this Bill was described as "a criminal violation of the civil rights of the Irish people," whilst the same Resolution, in language which must have been intended to be sarcastic, condemned the "violent interference with the freedom of Parliamentary debate," by which the Government and its Supporters had endeavoured to prevent the "legitimate discussion of the details of the measure." And yet, in the face of all this language, the Leaders of the Opposition had allowed the Bill to be read a second time without a Division, and the noble Earl could only allege the miserable excuse that they would not have been able to bring 50 Supporters into the Lobby. He (Lord Brabourne) should have imagined that any men who felt so strongly against a measure would have longed to record their votes as a protest, instead of running away. Such was not the method by which the Liberal Party had been built up, or by which any great principles had been maintained. It was evident that noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench were either not prepared to endorse the language of their Leader, or were afraid to show the weakness of their cause by challenging a Division. The noble Earl who had just sat down had repeated in the House what he said in the country with regard to the alternative policies of conciliation and coercion; and he (Lord Brabourne) thought it was time to protest, loudly and earnestly, against the misdescription which the noble Earl had given both in the House and in the country of the policy of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury). The noble Earl and his Friends wished to conciliate Moonlighters; while the Conservative Party were determined to coerce Moonlighters, and to conciliate honest people in Ireland. The noble Earl had declared that the policy of the Government was uncongenial, whilst that of Mr. Gladstone was congenial to the people of Ireland. What did these vague phrases really mean? What law was it which was uncongenial to the people of Ireland? Was it the law which prevented Moonlighters from pursuing their midnight outrages? Was it the law which ought to protect poor girls from having their hair cut off and tar poured upon their heads? Was it the law which enabled honest people in Ireland to buy and sell and pursue their ordinary avocations without molestation? There was one thing they could not lose sight of—and it could not be denied even by noble Lords opposite—namely, that there had existed for years past in Ireland a power which had defied the Queen's authority, and the majority of their Lordships' House, and he was glad to say a majority of the House of Commons, were determined to obey the will of the British people and to vindicate the Queen's authority. The noble Earl talked about statistics; but everyone knew that the great majority of cases of crime were not stated in police records, and did not even appear in the newspapers, although there was not a noble Lord who had friends or relations in Ireland who did not know the terrible state in which the country was. The terrible state of that country was notorious to everyone. Reference had been made to the Act of 1881 and to Mr. Parnell's statement, that we did not know what that Act had saved us from. It was an Act which violated every principle of political economy and militated against all the old doctrines of the Liberal Party, and it taught the agitators in Ireland to know that there were British statesmen who would yield to agitation that which their calm judgment would condemn. As for Bills to amend the Criminal Law, it was not necessary to compare this Act with that of 1882, because what they had to look to was the present state of Ireland. Noble Lords opposite declared their policy with regard to Ireland to be that of conciliation against coercion; but, instead of dealing in vague and ambiguous phrases, it was necessary to grapple with realities, and with the hard facts and actual exigencies of the case. He did not believe that there had ever been a case in which such great historical inaccuracies had been put forward as in regard to this Irish Question. There were several elections pending at that moment, and he (Lord Brabourne) trusted that the electors would understand that this was no question between conciliation and coercion, but one between the upholders of law and order and their opponents. On that side of the House there was no ill-will to Ireland, very much the contrary; but there was a steady determination that the real issue should be placed before the country, that the Queen's authority should be maintained in all parts of her Dominions, and that they should have one united Parliament for one united people.

Lord DENMAN: The noble Earl who spoke last but one (the Earl of Rosebery) left out the first word of his quotation—

> " *Apparent*, rari nantes
> In gurgite vasto."

His friends were not apparent, and his noble Friend and relative (Viscount Oxenbridge) ought to have spoken, and then he would have kept a House till some Peers returned from dinner, and there might have been a long debate, but it was better as it is. The noble Earl has alluded to 1846, when the Protection for Life and Property (Ireland) Bill was thrown out, after passing the House of Lords—where his (Lord Denman's) lamented father tried to modify it—by what the noble Earl called an "unholy alliance." The first Lord Denman disapproved of this step. Lord John Russell and Mr. Cobden and the Conservatives combined to turn out Sir Robert Peel on the Whig's own measure; but, in fact, the Conservatives were not in fault. Indeed, a contest as to Fair Trade has been carried on ever since, and a writer for the Cobden Club has styled it the Demon Fair Trade: but how can that which is fair be devilish? I dislike the provision as to examinations before magistrates, and wish to see pure evidence, not like that admitted against the dynamiters, who, in the words of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell), while exculpating themselves, criminated their fellow prisoners. I hope the Bill may soon be repealed, as repeal is an easy matter. And in 1713, about the Malt Tax, leave was nearly given to bring in a Bill in their Lordships' House to repeal the Union with Scotland. In 1849 I received a letter from Mr. Frederick Hobart, father of the present Earl of Buckinghamshire, from Curraghmore, stating that from the sudden fall in the price of grain the farmers "were almost broke." I am glad that the Opposition has given a cocket—(*quod quietus eas*)—to this Bill, instead of a *bene discessit*, and applauding it, as it is made needful by the precedents of former years. I am sure it was brought in in a spirit of kindness, and will attend whenever it is again brought forward, and I hope that instead of Ireland being a land of ire, it will be a land of joy.

Motion *agreed to*.

House in Committee accordingly.

Clause 1 *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Extension of summary jurisdiction).

Lord HERSCHELL said, that the clause and one other were, in his view, the most important in the Bill. They differed in many respects from the provisions of the Act of 1882. He yielded to no man in his desire to see law and order maintained in Ireland, or in his horror of intimidation and threats; but if it were essential that there should be legislation upon the subject, the nature of that legislation ought to be carefully scrutinized before it was entered upon. While there might be evils which it might be desirable to remove, they must be careful that in attempting to deal with one evil they did not give rise to others of a worse character, and he did not believe they could give away any of their safeguards without risk. Under the clause they rendered persons charged with crime in Ireland liable to a form of treatment such as persons in this country were not subjected to. Now, he contended that they should do their best to subject Ireland to nothing to which we did not subject the people of the rest of the United Kingdom. Why, the noble and learned Lord had said that no one but the guilty need fear this Bill; but it must be remembered that that was not to be a mere temporary measure enacted to meet a temporary purpose; but was a Bill which it was intended should form part of the permanent Criminal Law of Ireland. One of the objects of the Bill was to deprive persons charged under it of the right of trial by jury. He should like to know what would be said by the people of this country if such an attempt were to be made to deprive them permanently of their right to trial by jury. It would be impossible to effect such a change in the law as that, because the people of this country would not endure it. Was it a beneficial amendment of the Criminal Law of Ireland to enact that criminal cases should be tried summarily before a bench of magistrates, instead of before a jury? He was aware that it might be urged that we could amend our law relating to summary jurisdiction; but when once this Act was passed there would be great indisposition to revert to the matter again. He confessed that he viewed with apprehension the establishment in Ireland of a permanent system of summary jurisdiction. What was the nature of the tribunal to which they were about to leave for determination some of the most difficult and most delicate questions of law? Nothing could be worse than the judicial tribunal which was created, and which would be controlled by the Executive. It was quite true that the Lord Lieutenant was bound to be satisfied of the legal knowledge of the Resident Magistrates, who were to carry out its provisions; but these magistrates were generally half-pay officers and persons who, if they had any at all, had only a very small proportion of legal training. It was difficult enough for the noble and learned Lords in that House to say what was a criminal conspiracy for the purpose of persuading certain people not to do certain acts; but what would be the case when half-pay officers had to decide such points? He had heard this doctrine laid down by a high authority that if one man combined with another not to deal with a person, and if he did that to injure that person it would be unlawful; but if he did it to better himself it would not be unlawful. These were nice and fine distinctions to be left to such a tribunal as the Bill proposed to create; and if they were so left, injustice was likely to be done. He thought that when introducing a permanent measure they should have taken steps to amend the law of summary jurisdiction generally, and even though the Government might have come to the conclusion that trial by jury had failed in Ireland, still they had chosen a substitute therefore which was not the best. The clause, in fact, was very objectionable. His noble and learned Friend alluded to something said by Mr. Gladstone about Boycotting. He (Lord Herschell) did not think Mr. Gladstone ever said a single word inconsistent with the language alluded to. Exclusive dealing was quite different from Boycotting, and it was only weakening the force of the objections to threats, intimidation, and compulsion when they confounded such things with inducements to exclusive dealing. There was, no doubt, in Ireland a vast amount of Boycotting, which did not depend on combination at all, and the noble Marquess himself (the Marquess of Salisbury) had stated how impossible it was to deal with it. For his own part, he thought Boycotting extremely mean and cruel, and he objected to such action wherever it was used. But he found that there was a great deal of Boycotting in this country in connection with electioneering, and he was horrified to find that some to whom he had spoken on the subject did not take the same view as himself. Considering the class antagonism in Ireland, the untrained character of the Resident Magistrates, and the intricate, difficult, and delicate questions submitted to them for the first time, he considered that there was a very serious risk of injustice being done. He should like to see the broadest and deepest distinction drawn between direct intimidation and threats of compulsion and mere inducement, which, ordinarily speaking, was a perfectly legitimate weapon. As to Boycotting, he loved it no better in England than in Ireland; and he had been astonished to find that when, in the presence of cultivated and highly intelligent people, the practice of leaving tradesmen in electioneering times was condemned, the very reverse sentiment prevailed. But common sentiment was enough, and that was a matter which they could not deal with by law. But under the Bill, if a person found his business not prospering, and so many people not coming into his shop as before, you would have such charges brought. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) last night mentioned certain cases of hardship. But those cases were punishable by the present law, and the noble Duke never stated how this Bill would deal with them; but he pointed to the Front Opposition Bench, and said—"That is the kind of liberty noble Lords support." For his own part, he (Lord Herschell) had uttered his protest against lawlessness before, and he would not do it again. If any person said that he wished to see lawlessness and disorder prevail, he would leave that person to his own opinion, and he would rely upon the opinions of those who were not so ready to think evil. If the Government determined that trial by jury was no longer possible, and that they must substitute something else, let them do so. But what he objected to was that the decision in such matters as had been referred to was left to Resident Magistrates, and he maintained that they had chosen a tribunal which was not the best substitute, and that they had given that tribunal a task which was unnecessary.

The LORD CHANCELLOR of IRELAND (Lord Ashbourne) said, that the proper way to look at this clause was in view of the state of facts to be dealt with. They had proposed a tribunal, one member of which should have legal knowledge such as would satisfy the Lord Lieutenant. His noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) did not question the state of facts, and did not attempt to deny that the present jury system was inadequate to deal with the state of affairs in Ireland; and it was not denied that the wise and proper way to proceed was by summary jurisdiction, and though his noble and learned Friend objected to that, he had not suggested a substitute. The section to which the noble and learned Lord took exception only referred to persons who took part in criminal conspiracies already punishable by law.

Lord HERSCHELL said, the Government could form their Court of paid lawyers not dependent on the will of the Executive.

Lord ASHBOURNE said, that his noble and learned Friend had sneeringly used the expression "half-pay officers;"

but their Lordships must be aware that officers now had to leave the Army in the prime of life, with their minds in full vigour, and that, in addition, they had received a training in military law in the Army which would enable them to render valuable assistance in discharging the duties of Resident Magistrates. They should also remember that, as he said before, there was a provision in the Bill enacting that one of these magistrates must always have some legal training. He would point out that the governing words of the section were that it "must be criminal conspiracy now punishable by law," and if it was not so punishable, it would not come within the section. They had to deal with a peculiar state of facts and all the insidious forms of Boycotting, and it would be idle to present a clause which, in the opinion of the Executive, would be inadequate. The clause had been submitted after careful consideration by the Executive, and it had been fully criticized; and nothing which the noble and learned Lord had said at all shook his (Lord Ashbourne's) opinion that when the clause was placed under fair conditions, and in capable hands, it would be of substantial assistance in working out what the Government desired — the restoration of law and order, and the putting down of the intimidation which so widely prevailed.

LORD HERSCHELL said, that there was really no appeal from the decision of the tribunal such as he had described, unless the punishment exceeded a month's imprisonment. A month's imprisonment was not a light matter; and surely the Government ought, in all these cases under the Bill, to give the fullest opportunity for appeal. No provision had been inserted in the Bill to redeem the pledge which the Chief Secretary for Ireland gave on the point; because it was said that, under the existing law, a case could be stated, and that if a magistrate refused to state a case, the Court of Queen's Bench could be moved to compel him to do so. No lawyer would say that that was the same as giving a man the right of appeal. It was, in the highest degree, a most objectionable proceeding. According to his experience, when tribunals were most undoubtedly in the wrong, they were most confident that they were in the right. It was in such a state of things that a Resident Magistrate would refuse to state a case. What, then, was a man's remedy when he was sentenced to a month? They were supposing that he had plenty of money. He would go to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus* to compel the magistrate to state a case. How was that to operate, he should like to know, with the kind of people who would be prosecuted under this Bill? When the man had got the *mandamus,* he could not be certain that the view which the magistrate would take would be the right one. It was as likely as not to be extremely incorrect, and when the case was obtained there were great difficulties in the way. All that he asked for was that there should be some right of appeal, on questions of law, from the Resident Magistrates to a superior Judge. He hoped that it might not be too late for the Government even now to conform to his view of the matter, and so avoid even the semblance of a breach of faith. If the Government adopted his suggestion, no discussion, he was confident, would take place on the point in the other House, as it would be accepted as a redemption of the pledge which the Government themselves had given.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, that the matter had been very fully discussed in the other House. What the noble and learned Lord asked for was that a change should be made in the summary jurisdiction of Ireland, and that a peculiar and special form of appeal unknown at present to the law in Ireland should be established. According to the Irish Summary Jurisdiction Law, the appeal was as it was given in the Bill, and as it was given in the Bill of 1882. He did not think that the noble and learned Lord's proposal was reasonable, or that it would commend itself to the judgment of their Lordships. He thought that the right of appeal, as provided in the Bill, was in all respects adequate for dealing with points of law, and there was no reason why a change should be made.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he must still point out that the Bill would deprive a man of a jury, and subject him to summary jurisdiction.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he failed to see that it was necessary to give a new system of appeal in order to save a prisoner from the proper termination of the law.

Lord HERSCHELL said, that it was the Judge of the Superior Court who decided all questions of law; and what he asked was that a prisoner should have an appeal to a Judge of a Superior Court against magistrates who might not be lawyers at all.

Lord FITZGERALD said, that this was one of the most essential clauses in the Bill. He contended that if an appeal were given under the clause in every case, however small, the Bill would be comparatively useless, and would not effect the object of the Government, which, he understood, was to repress intimidation by a summary remedy.

The Earl of SELBORNE said, that it was inaccurate to speak of the permanent operation of that part of the Bill which was the subject of the noble and learned Lord's (Lord Herschell's) criticism, because it would only be in operation in proclaimed districts as long as they were proclaimed. As to appeals from the summary jurisdiction, he was satisfied that the idea of anything having been promised, which was not done, arose out of a mere misunderstanding. He would ask why, if it was now unjust to refuse appeals in cases of less than a month's imprisonment, it was not so under the Act of 1882? He further contended that if the arguments of his noble and learned Friend for an appeal in every case were sound, the whole Law of Summary Jurisdiction was unjust. He could not conceive why the accused under this Bill should have greater rights of appeal than were given in other cases. As to the argument, that the tribunal itself should be re-constituted, before giving it the powers now given, it was manifest that there could be no more reason for such a course now than there was in 1882. If the tribunal was competent to deal with other offences against the law, it was competent to deal with these also. The word "induce," in the context in which it stood in this clause, would not make any combination for a purpose which was now lawful criminal or punishable, and the addition of that word was proper to prevent evasion; for there might be a conspiracy to induce by the use of unlawful means, which, although different from persuasion operating only on other men's judgment and free will, would not amount to compulsion. Such acts were distinguished from violence and intimidation by the Conspiracy Act of 1875, and the former Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1878.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 3 to 5, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Special proclamation putting into force the enactments of this Act relating to dangerous associations).

Lord HERSCHELL said, he should like to make a few remarks with reference to the clause, which was of the greatest moment. It enabled the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim any association which he might deem to be dangerous, and it was impossible to exaggerate the importance and gravity of the question, for power was to be given to that official to decide what associations were interfering with the administration of the law, or disturbing the maintenance of law and order. There had never been a political association formed for any great object which was not, in the opinion of the Government of the day, calculated to disturb the maintenance of law and order. He considered that a most serious matter, and it was impossible to exaggerate its importance, because the question of whether or not an association was one that would disturb law and order depended upon the opinion of one person. He did not know whether noble and learned Lords opposite thought that the Orange Association disturbed law and order; but, if it did, then it would be a dangerous association, and if equal justice were meted out to all associations in Ireland, he had no hesitation in saying that, in that case, that society would be held to be an association which disturbed law and order. If the Irish people had any natural capacity at all, it was for carrying on secret societies, and there could be nothing more unwise than to suppress associations which kept within Constitutional action, and if the attempt were made to suppress such associations, the result would be that, instead of suppressing them, they would only drive them under the surface. It was said that protection was afforded against the improper use of the section, inasmuch as either House of Parliament could put an end to the Proclamation within 14 days of its issue. Suppose the National League were proclaimed, and Parliament did not interfere, and permitted the special

Proclamation to stand. From that moment, any association formed for any of the purposes of the National League might be suppressed. He viewed with the utmost alarm the exercise of a power such as that, which had never been given before, and which, he was afraid, would be used for the purpose of putting a stop to legitimate and Constitutional agitation.

LORD ASHBOURNE said, he was not the least afraid of the power under this clause being used by any Administration for the purpose of putting down, or checking, or interfering with legitimate Constitutional agitation. He was strongly of opinion that, by the operation and working of the 2nd section of the Bill, crime in Ireland would be powerfully grappled with, and that the rest of the Bill would, therefore, have to be used all the less. Nevertheless, it was necessary to take this power. It was not given to be used idly and in an arbitrary manner by the Lord Lieutenant, who would act by and with the advice of the Privy Council, and would be compelled, as the Government of which he was a Member would be compelled, to submit his Proclamation to the judgment of Parliament. He did not think that any Amendment could be suggested that would make this clause any more satisfactory, or any more adequate. He was satisfied it would be wisely and cautiously administered, with full publicity, and under the check of Parliamentary control, and that no association would be declared to be dangerous unless it was dangerous to permit it to continue its career.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that, of course, the Government would say that these powers would be discharged with a due sense of responsibility; but the argument might be used to guard any Government, however absolute it might be, and the Executive Government in this country had never been entrusted with powers beyond the absolute necessities of the case. The noble and learned Lord opposite (Lord Ashbourne) said that no Amendment could be suggested that would improve the clause. But he (the Earl of Kimberley) would suggest that the Proviso inserted in the Act of 1882 should be inserted in this Bill. It was to the effect that nothing in the Act should render unlawful any political or social association for such objects and acting by such means as, by the Act or otherwise, were not unlawful. What they required was, not only that the Executive Government should do its duty, but that it should have the confidence of the people over whom it ruled. He was not now arguing the necessity for the powers conferred by this clause, but upon the Government's own showing, and believing that they were entirely sincere in stating that the Act would never be used for improper purposes; yet he thought it necessary that words should be inserted in the Bill which would render it impossible that a misuse of the powers could take place.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he greatly doubted whether in the Act of 1882 the clause to which his noble Friend had referred was anything more than mere surplusage. It was not extended, by that Act, to any of the special powers then given to the Lord Lieutenant, of which the power to prohibit meetings which he might think dangerous was one. The introduction of words such as those suggested would simply paralyze and destroy the power of the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim dangerous associations, for it would throw upon those who administered the law the task of determining whether there was any force in the Proclamation. In his opinion, there was sound and good reason for giving power to proclaim dangerous associations. The Act made persons taking part in a criminal conspiracy amenable to summary jurisdiction; and it was, therefore, of importance that people should be warned, as far as public authority could warn them, against taking part in known unlawful associations. That was an object which must recommend itself to everyone, provided it was not counterbalanced by objections of a more serious kind. He did not think there could be any difficulty in the interpretation of the Act, which, beyond all question, described objects which were criminal and unlawful; partly in the very words of the definition of unlawful associations in the Act of 1882, and partly in others, as to interfering "with the administration of the law," and "disturbing the maintenance of law and order." If these words had to be interpreted by a Court of Law, it was most certain that they could not be extended to anything not now illegal. The Lord Lieutenant, therefore, must be satisfied that the prohibited association was for a criminal object; and the 7th clause, which enabled him to extend the prohibition to a substituted association, notwithstanding a change of name, required him to be satisfied that the substituted association also was "dangerous,"—that is, criminal—within the definition of the 6th clause. Nor had he the least doubt that if the powers of the Act were exercised for a purpose not coming within the purview of the measure, they would be quite as certain to be effectually overhauled in Parliament as if left to the interference of any Court.

Earl GRANVILLE said, that immense importance seemed to be attached by Members of the Government to Parliamentary control; but, practically speaking, the phrase had no meaning whatever. The power given to each House of Parliament to address the Crown as a protest against arbitrary acts of the Government was illusory and worthless, because it would entirely depend on whether or not the Government retained the confidence of the House of Commons. It was not likely that such an Address would be carried in this House; and if the Government were in a majority in the other House they would prevent its being carried. But were the Government in a minority, it was clear they could be turned out of Office for their acts, and their policy changed, whether Parliamentary control was reserved by the Act or not. He did not think, therefore, that there was any safeguard in power being reserved to Parliament to address the Crown with regard to the actions of the Government under the Act.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Moved, "That the Report be no wreceived."—(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

Earl FORTESCUE said, that he could not help expressing the satisfaction he felt that Her Majesty's Government had introduced a Bill so very much milder than the severe and arbitrary measure that Mr. Gladstone's Government had found it necessary to propose to Parliament for the maintenance of law and order in Ireland. In the present measure there was no Conscience Clause; no clause providing for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act rendering 1,000 or any other number of persons liable to be imprisoned for indefinite periods, without trial; and no Curfew Clause, rendering persons liable to arrest for being out after dark.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; and to be read 3ª on *Monday* next.

VALUATION OF LANDS (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the Act thirtieth and thirty-first Victoria, chapter eighty—Was *presented* by The Marquess of Lothian; read 1ª. (No. 176.)

House adjourned at half past Eight o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 15*th July,* 1887.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.] — New Writs Issued — *For* Gloucester (Forest of Dean Division), *v.* Thomas Blake, esquire, Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the County of Buckingham.

Select Committee—*Second Report*—Army and Navy Estimates [No. 223].

Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, Further Vote on Account, £1,885,100; Civil Service Estimates; Class II. — Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 2, 3, & 4.

Public Bills—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Government Boundaries * [324]; Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Amendment * [325]; Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp) * [326]; Bankruptcy (Discharge and Closure) * [327].

First Reading—Land Transfer * [328].

Considered as amended—Truck * [299].

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) * [141], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—DISMISSAL OF MR. J. G. FITZGERALD, INSPECTOR OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Mr. CAREW (Kildare, N.) (for Mr. J. E. Redmond) (Wexford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, A.B., T.C.D., who was appointed, on 1st November, 1854, an Inspector of National Schools, Ireland, was, on the 29th January, 1879, after a service of nearly 25 years, during which he frequently secured the strong approval of his official superiors, dismissed from his post, on a charge of making in his journal a false entry relative to a sum of 5*s*. 6*d*.; whether the gentlemen appointed by the National Board of Education (Ireland) to investigate this charge arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Fitzgerald was guilty, because of his inability to produce a voucher relative to the item referred to, which he had mislaid, being at the time in ill-health, and suffering from great mental depression; whether, when he subsequently found and produced said voucher, one of the two gentlemen who had originally investigated the charge recommended the Commissioners of National Education to grant a re-investigation of his case; whether he could state at whose instance the re-investigation was refused; and, whether, inasmuch as Mr. Fitzgerald has since (as shown by the Papers relative to his case laid upon the Table of the House on the 30th May, 1886) proved his innocence of the charge made against him, and considering the terrible injury inflicted on Mr. Fitzgerald by his dismissal, whereby he is left in absolute want, he will grant an inquiry into all the facts of the case, and afford Mr. Fitzgerald the opportunity he has so long sought of clearing his character?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The hon. Member will find in Parliamentary Paper No. 33 of Session 2, 1886, a full statement of all the circumstances connected with Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald's dismissal. The present Government agree with the decision come to by successive Governments that this is not a case calling for further inquiry.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) asked, whether it was not a fact that the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Parliamentary Under Secretary was one of the deputation which waited on the right hon. Member for Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), when Chief Secretary, and requested him to grant an inquiry into the case of Mr. Fitzgerald?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he was a member of that deputation; but further acquaintance with the case showed him that the question of the voucher was not the one on which the Commissioners had acted.

Dr. KENNY (Cork, S.) asked, whether it was not a fact that one of the Inspectors who had originally investigated the charge recommended a re-investigation, and stated he would have given a different decision if further evidence subsequently produced by Mr. Fitzgerald had been before him?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he understood that was not so.

Mr. SEXTON asked, whether the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was aware that a case had lately turned up in Ireland where an Inspector under the National Board was found to have kept and used a horse and car of his own against the Rules, and charged the Commissioners the cost, and also charged for sleeping in hotels when he slept at home, and yet he was merely transferred from one district to another; and, whether, under these circumstances, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman would ask the Board of Commissioners to consider the inequality of punishment between that case and the case of Mr. Fitzgerald?

Colonel KING-HARMAN replied, that the only information he had of the matter was from a communication received from Mr. Fitzgerald himself, who seemed to think that his case ought to be re-opened because somebody else had done something wrong and had not been adequately punished.

WAR OFFICE — SERGEANT INSTRUCTORS OF MUSKETRY—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Sergeant Instructor of Musketry, 1st Battalion Coldstream Guards, and of unexceptionable character, having completed 12 years' service, applied to extend his service for nine years further, in accordance with the Queen's Regulations, and was refused; whether Sergeant Henry Gonvyn, of the same battalion, who has been a non-commissioned officer for nearly ten years, has made a similar application; and, whether any decision has been come to thereon?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guilford): A non-commissioned officer may be personally of an unexceptionable character, and yet inefficient in the working of a regiment; and before exercising the veto which, under the Army Act and consequent Regulations, he is bound to exercise, the Secretary of State has satisfied himself that it is not for the good of the Service that the two men named in the Question should be re-engaged as sergeants. There is no desire, however, to stop their military career, or to prevent their serving on for pension in a lower capacity.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (IRELAND)—THE ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there is any reason for holding back the Report of the Irish Lunacy Commissioners; and, why it is not printed earlier in the year?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Inspectors of Lunatics state that there is no reason for holding back their Annual Report, beyond the fact that it is still in the printer's hands. They expect to be in a position to submit it for presentation next week. I think the hon. Member will find that this is the usual period of the year for the presentation of the Annual Reports of Public Departments.

LUNACY COMMISSIONERS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE ANNUAL REPORT.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Why the Lunacy Commissioners do not bring out their Annual Report; and, why the Statistical Summary, in accordance with the promise made last year, was not issued in April?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Report was presented to the Lord Chancellor on June 27, and copies were laid on the same day on the Table of both Houses. It is now in the hands of the printers, and will shortly be issued. The Commissioners inform me that no formal engagement was entered into on their part as to presenting a Statistical Summary in April; but there will be no difficulty in giving the Summary asked for next year, and a note has been made to that effect.

POST OFFICE — PENSIONERS FROM OTHER SERVICES UNDER THE CROWN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Postmaster General, What is the limit of age for the admission of pensioners from other Services under the Crown, military or police, to be enrolled in the Service of the Post Office, and to what positions are they generally appointed, and also at what age is the compulsory retirement of such persons enforced; whether, on entering the Post Office Service, pensioners are called upon to sign a contract form in which they declare their age, and waive all claim to compensation or a pension for Service in the Post Office, and by whom is such contract form retained; whether periodical examinations of these contract forms are made with the object of calling upon such pensioners as may have reached the maximum limit of age to resign; and, whether it is usual for pensioners in the Service of the Post Office to hold dual positions and to discharge the duties of one by proxy?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): There are two classes of Service in the Post Office which should be kept distinctly in view—the Established Service and the Unestablished Service. Established Service carries a right to pension; admission is by examination; a maximum age is prescribed; and a Civil Service certificate is necessary under the provisions of the Order in Council. Unestablished Service is free from any such restrictions, and candidates may, therefore, accept employment at any age and without examination; but the employment carries with it no pension. A pensioner who wishes to become an established country postman, porter, or lineman has the advantage of an addition of 15 years to the prescribed limit of 30. A pensioner who happens to obtain an established appointment, accompanied by a Civil Service certificate, is eligible for a pension on account of his service in the Post Office. If he is a candidate for an unestablished situation he is required to sign before his engagement a printed paper, the object of which is to make him clearly understand the nature of the engagement which he is making. In neither case is there any compulsory retirement on the ground of age. Pensioners employed at the Post Office do not perform their duties there by proxy.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—A TELEGRAPH OFFICE FOR SMITHSBORO', CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the inhabitants of Smithsboro', County Monaghan, some time since applied by Memorial to the Secretary of the General Post Office, Dublin, requesting him to have the post office in that town created a telegraph office, and offering to guarantee the sum of £30 for the purpose, and also to defray the cost of working for one year, the telegraph service to be withdrawn at the expiration of that time if it were found that it did not pay the Post Office to maintain it; whether the Secretary refused to accede to this request by insisting that a seven years' guarantee should be given, and if there is any precedent for making such a demand; whether he is aware that Smithsboro' is a Provincial trading town of considerable trading importance, and is situated on the main line of Railway between Clones and Belfast, and that the post office is only 25 perches distant from the Railway Station, by which several telegraph lines pass, and consequently that the cost of extension would be but trifling; and, whether he will be good enough to have inquiries instituted as to the creating of Smithsboro' Post Office a telegraph office, and if a guarantee is deemed necessary to accept it for one year?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that about two years ago an application was received for a telegraph office at Smithsboro', and, after some correspondence, it was arranged that two of the residents should enter into a guarantee of £30 a-year for seven years. On a draft agreement, however, being sent for approval, the intending guarantors withdrew from their undertaking—partly on the ground that a reduction had been made in the charge for telegrams, and partly because, on examining the draft agreement, they found that they would not be credited with the value of messages addressed to Smithsboro'. They were of opinion that the guarantee would prove too onerous; but I cannot find that there was any question as to the period of the guarantee, or any suggestion that the telegraph service should be withdrawn at the end of a year. Guarantees are invariably for seven years, and there is no precedent for a guarantee of one year. A guarantee for seven years is calculated so as to secure to the Department the repayment within the term of the capital expenditure as well as of the working expenses; and it is obvious that if the telegraph office were withdrawn at the end of one year the Department would not secure the repayment of the capital. The neighbouring wires, to which the hon. Member refers, would not be used for the purpose of serving a telegraph office at Smithsboro'. It would be necessary to erect a new wire from Clones. A considerable period having elapsed since the last inquiries were made I shall be very glad to call for further Reports, and I will in due course acquaint the hon. Member with the result.

INDIA—TRANSFER OF THE PROVINCE OF SCINDE.

COLONEL HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there is any intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to transfer the Province of Scinde from the Bombay to the Punjaub Government, thus uniting the two Provinces, according to the suggestions made in Blue Book, "Beloochistan, No. 3," published in 1878, which commences with a Despatch from the Marquess of Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, dated 3rd February, 1876?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The transfer of the Province of Scinde from Bombay to the Punjaub is not at present under the consideration of Government. But the hon. Member's Question will have the effect of drawing the attention of the Government of India to the subject, which will receive the attention which its importance deserves.

DOG TAX (IRELAND)—COLLECTION OF THE TAX.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who are the salaried officials that are paid for the collection of the Dog Tax in Ireland; whether it is a fact that 350,000 dogs were licensed in Ireland during the past year, yielding a total of £35,164; whether the cost of collection amounted to £31,867 or nearly 90 per cent of the amount collected; and, what is the usual percentage cost for collecting the Dog Tax in England?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, clerks of Petty Sessions were the officials who collected the Dog Tax in Ireland. 351,644 dogs were licensed in Ireland during the year 1886, yielding a total of £35,164. From this sum £31,993 was deducted, of which £15,814 was for the cost of collection, and the balance, £16,179, was required to meet increased salaries under the Act of 1881.

Dr. TANNER: Is it not a fact that the cost of collection is 90 per cent in Ireland and only 5 per cent in England? Cannot the right hon. and gallant Gentleman make the deduction?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

EMIGRATION OF PAUPER CHILDREN (METROPOLIS)—INCIDENCE OF COST.

Mr. RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster) asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board, Whether he would take into his consideration the advisability of altering the existing law so as to permit a portion (say one-half) of the cost of the emigration of pauper children in the Metropolitan District to fall upon the common fund of the district, instead of being borne, as at present, entirely by the Union?

The SECRETARY (Mr. Long) (Wilts, Devizes), in reply, said, the matter was one which deserved consideration, and the hon. Gentleman might rely upon careful attention being given to it.

AGRICULTURAL RETURNS—ACREAGE OF WOODS AND FORESTS.

Mr. RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Returns of the acreage of woods and forests in Great Britain could be published along with the Agricultural Returns, so as to show the real acreage which is under cultivation in every way?

The SECRETARY (Baron Henry De Worms) (Liverpool, East Toxteth), in reply, said, this Question should be addressed to the Chancellor of the Duchy.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—EMIGRATION TO THE COLONIES—TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Mr. BROOKE ROBINSON (Dudley) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether, considering the want of employment in many manufacturing districts, and the consequent increasing desire of artizans to emigrate, and that the only manual labour which those artizans know is, for the most part, entirely useless in the Colonies, it would be possible, in any scheme providing for technical education, to afford means by which artizans desirous of emigrating might, prior to doing so, obtain some slight rudimentary knowledge in agriculture and other labour likely to be serviceable in the Colonies?

The VICE PRESIDENT (Sir William Hart Dyke) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, no measure having for its object the improvement of the industrial training of our workmen would be complete which did not offer some facilities such as those referred to in the Question of the hon. Member; but he thought the chief object of legislation would be to enable English artizans to gain a better livelihood in their own country than circumstances now permitted.

CROFTERS' HOLDINGS (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1886—EVASION OF THE ACT—THE BARCALDINE ESTATE.

Dr. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been directed to the following Circulars issued to all the tenants on the Barcaldine Estate, near Oban, by the proprietrix, Mrs. Ogilvie:—

"I (Archibald MacArthur, senior), now residing in cottage, and having crofts on Barcaldine Estate, do hereby agree to proceed no further with the application which I have made to the Crofters Commission for fixity of tenure, &c. And I further bind myself to make no further application or claim under the

Act upon condition that I be allowed to hold and occupy the said cottage and croft and land on the same conditions as heretofore during the remainder of my life, but without power to transmit the same to anyone.

"Dated and signed this day of

"May, 1887;"

whether, on the refusal of the said Archibald MacArthur and others to sign this document, the following notice was sent to them by Mrs. Ogilvie:—

"Barcaldine, 25th May, 1887.

"Sir,—I beg to intimate to you that, in accordance with the printed regulations of this estate of Barcaldine, I will, upon Martinmas next ensuing, resume possession of all that land in your occupation and rented by you, for the purpose of planting the same. I beg to add that this notice stands without prejudice to the 'notice to quit' received by you in November last;"

and, whether, if Mrs. Ogilvie and other Highland proprietors attempt to defeat the Crofters Act by reserving part or all of their estates for planting purposes, he will bring in a short amending Act to prevent such evasure of the Act of 1886?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): Mrs. Ogilvie bought the estates of Barcaldine and Ballachulish, with entry at Martinmas last year, with the intention of farming them herself. Before she got possession, notice to quit was, at her request, given to certain tenants. Five or six of these served notices on her under the Crofters Act; and with all of these, except one, she arranged amicably, giving them money and other compensation, and in some cases employment on the estate, upon which she is executing extensive improvements. In respect of the arrangements made, the tenants signed agreements similar to those described as circulars in the hon. Member's Question. I understand that only one notice to resume land for planting was given by Mrs. Ogilvie. The circumstances do not appear to call for any Act amending the Crofters Act of last year.

LAND LAW ACT (IRELAND) 1881—BONA FIDE OCCUPATION—FAIR RENTS—SUB-LETTING.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the decision just given by the Land Commissioners at Ballymoney, County Antrim, and referred to in *The Northern Whig* of the 12th instant, under which it has been held that a tenant who sub-lets a garden or allotment to a labourer is not "in *bonâ fide* occupation of his holding," and not entitled, therefore, to the advantages of the Act of 1881; whether this decision of the Sub-Commissioners is based upon a Judgment given in the Superior Courts; and, whether the Government will introduce a clause in the Irish Land Law Bill now before the House to amend the law in this respect?

Sir CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.): I beg to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the recent decisions of the Land Commission, to the effect that a tenant who has sub-let a labourer's cottage on his holding, and cannot prove express consent from his landlord, is disentitled to have a fair rent fixed under "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," and, in particular, to the Judgment of Mr. Commissioner Greer, given at Ballymoney on the 11th July instant, in which he stated that he was constrained to dismiss a number of tenants' applications owing to their having allowed the cottages on their holdings, together with small gardens or patches of land for manuring, to be occupied by labourers; whether that interpretation of the Statute was objected to by Mr. Greer's lay colleagues, as being opposed to the general policy of the Land Laws, and to the Ulster tenant right custom, and calculated to deprive the majority of Ulster tenants of the benefits of the Act; and, whether the Government will introduce a clause into the Irish Land Law Bill now before Parliament, to remedy the evils complained of? The hon. Baronet also inquired, whether this decision would not be most injurious to labourers, as it would mean their dismissal by farmers in order to get under the Irish Land Law Act?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton), in reply, said, he had not been able to get exact information as to the cases referred to, as the decision had not yet been returned to the Land Commission. His only acquaintance with the decisions referred to was derived from the Questions. If this had been unauthorized sub-letting, it deprived the tenant, under the Act of 1881, which limited the benefits to tenants in occupation, excluded middlemen, and distinctly prohibited sub-letting. But if a tenant sub-let with the consent of his landlord, expressed or implied, he was deemed to be in occupation of the holding, notwithstanding that sub-letting. If hon. Members brought forward Amendments on the subject to the new Irish Land Law Bill the Government would give them the most careful consideration.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) mentioned the case of a widow who had occupied a farm of half an acre for 20 years, and who had been deprived of the benefits of the Act of 1881 for having in her house a labourer who paid 6*d.* a week.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL intimated that he would put down an Amendment to the Irish Land Law Bill, with a view to amend the law in this respect.

LAW AND POLICE—OPEN-AIR SERVICES AT GRANTHAM—ARRESTS.

Mr. ATKINSON (Boston) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether certain persons in Stamford have recently been sent to Leicester Gaol (on refusal to pay a fine), by order of the Borough Magistrates, for holding open-air services in the Market Square of the borough; if it is true that the said persons were dragged from their beds at half-past 5 o'clock in the morning, and taken to Leicester without being allowed to break their fast; and, if it is true they were handcuffed and marched through the streets as common felons?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): It is a fact that two persons were recently convicted by the Borough Justices, not for holding open-air services, but for wilfully obstructing the free passage of the highway, and refusing to move away when requested by the police. The police, anticipating disturbance, apprehended the two men between 5 and 6 in the morning, in order that they might take them to Leicester by the 6.40 train. They were not dragged from their beds; in fact, the constables did not enter their bed-rooms. It is true that they were handcuffed. I cannot say whether the sergeant had good reason for anticipating violence, or an attempt at escape; if not, in my opinion, handcuffs ought not to have been used.

ADMIRALTY — CASE OF BERTIE WILMOT MAINPRISE — LITERARY EXAMINATION.

Mr. EVELYN (Deptford) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, relative to the case of Bertie Wilmot Mainprise, of the Royal Naval School, New Cross, nominated by the Lords of the Admiralty for a Naval Cadetship, and rejected on medical examination in June last, Whether it is in conformity with usage that Mainprise should have undergone the literary examination before the Civil Service Commissioners notwithstanding such medical rejection; whether there are not precedents for re-instating a candidate who has passed the literary examination after such medical rejection; and, on what grounds the Civil Service Commissioners have declined to assign marks to Mainprise, or to publish such marks if assigned, thus concealing the result of the literary examination?

The FIRST LORD (Lord George Hamilton) (Middlesex, Ealing): The case of Mr. Mainprise was not in accordance with usual custom. Mr. Mainprise had been rejected as medically unfit; but a request asking for a reversal of this decision having been received at the Admiralty, the usual intimation was not sent to the Civil Service Commissioners pending a final decision. There are no precedents for admitting candidates after medical rejection. The assigning and publication of marks rest altogether with the Civil Service Commissioners. I am unable to say for what purpose they have been withheld on the present occasion.

ZANZIBAR—RECALL OF SIR JOHN KIRK, HER MAJESTY'S CONSUL.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Sir John Kirk, Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, has been recalled?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): Sir John Kirk has not been recalled, but has resigned his appointment, and retired from the Service, owing to ill-health, the result of long tropical service. He has received the highest pension applicable to his length of service, which has been valuable and devoted.

LONDON COAL AND WINE DUTIES CONTINUANCE BILL—LEGISLATION.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the London Coal and Wine Duties Continuance Bill is abandoned for this year; and, whether it is his intention, or the intention of the Government, to re-introduce the measure, or a similar measure, next Session?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Metropolitan Board of Works that this measure is so far abandoned that they have ceased to hope for the passing of the measure in the present Session. It is not, so far as I can foresee, the intention of the Government to introduce this or a similar measure next Session; but the Metropolitan Board and the City Corporation will, I am informed, submit to the Legislature a Bill on the subject.

BURMAH—REVENUES FROM TEAK FORESTS AND MONOPOLIES OF EARTH OIL AND PRECIOUS STONES.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether a very large part of the Revenues of Upper Burmah under King Theebaw was drawn from leases of the teak forests and monopolies of earth oil and precious stones; whether Memorials have been received by the Government of India from merchants, traders in teak, and foresters in Burmah, in the end of 1885 and beginning of 1886, pointing out the wasteful and objectionable mode adopted by King Theebaw's Government of dealing with the valuable sources of Revenue derived from the teak forests, and praying the Government of India itself to undertake the working of the forests; what answer has been given to those Memorials; and, what course the Government intend to adopt to protect the merchants and traders in Burmah from the evils of the system of monopolies granted by ex-King Theebaw?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): I answer the first Question in the affirmative. Memorials have been presented to the Chief Commissioner of Burmah; but the Secretary of State has not received copies of either the Memorials themselves or the replies made to them. He will cause inquiry to be made. The general policy of the Government is to do away with monopolies; but in reference to the teak forests claims have been advanced, based on concessions from King Theebaw, which are now under the examination and consideration of the Government of India.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) inquired, what was the number of claimants to the teak forests?

SIR JOHN GORST asked for Notice of the Question.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Is it part of the policy of getting rid of monopolies in Burmah that the Indian Government should have been treating with Messrs. Streeter alone?

[No reply.]

FISHERIES — HOME OFFICE AND BOARDS OF CONSERVATORS.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether the Board of Trade has the power of altering, modifying, or cancelling bye-laws respecting fishing, made by Boards of Conservators, which have been confirmed by the Home Office or Board of Trade?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade has no power to "alter, modify, or cancel bye-laws" made under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts. Under 36 & 37 *Vict.* c. 71, ss. 39, 40, and 41, such a power is vested in Boards of Conservators, who

> "May from time to time, by any new bye-law, revoke, vary, or alter, either in whole or in part, or as to its application to the whole or to any part or parts of the district, any bye-law previously made"

by them. The power of the Board of Trade is limited to the confirmation or disallowance of bye-laws.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—INCREASED MAIL ACCOMMODATION, CO. DOWN.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can now state definitely when arrangements will be made to give increased mail accommodation to Newtownards, Downpatrick, Ballinahinch, and other towns in the County of Down?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply, said, a correspondence was going on with the Treasury, and he would announce the decision as soon as it was received.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) said, if the matter was not settled before the Vote for the Post Office came on, he would call attention to it.

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT) — CONTRACTS FOR COLLAR HIDES FOR THE CAVALRY.

Colonel HUGHES-HALLETT (Rochester) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether the Report made by the officer commanding 2nd Dragoons on the collar hides recently issued to the Cavalry at Aldershot referred to one hide only, or to several; and, if so, how many; whether, when re-dressed by Messrs. Ross and Company, after they had been condemned as "worthless," these hides were re-examined, and "passed" as fit for issue, by the same viewer or viewers who passed them as sound and good in the first instance in 1886; and, whether the opinion expressed by the Inspector General of Cavalry in his Report, that—

> "Someone ought to be blamed for passing such inferior articles into the Service,"

has been notified and acted upon; and in what manner; and on whom?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter): The text of the Report made by the officer commanding the 2nd Dragoons is as follows:—

> "The collar hide issued from Ordnance Store for the repair of saddlery," &c.;

apparently, therefore, only alluding to one hide. The Viewer who originally passed this and the other three and a-half hides complained of is no longer in the Service; it was, therefore, a different Viewer who passed the hides after re-dressing. The Inspector General of Cavalry's remarks have been carefully noted. As I have already stated, a full, independent investigation is being made into the whole circumstances of the case, and when finished the Secretary of State will decide what action may be necessary. I should like, in conclusion, to call my hon. and gallant Friend's attention to the fact that his Question purports to give, and does give, textually an extract from a confidential Report to the Secretary of State, and to ask him if he can give me an assurance that no Government *employé* has been guilty of the offence of communicating the contents of confidential Papers.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston): By whom is the investigation being conducted?

Mr. NORTHCOTE: The Judge Advocate General has undertaken the task.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Will the inquiry include the question whether the harness which was reported rotten in the Egyptian Campaign came from the same firm as supplied these hides, and whether the deterioration is due to the same cause—adulteration of the leather?

Mr. NORTHCOTE: I have not heard.

WAR OFFICE—DIRECTORS OF ARMY CONTRACTS—AN ANNUAL REPORT.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he will authorise the Director of Army Contracts to make an Annual Report to this House, giving a Summary of all Contracts entered into with firms or persons not being themselves manufacturers of the stores supplied by them, the supply of stores by such persons being an exception to the established rule that only actual manufacturers should receive such contracts?

The FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. Brodrick) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: No, Sir. The Secretary of State does not consider that such a course would be conducive to the public interest.

Mr. HANBURY: Then I beg to give Notice that in Committee of Supply I shall move to reduce the salary of the Director of Contracts.

EXTRAORDINARY TITHE ACT, 1886—THE LAND COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye) asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he can inform the House of the progress made by the Land Commissioners in their work connected with the Extraordinary Tithe Act, 1886?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.) (who replied) said, that the work of the Land Commission was nearly completed.

THE COUNCIL OF INDIA—REPRESENTATION OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

SIR **RICHARD TEMPLE** (Worcester, Evesham) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, in the filling up of vacancies in the Council of India, regard will be had to the Bombay Presidency being represented like as the other Presidencies are represented in that Council?

THE **UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE** (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Yes.

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES.

MR. **WATT** (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the principal person connected with the syndicate formed by Mr. Streeter, junior, to provide capital to work the Ruby Mines, was recently prosecuted by the Crown under a criminal indictment; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take care that Indian officials grant contracts or permits only to persons of good character and repute?

THE **UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE** (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): No. But I have been informed that a Mr. Baird, who was prosecuted for an offence against the Foreign Enlistment Act and acquitted, had formerly a small interest in the venture. My answer to the second paragraph is, Yes.

EGYPT—DEPARTURE OF SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF—AHMED MOUKTAR PASHA.

MR. **F. S. STEVENSON** (Suffolk, Eye) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Why it is that, notwithstanding the departure of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff from Egypt, Ahmed Mouktar Pasha still remains; what is his present official position; and, whether there is any intention that he shall remain in Egypt either as permanent Imperial Commissioner of the Sultan, or in some other capacity; and, if not, how soon he may be expected to leave?

THE **UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE** (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Ghazi Ahmed Mouktar Pasha is a high officer of the Sultan, and is not in any way employed by the Government of Egypt. It rests with the Sultan to recall him at his pleasure; and, as far as Her Majesty's Government are aware, this has not yet been done.

MR. **F. S. STEVENSON**: Is there any truth in the rumour that Mouktar Pasha is to leave Alexandria within the next few days?

SIR **JAMES FERGUSSON**: I have not heard the report.

SIR **WILFRID LAWSON** (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Any news about Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to-day?

[No reply.]

EGYPT—THE GREAT DEPRESSION IN THE DESERT—THE LAKE MOERIS SCHEME.

MR. **WOODALL** (Hanley) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Report has been received, made by Major Western, R.E., to Sir C. C. Scott-Moncrieff, R.E., C.B., K.C.M.G., of the Egyptian Public Works Department, in which it is stated that a depression has been shown to exist in the Desert to the south-west of Cairo, which would probably contain 30,000 million cubic metres of Nile water, with a surface of about 400 square miles, and which, it is said, could be utilized to store Nile water, so as to ultimately redeem an area of 2,300,000 acres of land in Lower Egypt; whether this is the Lake Moeris scheme, with which the name of Mr. Cope Whitehouse has been connected; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a Copy of the Report, together with a map, if any exists, and any observations made by any officers in Her Majesty's Service, tending to show the value of the project?

THE **UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE** (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Report in question has not been received by Her Majesty's Government. It would naturally be made to the Government of Egypt, and considered by them. I believe that Mr. Cope Whitehouse has taken a deep and long-continued interest in the scheme of filling Lake Moeris or Wady Raian for the irrigation of Upper Egypt. We are not in possession of Reports on the subject from officers of Her Majesty's Service. I have seen the Report of Major Western, and a map of the locality, but unofficially; and they could not be presented to Parliament until they have been considered by the Government of Egypt.

METROPOLITAN POLICE FUND—THE JUBILEE MEDAL.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Metropolitan Police Fund is composed partly of public taxes and partly of Metropolitan rates, and by what authority he is taking a portion of that fund to buy 14,000 Jubilee medals; and, whether he can now state the estimated cost of the medals?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir. The Metropolitan Police Fund is made up in the manner stated in the Question. The medals are given in acknowledgment of extraordinary exertions of the police, and their cost is a charge which, I am advised, I have power, under 10 *Geo.* IV. c. 24, s. 12, to direct to be borne by the Metropolitan Police Fund. The cost of the medals has not yet been settled.

MR. PICKERSGILL further asked the estimated cost?

MR. MATTHEWS replied, that he had had estimates submitted to him by an officer of the Mint for a certain class of medal, and the medal had been forwarded to the Chief Commissioner for his approval, which had not yet been obtained. The preliminary estimate was £83 per 1,000 medals.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — REWARDS FOR EXTRA SERVICE ON JUBILEE DAY — POST OFFICE — TELEGRAPHISTS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that the Metropolitan Police, for their services on Jubilee Day, are to receive one day's extra pay and three days' extra leave; and, whether, in face of this fact, he will make some special acknowledgment, either in money or grant of leave, of the services of the telegraphists who were required for the public convenience to remain on duty during that day?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I have heard that the Metropolitan Police are to receive extra pay and leave for their services on Jubilee Day. As I before stated, the question of giving extra pay or leave to the telegraphists, who were employed on Jubilee Day as on other week days, has been considered by the Government; but it was not considered that their employment on that day justified any such special acknowledgment as that suggested by the hon. Member.

ARRANGEMENTS OF THIS HOUSE — THE LIBRARY — COMMUNICATION WITH THE HOUSE — THE READING ROOM — EXCLUSION OF THE "UNITED IRELAND."

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he will take steps to give to Members of Parliament engaged in study in the Library of the House of Commons facilities for learning the course and progress of Business and Debates in this House equal to those enjoyed by their fellow-subjects in other parts of the Empire?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I quite agree that it would be a great convenience for Members engaged in study in the Library—[An hon. MEMBER: And the Smoking Room.]—and also in the onerous duties of the Smoking Room, if they had constant communication of what was going on in the House. I think seriously it would save time; and I have matured an excellent plan, which I am prepared to carry out whenever I can persuade my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give me the money.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): In answer to the First Commissioner of Works—— [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE: What would be the cost of the plan?

MR. PLUNKET: I do not think it is an extravagant cost—£500 the first year, and £400 a-year afterwards to keep up the service.

MR. DILLON: I beg to give Notice that if any such proposal is brought forward I shall give it my most strenuous opposition.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can state whether he is aware that *The United Ireland* is excluded from the newspapers in the Members' Reading Room; and, will he use his influence for the purpose of providing a few copies for the use of Members in the proper quarter?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In answer to the hon. Gentleman, I may say that the Serjeant-at-Arms will make arrangements for the paper to be taken in, if he should understand it to be the general wish of the Members of the House that he should do so.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) asked, why there were so few copies of *The Pall Mall Gazette?*

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it was not in his power to give an answer to a Question like that. It was a matter of detail, and hon. Members had the opportunity of representing their views to the proper officials of the House.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.) asked, how was the general sense of Members on the question to be ascertained?

[No reply.]

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE OATHS BILL.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of what happened in the House on the 9th of May, he will allow the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Oaths Bill to be taken before midnight?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am sorry to say that, owing to the present state of Public Business, I am unable to comply with the hon. Member's suggestion and request. It is intended, if we are able to suspend the Government Business in sufficient time, to take the Truck Bill to-night.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, that, while he admitted the Truck Bill was of wider importance, he would ask whether, in view of what took place when the Oaths Bill was under debate before, the Government did not think he had some claim for facilities being afforded him for getting the decision of the House on that Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he did not think the hon. Gentleman could complain of any want of disposition on the part of the Government to afford him facilities for the consideration of the questions in which he took an interest; but he was afraid he could enter into no undertaking with respect to that measure.

RULES OF DEBATE—SCOTCH QUESTIONS.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in regard to Scotch Questions, To whom Members may address inquiries or Questions in this House, in order to receive answers with the authority of Her Majesty's Government?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Lord Advocate is the Member of the Government who answers generally all Scotch Questions which may be addressed to the Government; and if from any cause the Lord Advocate feels himself unable to answer a Question of importance, it should be addressed to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who is the responsible officer, superior to the Lord Advocate, for any Scotch Questions which may be raised in this House.

MR. ESSLEMONT: Will the First Lord of the Treasury exercise some discretion?

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the powers of the Secretary for Scotland were, by Act of Parliament, vested in the Secretary for Scotland, and could not be delegated to the Lord Advocate, or to the Home Secretary, or any other officer of the Government?

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, whether the Home Secretary had any official authority over the Lord Advocate?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I must ask hon. Gentlemen to consult the Act of Parliament under which the Office of Secretary for Scotland was constituted. But hon. Gentlemen are very well aware that in the arrangements of the Government one officer or another undertakes special duties; and naturally it falls to the Secretary of State, on any Question which the Lord Advocate cannot answer, to deal with that Question.

MR. A. L. BROWN (Hawick, &c.): Who is the responsible Minister, when the Lord Advocate states it is not his province to answer a particular Question?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mr. ANDERSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, whether the Bill promised in the Queen's Speech relating to the Office of Secretary for Scotland was ever to be introduced; and whether the Government would postpone the Vote for the Salary of the Secretary for Scotland until that measure had been introduced, and the House knew what the duties of that Office were?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: The duties of the Secretary for Scotland are expressed in the Act which exists. I have every reason to believe that the Bill will be introduced; but I am not able to give the undertaking which the hon. Gentleman asks me to give, unless it is his desire that the Office of Secretary for Scotland shall altogether be abolished.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he will not reconsider what he has said, in reply to the Question about referring Scotch Questions to the Secretary for Scotland; whether it is not a fact that the cause for the Scotch Secretary Act was not this—namely, the confusion which had arisen owing to the arrangement of the Scotch business in the Home Office; whether in that Act all the Scotch powers vested in the Home Secretary, except law and justice, were transferred to the Secretary for Scotland; whether he has not promised, under the new Bill, that these powers will be transferred to the Secretary for Scotland; and whether all those permanent officials in the Home Office who were acquainted with the Scotch business have not been transferred to the Scotch Office; and that, therefore, the Home Secretary is hardly likely to be able to give a satisfactory answer to Scotch Questions?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I do not question a single word of the arguments of the hon. Gentleman, and I do not wish to indicate that ordinary Questions on Scotch business would be dealt with by the Home Secretary. But I understand the contention to have arisen from the fact that the particular Question addressed to the Lord Advocate was a Question which it was not fitting for the Lord Advocate, as a subordinate in the Scotch Office, to reply to, and only such Questions which might be addressed to the Government, as superior to the Secretary for Scotland, would be dealt with by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, having regard to the position he holds in the Government, would be the proper person to reply to such Questions.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN—VOTES OF THE IRISH JUDGES.

Mr. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been directed to a speech delivered in Trinity College, on Tuesday, 12th July, at the declaration of the poll, by the Hon. Richard Alan Parsons, the defeated candidate, in which the following passage occurs:—

> "The influences brought against me were very remarkable. My opponent was proposed by one of Her Majesty's Representatives in this country. A remarkable number of the Judges have recorded their votes, and their names have been published in the papers;"

was Mr. Serjeant Madden's candidature supported by a letter from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, of which public use was made; whether his attention has been called to the following statement of Lord Fitzgerald, on the 21st August, 1883:—

> "That he was on the (Irish) Bench for 20 years, and in consequence of a resolution made by all the Irish Judges he had during that period never voted."—(*Hansard*, 3rd Series, vol. 283, p. 1458);

was that resolution ever rescinded; and, if so, when; and, would he have any objection to lay a copy of that resolution, with its subsequent modifications, upon the Table of the House?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): My only acquaintance with the speech referred to is derived from the quotation in the hon. Member's Question, the accuracy of which I do not dispute. My right hon. Friend informs me that, in offering the post of Third Serjeant-at-Law to Mr. Madden, he expressed in his letter his recognition of the learned gentleman's distinction at the Irish Bar, and his sense of the value of the assistance he might render in the House of Commons should he be returned to Parliament. I am not aware that this letter was published; but it was not private, and there could be no objection to its being referred to by Serjeant Madden and his friends. I have seen the passage in *Hansard* referred to. I know nothing of the resolution mentioned; but I understand that Judges have always voted at University elections in Ireland as they do in England. I would remind the hon. Member that at the last election for Dublin University both candidates were of the same political views.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it was possible to make any provision to enable Members of former Parliaments to witness the forthcoming Naval Review?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing), in reply, said, that he took former Parliaments to mean the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The number of persons not at present connected with public establishments who imagined they had a claim to be present at the Naval Review was very large, and taxed the resources of the Admiralty in providing accommodation for them. If the door were opened which the hon. Member suggested, the Admiralty would be compelled to go outside their Department and charter steamers at a considerable cost to the public purse; and, therefore, he did not see his way to entertain the proposal.

SUPPLY—THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing) said, he thought that it might be for the convenience of the House if he were to mention that the Navy Estimates would be taken on Mouday; and as there would probably be considerable discussion on the shipbuilding policy of the Admiralty, he proposed to take first the Dockyard Vote, No. 6.

SUPPLY—THE ARMY ESTIMATES.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he could tell the House when it was proposed to take the Army Estimates?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that he was unable to state when these Estimates would be taken; but he was afraid that they would have to wait for the Committee on the Irish Land Law Bill.

MR. A. O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, whether the First Lord of the Treasury would take steps to expedite the printing of the Evidence taken before the Committee on the Army and Navy Estimates, in order that they might be in time for the discussion on the Estimates?

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked, when the Index to the proceedings of the Royal Commission on Warlike Stores would be ready?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he was unable to give an answer to the latter Question without Notice; but he would make inquiries. With regard to the other matter, he had to say that the Government were most desirous that the Evidence should be in the hands of hon. Members as early as possible; but, as hon. Members were aware, the printing was carried out under the orders of the authorities of the House.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—MORNING SITTINGS.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) inquired, Whether the First Lord of the Treasury anticipated that it would be necessary to take a Morning Sitting on Monday or Tuesday in next week?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Not on Monday certainly; and I cannot say anything about Tuesday at present. "Sufficient for the day——"

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

FURTHER VOTE ON ACCOUNT.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a further sum, not exceeding £1,885,100, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st, day of March 1888, viz.:—

CIVIL SERVICES.

CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

Great Britain :	£
Disturnpiked and Main Roads (England and Wales)	50,000
Disturnpiked Roads (Scotland)	5,000

Ireland: —

Public Buildings	20,000

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

England :—

House of Commons, Offices	6,000
Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel	5,000
Home Office and Subordinate Departments	8,000
Foreign Office	5,000
Colonial Office	2,000
Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments	2,000
Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments	15,000
Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade	- -
Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department)	4,000
Civil Service Commission	3,000
Exchequer and Audit Department	4,000
Friendly Societies, Registry	1,000
Land Commission for England	4,000
Local Government Board	50,000
Lunacy Commission	2,000
Mint (including Coinage)	10,000
National Debt Office	1,000
Patent Office	4,000
Paymaster General's Office	2,000
Public Works Loan Commission	1,000
Record Office	3,000
Registrar General's Office	4,000
Stationery Office and Printing	55,000
Woods, Forests, &c. Office of	3,000
Works and Public Buildings, Office of	4,000
Mercantile Marine Fund, Grant in Aid	- -
Secret Service	2,000

Scotland :—

Secretary for Scotland	1,000
Exchequer and other Offices	1,000
Fishery Board	3,000
Lunacy Commission	500
Registrar General's Office	500
Board of Supervision	4,000

Ireland :—

Lord Lieutenant's Household	1,000
Chief Secretary's Office	3,000
Charitable Donations and Bequests Office	300
Local Government Board	10,000
Public Works Office	8,000
Record Office	500
Registrar General's Office	2,000
Valuation and Boundary Survey	2,000

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

England :—	£
Law Charges	6,000
Criminal Prosecutions	5,000
Supreme Court of Judicature	30,000
Wreck Commission	500
County Courts	20,000
Land Registry	500
Revising Barristers, England	- -
Police Courts (London and Sheerness)	2,000
Metropolitan Police	50,000
Special Police	7,000
County and Borough Police, Great Britain	1,000
Prisons, England and the Colonies	80,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain	10,000
Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum	4,000

Scotland :—

Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings	5,000
Courts of Law and Justice	5,000
Register House Departments	3,000
Crofters Commission	- -
Police, Counties and Burghs (Scotland)	1,000
Prisons, Scotland	10,000

Ireland :—

Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions	5,000
Supreme Court of Judicature	10,000
Court of Bankruptcy	1,000
Admiralty Court Registry	100
Registry of Deeds	2,000
Registry of Judgments	200
Land Commission	10,000
County Court Officers, &c.	10,000
Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts)	20,000
Constabulary	120,000
Prisons, Ireland	20,000
Reformatory and Industrial Schools	5,000
Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum	1,000

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

England :—

Public Education	500,000
Science and Art Department	40,000
British Museum	20,000
National Gallery	1,000
National Portrait Gallery	200
Learned Societies, &c.	100
London University	2,000
University Colleges, Wales	- -
Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report)	- -

Scotland :—

Public Education	80,000
Universities, &c.	3,000
National Gallery	200

Ireland :—

Public Education	50,000
Teachers' Pension Office	200
Endowed Schools Commissioners	- -

	£
National Gallery	500
Queen's Colleges	1,000
Royal Irish Academy	200

CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

Diplomatic Services	30,000
Consular Services	10,000
Slave Trade Services	1,000
Suez Canal (British Directors)	100
Colonies, Grants in Aid	4,000
South Africa and St. Helena	10,000
Subsidies to Telegraph Companies	- -
Cyprus, Grant in Aid	17,000

CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

Superannuation and Retired Allowances	20,000
Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c.	4,000
Pauper Lunatics, England	10,000
Pauper Lunatics, Scotland	20,000
Pauper Lunatics, Ireland	- -
Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland	1,000
Savings Banks and Friendly Societies Deficiency	50,000
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain	200
Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland	300

CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Temporary Commissions	2,000
Miscellaneous Expenses	1,000
Adelaide Exhibition, 1887	- -
Total for Civil Services	£1,635,100

REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

Customs	100,000
Inland Revenue	150,000
Total for Revenue Departments	£250,000
Grand Total	£1,885,100

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I wish to take this opportunity of calling attention on this Vote to the present position of the Special Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff and the manner in which the negotiations have been manipulated by Her Majesty's Government. I do not propose to discuss the Convention which is not before us, and with regard to which I may say that it seems doubtful if it will ever be signed.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I would point out to the hon. Member that it is not contemplated to take any money on account of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission.

MR. BRYCE: I wish my right hon. Friend had told me that yesterday.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I said it was impossible then to say what money would be required. I have since found that no money will be asked for under this head, and therefore I doubt if it is in Order to discuss the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff.

MR. BRYCE: I should think it is competent to me to make some observations on this subject, inasmuch as money will be taken under this Vote on account of the Foreign Office; and I shall therefore proceed unless the Chairman thinks I am out of order. On the 7th of March last, we had a debate on the subject of Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission, when a Motion was made to reduce the Estimate for the Mission. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman (Sir J. Fergusson) made a speech on the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff and on the Convention; he dilated much on the latter, and upon the favourable prospects held out by the negotiations of the speedy conclusion of the Mission, and he deprecated any interruption of the proceedings by an adverse vote of the Committee. The Vote for Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission was thereupon carried by a considerable majority, and some of us withdrew our opposition upon the strength of the statement made by the Foreign Office through the mouth of my right hon. Friend. It is now four months since the prospect was held out of a very speedy conclusion of this extremely costly Mission During that time the Mission has continued, and I must remind the Committee that we, on this side of the House, and particularly those on this Bench, have abstained in an unusual way from putting any pressure on the Government to disclose what has been passing, and from doing anything that could, in any way, interfere with their endeavours to bring the negotiations to a successful issue. We have had no great faith in the Convention, and never expected a great result from it; but we thought that we ought not to spoil the chance of the Government after the expense that had been incurred; we knew that they were making arrangements for the speedier evacuation of Egypt, we were glad to see the evidence of a better mind on that subject, and therefore we did not interfere. We carried this so far that when 10 days ago the hon. Member for Cumberland (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) moved the adjournment of the House, we dissuaded him from pressing that Motion, and even voted against it, so desirous were we not to interfere with whatever chance of success still remained for the Government. But what result is there to show for the large sum of money spent through these years, and what becomes of the sanguine hopes held out by my right hon. Friend? I never could understand why the Government were not content to employ the unequalled knowledge and skill of their representatives in Egypt and Constantinople. Can it be supposed that Sir H. Drummond Wolff had more knowledge of the Eastern Question in all its aspects, or was better able to deal with Orientals than Sir William White? The result is just what we expected. Sir H. Drummond Wolff, who was to show so much more aptitude than our Ambassador, and who apparently was to have supplemented and improved what could have been said by the mouth of Sir William White, does not seem to have reached any substantial result, and so far as the facts have leaked out, I cannot find anything which shows special knowledge on his part, and which might not have been equally well, or better, negotiated by Sir William White. So much for the result of the Mission. But I have something more to say as to the way in which the Government have managed the Mission and with regard to what has taken place during the last three or four weeks. It is now many weeks since the Sultan gave directions to his Ministers to sign the Convention, and it is now three weeks nearly from the day fixed for its ratification. It was then finally fixed for Friday, the 8th of July—that was the last day to be given for the ratification, after which Sir H. Drummond Wolff was forthwith to leave Constantinople. There has been another postponement, and we are unable to learn from the Government what is the precise position of Sir H. Drummond Wolff—whether he has or not absolute orders to leave Constantinople, or whether subsequent steps will be taken. I do not know that we have now any security that, although it was communicated to us that he would leave this week, there may not be some further postponement to next week. I take it from my right hon. Friend's silence that the Convention is not yet ratified; but although I hope, from the language lately used by the Government, that there will not be a postponement after this week, still we have not obtained any security to that effect. Now, I cannot think there can be a position more humiliating than that in which the country is placed. Here is a Convention which has been the outcome of the Mission that has cost a large sum of money, extended over a period of two years, and the importance of which is expressed by the fact that our Special Envoy undertook work that was thought to be too difficult for Her Majesty's Representatives in Egypt and Constantinople to perform. This Convention would seem to be more in favour of the Sultan than of this country, and it is certain to give us no further rights and advantages than those which we at present enjoy. It involves, at least, one danger to which Egypt is not now exposed. Now, under these circumstances, is it right that we should stand in this position, waiting on the pleasure of the Turkish Government, and that Her Majesty's Government, in the person of Her Envoy, should be standing under a window serenading the Sultan, and waiting for him to come forward and graciously smile on us? I am astonished at the ignorance of Oriental methods, at the want of sense and tact, and the absence of appreciation of what is due to the credit and honour of this country, which the Government have shown by allowing these negotiations to proceed in the manner I have described. What, then, has resulted from employing a Special Envoy? Just this. That you have been landed in a difficulty which could not have arisen had you negotiated through our Ambassador, because, being permanently stationed at Constantinople he would have simply fixed a day for ratification, and, if he had extended the time, would, anyhow, not have been kept hanging on from week to week, with his trunks half packed, uncertain whether to go or stay. We used to hear of the duty of this country to maintain a spirited foreign policy, and we on these Benches, have been sometimes taunted with not showing a proper sense of what was due to the dignity of the country. I do not think, however, that any Foreign Minister — certainly not Lord Granville, or Lord Rosebery, and I will even say, not Lord Beaconsfield—has ever placed this country in so discreditable, and even ludicrous, a position as that in which it has been placed by Her Majesty's Government. I attach no great importance to the question whether the Convention is ratified or not; but what I do care about is that these undignified proceedings should cease, that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should return, and that Her Majesty's Government should undertake that they will not, in future, expose us to further slights.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I think when last a conversation was sprung upon us on this subject, that we had no knowledge of the terms of the Convention; but we have since had the main features of it from the Prime Minister. The hon. Gentleman who has just spoken from the Front Bench did so as if, having paid the money, we ought to get a Convention after all. My feeling, however, is that we should not throw good money after bad; we may have thrown away good money, but rather than have a bad Convention I would rather have none at all. I supported, or rather declined actively to oppose, the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, because I supposed that he was a sensible and well-meaning man, and that his views on Oriental questions were not altogether bad, and because it was understood that he went to Egypt to make such military arrangements as would enable us to withdraw our troops from that country; but it does not seem to me that this Convention tends in any way to that effect. I altogether fail to see that it has any effect of the kind. We are pledged to the eyes to withdraw from Egypt as soon as law and order are restored there; whereas, as I understand from the Prime Minister regarding the Convention, we are, under no circumstances, to be called upon to retire for three years. It seems to me that the Convention tends to give us the term of three years, whether law and order are restored or not, during which we are to remain in Egypt; and, therefore, I think there is no advantage to be derived from the Convention. On the other hand, I do not think it can be denied that the terms of the Convention seem to mean a permanent Protectorate, with all the obligations and risks that are inseparable therefrom. Under the Convention in case of disturbance in Egypt, or of any difficulty to fulfil national obligations, I believe we are permitted, or practically bound to undertake the task of restoring order and law, a task which in my opinion would be an onerous one and involve great complication and difficulty with other Powers. There was one phrase used by the Prime Minister which gave me a special dread of this Convention—we were "to return to Egypt to fulfil international obligations." What are they? I am afraid it may be held that the arrangement under which the debts of Egypt are paid is of the nature of international obligation, and that under the guise of international obligation we are undertaking to see that the bondholders are paid. I hope the Government will distinctly inform the Committee that this is not one of the international obligations at which the Convention, according to the language of the Prime Minister, is aimed. The first result of making this Convention would be the permanent alienation of France, and the giving to Russia an opportunity of backing up France in order that the two Powers might be disagreeable to us, and extort concessions from us in other parts of the world. That is what I fear from a Convention of this kind, and having regard to the fact that there has been strong irritation on the part of France for some time past, my strong advice is, that although we have spent a large sum of money on this Mission, we should not try to get anything further, but bring Sir H. Drummond Wolff away at once from Constantinople. It has been stated in the newspapers that the Sultan was going to get something in a pecuniary way by the Convention. There has been no clear answer on that point, and I shall be glad to know from the right hon. Gentleman that there is no snake in the grass of that sort in this case, because my experience is that Orientals never give away anything without getting something in return; it is possible, therefore, that the Turkish Ministers and officials in constructing this Convention have got some advantage by it, and that perhaps there has been some way arranged in which the Sultan will be able to get a new loan, and in that way lay an additional burden on the people of Egypt.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I hardly understand what the hon. Gentleman the late Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bryce) intended to gain by a discussion of this question to-day. I acknowledge most sincerely that my hon.

Friend and the Opposition generally have behaved with great reticence during the course of the protracted negotiations which have taken place at Constantinople. They have not pressed the Government, and not only that—they have treated them in this matter with that consideration which is generally shown by those who have a due sense of the difficulty of conducting public affairs. Having had previous acquaintance with the difficulty themselves, they know that much harm but no good may be done by premature pressure in matters of this kind. Seeing, however, that on this occasion it is not necessary for the Government to ask a further Vote on account for the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff, I scarcely see the necessity of initiating a discussion at this stage, because it cannot have any satisfactory issue, seeing that the House is not in possession of the Papers which will elucidate the proceedings of the Mission. It would, I think, hardly have been suitable that the Papers should have been distributed until the Mission had closed, and until it was certain whether the ratification would take place or not it would have been premature to discuss the matter, because prejudice might thereby be done to the public interest. We have reason to believe that ratification has not taken place, and that Sir H. Drummond Wolff will leave Constantinople to-night. The incident must therefore be considered as so far closed, and I hope the Committee will deem it well to postpone the consideration of the subject until the Papers are in the hands of the House, which I believe will be the case to-morrow or at the latest on Monday. While I think the Committee would gain nothing by entering now into the particulars of the Mission, I cannot however allow some observations that have been made to pass as if no answer could be made to them. My hon. Friend opposite spoke of the humiliating position in which Her Majesty's Government have allowed the country to be placed. I cannot for a moment allow that assertion to remain uncontradicted. It is absolutely without foundation. The only ground for the sense of humiliation under which my hon. Friend labours seems to be that whereas the Convention was signed on behalf of the Porte early in the present month, it has, up to the present, remained unratified, and that our Special Commissioner remained at Constantinople. Take the alternative course. Suppose our Commissioner had refused to remain in Constantinople for a day, even when the Sultan had appointed a day for an audience. Would that have been a dignified position for this country to be placed in — that our Special Commissioner should leave hastily and without performing the usual ceremonies on such occasions, and which, in Eastern countries, have great weight, and receive much attention? I submit that it would have been very undignified. A great mistake would have been committed which would have placed us in a false position, because it would have been attaching too much importance to the non-ratification, and out of it a misunderstanding might have arisen. Too much importance should not be attached to the lapse of the Convention. It may perhaps be found to contain more of concession than gain for this country. Nevertheless, I think it will be seen that it was founded on an honest desire to fulfil international engagements, and to make due concessions to other Powers consistently with our own duty. I hope that will be found to be the case; and we say that we have our duty to perform whether the Convention be ratified or not. We should not have increased our desire to occupy a difficult position, and our departure from Egypt would neither have been accelerated nor prolonged beyond the time when our duty should have been performed. My hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) has referred to the mention which the Prime Minister made of the leading terms of the Convention. That, I think, shows no desire to keep from the House and the country the nature of the obligations entered into. It would have been impossible for Her Majesty's Government to commit themselves absolutely to a statement as to the final terms of the Convention; but now the whole matter will be made known, so that the conduct of the Government may be judged. There was no increase in the burdens or obligations on the part of this country by the Convention. Our position, therefore, remains where it was before; and I earnestly hope that when hon. Members have had the opportunity of seeing the course of these negotiations, the objects of them, and the manner in which they were supported, they will be of opinion that the dignity or the interests of the country have not been compromised, but rather that they have been faithfully and diligently maintained.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I wish to say that if it were not for the promise of the right hon. Gentleman in regard to the Papers it would have been my duty to offer a strong remonstrance against this Vote. I trust the Government will take care that we shall have an adequate opportunity, when Sir H. Drummond Wolff returns, of fully discussing this matter.

MR. S. WILLIAMSON (Kilmarnock, &c.): The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs has not touched the gravamen of the charge against the Government. It is that, having Representatives at Cairo and Constantinople, the Government committed themselves to the job of sending out Sir H. Drummond Wolff. I am glad that my hon. Friend (Mr. Bryce) has taken this opportunity of calling attention to this subject. We make the serious charge against them of putting on the country grievous and heavy charges unnecessarily; and I am perfectly sure that the country will blame them for having sent out Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the East, and for having kept him there so long.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): There has been one explanation of the Mission of Sir H. Drummond Wolff to the East which has not been referred to. The Fourth Party had to be provided for, and when the present Government came into Office they made one Member of it Chancellor of the Exchequer, another Chief Secretary for Ireland, the third became Under Secretary for India, and Sir H. Drummond Wolff was sent as Special Commissioner to the Sultan. We have now, at all events, the information that the Convention is of no value whatever; and we know that the Government has paid £14,000 for the employment of a Gentleman who has been of no use whatever.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I think, in giving away the appointments referred to, the Government have shown a strong appreciation of the services of the Fourth Party. I do not complain of Sir H. Drummond Wolff for one moment. He was very able and intelligent in Bulgaria, and I have that appreciation of his intelligence to suppose that if he were offered £4,000 salary and an allowance of £7,000 for expenses he would take it. I do not blame him—I blame the Government. The complaint is not that Sir H. Drummond Wolff was not a good negotiator, but that we had able men in Egypt and in Constantinople also; that it was a matter of negotiation directly at Constantinople with the Sultan and his Government, and that the negotiation ought to have been placed in the hands of our Ambassador there. It is that we complain of, and say that it is simply a waste of public money. I agree that it would be unreasonable to enter now into the details of the subject, because in a few days we shall have the Papers and shall be able to go into the question with the knowledge which they will afford us. The right hon. Gentleman has given a preliminary puff of his Convention and has protested against my hon. Friends on this side speaking of the position of Sir H. Drummond Wolff in Constantinople as being a humiliating one. I think it is a humiliating position. It is not the duty of Her Majesty's Representative to wait day after day on the Sultan. If the Sultan had asked that Sir H. Drummond Wolff should wait for a single day, I could have understood the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary's defence of the proceeding; but Sir H. Durummond Wolff has waited day after day, and anyone acquainted with the way in which matters are treated at the Porte will know that it is always a "fad" with the Sultan to put them off with a pretext about the Bairham, or something of that kind, in order to have a European Minister dangling about him. I say it is not consistent with the dignity of this country that its Representative should be kept waiting day after day for the ratification of the Convention. But whether the Convention is ratified or not, we shall equally complain of the wasteful expenditure and absurd action of sending out a Special Envoy when we had a Representative both at Constantinople and in Egypt who were well qualified in every way to conduct the negotiations.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I am not surprised that the question of this Mission has been brought forward on the present Vote; but I do not propose to prolong the discussion, and I presume it is now at an end. I rise for the purpose of protesting against the Vote being asked for at all. It seems to me strange that when the Government ask for £2,000,000 there should be neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the First Lord of the Treasury, or even the Financial Secretary of the Government on the Treasury Bench. There is at this moment no financial officer of the Government in the House of Commons. We have to Vote a sum of a little over £2,000,000. This is the third Vote on account, and we have scarcely discussed one-fourth of the Civil Service Estimates. We are in the middle of the month of July, and anyone who takes the trouble to estimate the amount of work on the hands of the Government will know perfectly well that there will be little time left for submitting the Votes to the consideration of the Committee. This is a growing system. There are only two instances on record of a third Vote on account being taken in July—one in the exceptional year 1881, when the time of the House was monopolized for a very long time by a Bill of the first magnitude; and the other in 1883, when an opportunity was given of discussing the Civil Service Estimates. But we have not had that opportunity this Session; and if we had had it, this Vote on account would not have been required at all. I doubt whether the Vote is required, because out of £19,000,000 there has already been voted £6,000,000, and therefore until the end of the present month the Government are amply provided with funds, and the same remark applies to the Army and Navy Estimates. Again, the Land Bill of the Government has not to be taken until next Thursday; and we have, therefore, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, on which the Estimates could be discussed. What is the effect of this system? It simply puts the Government in funds to such an extent that they are able altogether to shirk the duty of bringing the Votes *seriatim* under the consideration of Parliament; and if this Vote is passed, we shall be in this position, that the Government can put off Supply until the middle of August, when the discussion of the Votes would be a mere empty formality. Now I object altogether to the system of Votes on account, unless there are exceptional circumstances to justify them. One such Vote in the Session may be borne; when it comes to a second Vote the system is being abused; but when we are asked for a third Vote on account, I submit that the whole thing is a scandalous abuse of the Rules of Parliament. It results in the passing of money for all the Services in a manner that prevents the adequate discussion of any of the Votes. The remainder of the Votes to be taken would properly occupy three Sittings, and I say that the action of the Government in asking for this further Vote on Account practically leads to a waste of the time of the House. So strong is my feeling on this matter that I feel inclined to move the reduction of the Vote by one-half, in order to compel the Government to come to Parliament as soon as possible, to complete the Votes on the Civil Service Estimates. We have the Navy Estimates to be taken on Monday, but the Army Votes not for some little time yet, because the Report of the Committee is not in the hands of hon. Members. There is sufficient time to discuss the Civil Service Votes *seriatim*, and I say that the demand for this third Vote on account is therefore an abuse of the forms of this House.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I cannot allow the discussion on the subject of Egypt to close without adding an observation or two which it is my duty to make. The appointment of Sir H. Drummond Wolff hardly comes up for discussion now for the first time in this House, since it was continued by the late Government deliberately, and was defended by the Prime Minister of the day. But I wish to state first that whatever has been done at Constantinople by Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and whatever has been his attitude in remaining there, has the entire sanction and direction of Her Majesty's Government; and, secondly, that in the course of all his proceedings Sir H. Drummond Wolff has the highest approval of Her Majesty's Government, and has, in their judgment, performed the duties of his high Office with dignity, discretion, and prudence.

Mr. BRYCE: I have said nothing to disparage Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and I do not question his abilities. The gravamen of the charge I have made to-day is against the manner in which Her Majesty's Government, have conducted these negotiations, more especially during the last few weeks. I must also protest against the statement that the late Prime Minister defended the appointment of Sir H. Drummond Wolff. That was done neither by the late Prime Minister nor by the Foreign Office under the late Government: We did not recall Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and on the 7th of March I gave the reasons which, in the opinion of the last Liberal Government, made it undesirable, during our short and uncertain tenure of office, to recall him. What the Prime Minister said was that there were reasons why he should not be forthwith recalled, but he neither justified the original appointment nor implied that if he had been in Office at the time he would have appointed Sir H. Drummond Wolff, still less did he suggest that his Mission should be allowed to run on to the length it has reached.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I wish to point out that the Secretary for Scotland (the Marquess of Lothian) is not carrying out the provisions of the Crofters Act, and that unless something is done to ensure that it is carried out, and to see that the Crofters Commission does its work when it is wanted to act, a very serious condition of affairs will come into existence. The last information which I had from the Scotch Office was that they had come to some decision in the month of May, but since then nothing has been done. Under the Act there is power to appoint sub-commissioners, assessors, and valuers, in order to get through the work; but that has not been done. The Scotch Office has allowed that most important portion of the Act to remain a dead letter, and the work has been performed in consequence in a very inefficient and expensive manner. You have a Commission of three gentlemen, with very large salaries of £3,000 a-year, doing work which could be easily done by men paid £300 a-year, and which work is in arrear to such an extent that it has given rise to legal proceedings in some cases. I impress on the Committee and the right hon. Gentleman the necessity there is for the work to be carried on by responsible officers. Then with regard to the way in which the Treasury are carrying on this Act. It is of no use for Parliament to pass Acts authorizing money to be advanced if the intention of the Act is neutralized by the Treasury. Conditions have been laid down by them which have made it impossible for deserving men in the Highlands up to the present time to get a single loan under the Act. This is a very serious matter, and I hope it will be taken into consideration by the Government. It is also a matter of complaint that those districts were first visited by the Commissioners where the disturbances occurred, and I express a hope that in future the cases will be taken upon their merits. Matters in the Highlands are getting more and more lawless, and I take this opportunity of impressing on the Government the necessity of seriously turning their mind to this matter, because otherwise, before the Houses are prorogued, there is likely to be a good deal of trouble. I hope to hear from the Representative of the Government now on the Treasury Bench an explanation of the reason why not one loan has been granted under the Crofters Act.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast W.): I observe that since my hon. Friend complained of the conduct of the Government in asking for this Vote the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has returned to the House, and I think the Committee will be pleased if the right hon. Gentleman will give them the advantage of his clear mind in discussing the matter. My hon. Friend has stated that the Government have enough money to last to the end of the month, and we say that £5,750,000 have already been voted; and we also say that there is money in hand for the Army and Navy. My hon. Friend has pointed out that, as the Irish Land Law Bill will not come forward in Committee till next week, the Committee might have expected that the Government would have waited to see what their fortune was with regard to Supply in the next three Sittings before they came down to ask for this Vote on Account, and I think my hon. Friend has made out a case for this course being pursued which is extremely reasonable. I join most emphatically in the protest of my hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) against the absurd and ridiculous system which is growing every year in this House of disposing of Public Expenditure by the method of Votes on Account. I should not mind so much if this House were engaged in useful legislation. The House of Commons has two functions, the function of legislating and the function of granting Supply. If the House were engaged in useful legislation, I should not be so querulous about the taking of a Vote on Account; but this Session it has done nothing but pass a Coercion Bill for Ireland. I certainly do not think a Coercion Bill is useful legislation; on the contrary, I think the time spent upon it as neither more nor less than wasted, and, seeing time wasted, I am disposed to insist that in the matter of Supply the Representatives of the people shall be allowed to hold the strings of the public purse. There was a time when the Representatives of the people had control over the public money. We were sometimes able to procure reductions in the Estimates; but what is the case now? The Public Revenue consists of many score of millions; but it is not the Representatives of the people who spend it or say how it shall be spent, but it is the permanent Heads of the Departments in Whitehall and elsewhere. They put down what Estimates they please, obtain for them the assent of the Minister, and place them before the House in the certainty that, under the present system, they will be able to get all the money they choose to ask for. This is the third time this Session we have had a Vote on Account. We get an evening for the purpose of voting several millions of money; and then at the end of July, or the middle of August, many Votes in Supply are forced through the House in the course of a single Sitting, when perhaps there are not more than a dozen or two wearied Members present. I join, Sir, in the protest made, and I assure you respectfully that the time is coming when that protest will not be confined to the floor of this House. The people are bound to take notice of the conspiracy which evidently exists between the permanent Officials and the Heads of Departments. I object altogether to this Vote on Account; but, having made those general observations, I wish to refer to a specific matter. I notice that the Vote contains an item for upwards of £100,000 for the Customs Department, and the question is one in which my constituents are very directly concerned. I am glad the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is present, because the question I wish to raise has reference to the condition and treatment of the Port of Belfast, as a port for the receipt of Customs. The Port of Belfast does not receive the same fair and equal treatment it would receive if it were a Scotch or an English port. An instance of this came recently before us. A firm of wine and spirit merchants in Belfast applied to the Customs Authorities for a bonded store. The firm, whose request was refused, is one of some importance, inasmuch as they paid to the Government last year in duties no less than £25,042. Their contribution has been progressive. In 1879 it was £13,000, and it has gone on increasing yearly. Their request for a bonded store—in which not more than £250 a-year was involved—was refused, and they issued a memorandum, laying bare the facts of the case. Their request was then conceded. What I complain of is, that it was necessary to issue a memorandum and invoke public opinion. I think that if that firm had been doing business in Liverpool, Manchester, or Hull, it would not have been necessary to have invoked public opinion in a matter of this kind. Then, again, I want to know whether there is a classification of ports which governs the number of the staff at the ports, and the general facilities afforded by the Department? Belfast in point of contribution to the Customs, is the third port of the British Empire. London is first, Liverpool second, and Belfast third. Out of the total Customs receipt — namely, £20,000,000—Belfast contributed last year no less than £1,630,000, or one-thirteenth part of the whole. Belfast is a very progressive port, because in 1856 the contribution was only £653,000, so that in 30 years the contribution has been trebled. In 1886 it was £120,000 more than in 1885. Belfast is not only a port of great value to the Government as a means of producing Customs, but it is also an extremely progressive port. In Glasgow the collection was only half what it was in Belfast, and in Hull the total contribution last year was smaller than the nett increase which had taken place in Belfast. I simply ask for fair play for Belfast, and I shall insist, so far as it is in my power, that Belfast shall be treated, in relation to its productiveness to the Revenue, as well as if it were on the right side of the Irish Channel, and not on the wrong, according to the view of the Treasury. Now, is there a classification of ports? Are there first, second, and third-class ports? If so, does Belfast stand in its proper place in proportion to its contribution to the Revenue, and if not, why not? I am led to believe that Belfast stands in the scale lower than it ought to, and that it does not receive in point of staff or general official facilities the same treatment it would receive if it were a Scotch or English port. I have taken up this question, and I assure the Government that, having done so, I shall not suffer it to drop until redress is given. I shall bring it forward on every occasion that presents itself, and I think the Government will find that it will be convenient for themselves to come to a decision promptly. There is one other matter I wish to mention to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is with regard to the granting of the City Charter to Belfast. A Question was lately put in the House upon the subject, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) replied, and I quite concurred in the reply, that the Government did not intend to recommend any such grant in connection with Her Majesty's Jubilee. But the right hon. Gentleman indicated that the question should receive consideration. Now, he has had a fortnight in which to consider the question, and I will ask him for a reply upon the point—if he cannot give it me now, perhaps he will be ready to give it me when the Report of the Vote on Account is taken. I do not know that there is much difference between a town and a city; but some people prefer the title of city, and if there is any advantage in a place being called a city, I think the people of Belfast are entitled to have their choice. There are eight cities in Ireland, and Belfast is next to Dublin in point of importance; according to *Thom's* information, it is the first town of manufacturing importance. I believe there is a strong desire that the title of city should be given to the place. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) will not deny that the people of Belfast are numerous — they are 250,000. He will not deny that they are industrious, and that in manufacture and trade and commerce they have made remarkable progress. I believe he will not deny they are very loyal. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), who is the director of the consciences of the Government, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), who poses as the Government's most candid Friend, recently visited Belfast; and I think they may well be expected to do their best to secure to the people of Belfast the City Charter they desire. It seems absurd that Belfast should be shut out from any City Charter, while Armagh, with 10,000 of a population, is a city; and when Cashell, with a population of 4,000, enjoys the distinction also. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be able to say that, in consideration of the importance of the town, the Government will recommend the Crown to grant to it the title of city. Like civility, a Charter of this kind costs nothing; and, therefore, I think that this Charter might be promptly and gracefully conceded to the town.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): With regard to the last question put by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton)—namely, the granting of a City Charter to Belfast —I will accept the hon. Gentleman's suggestion to give the answer of the Government upon the Report stage. Now let me deal, in the first place, with what has been said by the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor). I find no fault whatever in his bringing forward the question of the undesirability of Votes on Account. There is no man in this House who has a greater objection, or more real and solid ground of objection, for a third Vote on Account than the Secretary to the Treasury. A third Vote on Account means that you must have three discussions, or possible discussions, instead of one, of the same Vote, and therefore I go entirely with the hon. Member in his statement that it is extremely desirable to avoid third Votes on Account if it is possible to do so. Now, Sir, the hon. Member is under the impression that only two previous instances of third Votes on Account have been taken.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No, I did not say that; I said taken so late as the 15th of July.

MR. JACKSON: So late—so early I suppose he means. [MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Early.] I find third Votes on Account were taken in the Estimates 1881-2, 1882-3, 1883-4, and 1886-7; and the only reason why a third Vote on Account was not taken in 1884-5 was because the House was good enough to repose its confidence in the Government, and allow a supply representing two months on the second Vote on Account, which enabled the Government to go on until Supply was completed on the 7th August. The hon. Member for East Donegal stated that we have money enough to serve us until the end of the month. I regret to say that it is not so. I regret to have to point out, as the hon. Member knows quite well, that unless we get the whole of the Votes before all the money we have on hand is spent, we must take a Vote on Account. There is nobody in the House knows better than the hon. Member that if we have money in hand belonging to one Service we cannot transfer it to another—we cannot devote money obtained for one purpose to another purpose. I want the Committee clearly to understand that the first and main reason is because there is now a much closer financial scrutiny over the application of the money which is voted by Parliament than ever there was on former occasions We are asking now for what will serve us for a month. It has been customary on former occasions to ask for a third Vote on Account for five or six weeks. I may also point out the reason why a large sum of money is necessary is that we are coming to the end of the month, and there are considerable payments which have to be made at the early part of August, which necessitates that we should have a large sum at our disposal. Now, the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) said something about the present system of presenting the Estimates. There is no desire, certainly on my part, to present a Vote on Account; but it is absolutely impossible, under the present system, to avoid it. I do not propose to discuss the question whether the business which has detained the House has been of sufficient importance or not to warrant our asking for a Vote on Account. All I can say is that, as far as I am concerned, it is with extreme regret that I ask for this Vote, and it must be remembered that we are doing the best we can in regard to Supply. We took a Morning Sitting today, and we propose to take Supply at the Evening Sitting. On Monday we shall put down Naval Estimates, and on Tuesday and Wednesday proceed with the Civil Service Estimates. Even supposing that the progress which the hon. Member for East Donegal hinted at were possible—namely, that the whole of the Votes might be completed in three sittings—even supposing that that were possible, but which I think is extremely doubtful—it would not get us over the difficulty in which we are placed on this occasion. Now, Sir, with regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for West Belfast, as to the manner in which different ports are classified, may I say that it is not only the amount of Revenue which is collected at a particular port which determines the number of the staff which is necessary for that port. The hon. Member knows very well that the Revenue which is collected at the Port of Belfast arises mainly from one particular article, and is collected in large sums. I think he will see that we cannot with fairness classify the different ports simply and solely in relation to the amount of Revenue which is collected at them. Now, I am not aware that there is the smallest desire on the part of the Customs Authorities—indeed, I know the contrary is the fact—to refuse to Belfast any and every facility which is necessary for the carrying on of its trade. The hon. Member says that some friends of his have applied for an additional bonded warehouse. I know the case well. It has been before me on several occasions. Prior to the application to which he refers there came an application from another firm doing a large business in Belfast, and which, in the first instance, was refused by the Customs Authorities in consequence, as they allege, of there being a sufficient amount of bonded accommodation in Belfast. At my urgent solicitation, and after making most searching inquiry into the case, I came to the conclusion that the additional facilities might reasonably be granted, and I over-ruled the Customs Authorities, and the additional store was given to the firm. The hon. Member will easily understand that if the position taken up by the Customs Authorities was sound in the first instance—namely, that there was already sufficient accommodation in Belfast, surely a little hesitation was required in granting the second application of the kind which was made. At all events, the question is under consideration, and the Customs Authorities have been instructed to give the most favourable consideration to the carrying on of the trade of Belfast. I may add, with regard to the particular firm mentioned, that during an interview I had with them I pointed out that the growth of the trade in the past proves conclusively that no restrictions which had been put upon them have tended to retard their business. However, the hon. Member will, I think, be willing to accept the assurance I have given him—namely, that the question is under careful consideration, and that we shall afford all the facilities we can to the different ports. The hon. Gentleman has hinted that Irish ports do not receive the same favourable consideration as English and Scotch ports. Upon that point I can assure him that the question whether a port is an English, Irish, or Scotch port never enters into consideration. Each case is decided, as far as it can be, upon the circumstances of the case and the requirements of the trade.

MR. SEXTON: I feel very much indebted to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury for his courteous and attentive reply. His speech, however, affords ample evidence that it is necessary that the departments should be carefully looked after by the Ministers who are responsible for them in this House. The hon. Gentleman has told the Committee that, in regard to the application from Belfast for additional warehouse accommodation, the Board of Customs refused the application until the personal influence of the hon. Gentleman was brought to bear. The exercise of his personal influence induced an opposite result. I have, however, not received information on one point which I raised—namely, whether there is a classification of ports adopted by the Board of Customs. Are there such things as first class, second class, and third class ports, and does the expenditure for staff and the official facilities follow upon the position of the port in the scale? If so, I think Belfast ought to be in the foremost place.

MR. JACKSON: I cannot say now. I will furnish the hon. Gentleman with the information on Report.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I cannot help thinking that the present bonded store system in Belfast is a most objectionable one. A large number of firms in Belfast have separate bonded stores communicating with their own premises. It seems to me that such a system affords great facilities for defrauding the Revenue. I think that in a place like Belfast the Government should, if possible, own all the bonded stores, and that there should be no communication whatever with private premises. I know that one firm alone have been cheating the Revenue to the extent of £35,000 a-year. I think that the Customs would probably be right in refusing this new bonded store except for one reason, that the multiplication of bonded stores has been carried to a very large extent already. If people wish to extend their trade and compete successfully with older houses they cannot do so unless they get a chance of cheating the Revenue in the way the older firms have been doing. Under these circumstances, I suppose the Government were right; but I should like to impress upon them the necessity of making a thorough reform in the system of bonded stores. The present system is one which cannot be defended; and it is one which ought to be, if possible, reformed. In Dublin we had a case of very large fraud on the part of parties with bonded stores, who also were large dealers in the particular articles. These persons took whisky in bond for outsiders, they gave receipts for the whisky, then sold the whisky, and became bankrupt; and the parties who had lodged the whisky with them were the losers. I do not think people who own bonded stores ought to be dealers in the articles which are bonded. With regard to the question of Votes on Account, I must say, in my opinion, the voting of money on account is an exceedingly improvident way of doing business. When the Votes in Supply are finally brought in, there is not sufficient time to discuss them. The fault really lies with the Government, who ought to arrange their business in a workmanlike manner. The present system of voting money is most unsatisfactory, and it is quite within the power of the Government to alter it if they choose.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON (Essex, Epping): I quite agree with the hon. Gentleman that numerous Votes on Account are certainly a most unsatisfactory way of transacting the financial business of the country; and I am persuaded that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would not propose them if it were possible to avoid them. But I wish to take this opportunity, as I see that there is a sum on the Vote for the convict prisons of the country, for putting a question to my hon. Friend. I should like to know whether the Government are really proceeding with the Dover Harbour works? The convict prison at Dover was projected for the very purpose of accommodating the convicts who were to carry out the Dover Harbour works; and I should like to ask my hon. Friend if the provision made on this Vote for convict prisons implies that the convict prison at Dover is being erected?

Mr. JACKSON: I am afraid I cannot give the hon. Baronet any very positive assurance on this question. The position of the Dover Harbour matter may be said to be this—£1,000 was put in the Estimates last year or the year before; and in view of the very earnest desire which the Government had to avoid not only useless expenditure, but every large expenditure, though it might not be useless, and in view of the fact that the House of Commons has really never fully considered the question, the Government decided that, certainly so far as this year was concerned, they would not ask the House for any Vote in respect of Dover Harbour. A certain number of convicts, however, have been removed, and are proceeding to complete the barracks or the prison in which they are to be lodged. The question as to how they shall be disposed of in the future is left over for consideration.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): It must be borne in mind that at least £2,000,000 or £3,000,000 sterling must be spent upon the Harbour of Dover, if it is to be made really useful. Unless you treble the size of the harbour, as it is now proposed, and provide for at least 35 feet of water, it is impossible to obtain a harbour of any value. I trust the Government will not take any half and half measures; but, if they construct a harbour at all, construct one in which any war vessel of the largest size can enter. To have a harbour of only 640 acres, as is now proposed, is most absurd, because you could not in such a space accommodate with safety four men-of-war. I think it is far more important that many of our harbours should be improved than that one large harbour should be constructed. The harbour will cost more than is supposed. The Peterhead Harbour was estimated to cost £250,000; but that sum was soon exceeded, being first raised to £250,000, and now put at £750,000, and this harbour will probably cost £1,000,000 before it is completed.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I think we are indebted to the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) for bringing this question before the Committee. It is not only a great waste of time to debate these questions over and over again; but the presentation of Votes on Account is a departure from one of the most important functions of the House of Commons—namely, the controlling of Expenditure. I think the Government are assuming very heavy responsibility when they prevent the Representatives of the people having that control over Expenditure which is one of the most useful purposes they can exercise in the House of Commons. The present system, no doubt, leads to great extravagance. The House is losing its power of controlling Expenditure; and I hope some stop will be put to the system of taking Votes on Account. I should like to have said something in reference to the expenditure upon Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission; but I suppose the debate on that point may be said to have closed. I hope that we are now about to see the last of that Mission. It is not only a very expensive Mission, but very inane in its object. I desire to enter a strong protest against the growing practice of taking Votes on Account.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.): I would ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) if there are any means of finding out the nature and extent of the export and import trade of the Port of Dublin? Is there any record of the kind at the Dublin Custom House? A Foreign Consul some time ago had occasion to find out something of the kind, but could get no information. It would be interesting to know the amount of Irish manufactures exported, and the amount of foreign imports, whether raw material or manufactured goods. In the event of there being no such record, will the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury have such prepared?

Mr. JACKSON: I do not think that any separate records are kept of the exports between this country and Ireland. I am not quite sure the matter would be under the care of the Board of Trade; but I will make inquiry, and give the hon. Baronet what information I can in answer to his Question.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): There is a Vote here on account of the Metropolitan Police upon which I desire to raise a question of which I have given the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) notice. I observe he left the House a few minutes since, but I presume he will be re-called. The matter to which I desire to invite attention is the proposed expenditure for presenting medals to 14,000 of the Metropolitan Police in respect to their services on Jubilee day. I am in no way opposed to some acknowledgment of services rendered on that day by the police, and I have always advocated a just and even a generous treatment of the rank and file of the Public Services, and although there did appear in the public Press some complaints of misconduct against the police on that day, still I think that those complaints, even if well founded, were quite exceptional, and I believe the conduct of the police on the 21st June was on the whole extremely good; in fact, I might say almost as admirable as the conduct of the people they were supposed to keep in order. Of course, I do not oppose an acknowledgment, and I ask the Committee to bear in mind that apart from the proposed gift of medals it is proposed to give the Metropolitan Police one day's extra pay and three extra days' leave, and this, I think, is a fair—I might say an ample—acknowledgment of the services rendered. At all events, it contrasts very favourably with the treatment by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) of the telegraphists under very similar circumstances. The right hon. Gentleman, repeatedly pressed by myself and others to make some acknowledgment to the telegraphists who, by the exigencies of the service, were compelled to be on duty on that day, has now definitely declined to make any such acknowledgment whatever. But to the grant of medals I altogether object. In the first place, because it is an unnecessary expense. I have had some difficulty in extracting from the Government a statement of the cost of these medals, but I was informed today the estimated cost was £83 per 1,000, so that the total cost would be about £1,162. Well, I do not know how it may be with consituents of other hon. Members; but certainly I may say, for my own, that they are not in a position to take their share in this expenditure of £1,162, not only, I submit, for a wasteful, but for a ridiculous and even mischievous purpose. This proposal has emanated from Sir Charles Warren, and I desire to speak of Sir Charles Warren with all possible respect as a gallant soldier who deserves well of his country, bnt on this occasion he has forgotten that he now occupies a civil post, and has introduced his old military ideas into his new sphere of duty. However, I can understand the conduct of Sir Charles Warren in making the suggestion, but I cannot understand or excuse the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman whose whole distinguished career has been spent in civil life in sanctioning the suggestion. Why are medals to be given to the Metropolitan Police for their services on that day? I quite admit they had exceedingly hard, exceedingly onerous duties to perform, and that they underwent many hours fatigue, but there are scores of men in Bethnel Green who every day of their lives undergo as many hours fatigue as did the Police on Jubilee Day. My next objection to this proposal is that it would tend to bring into ridicule and contempt the whole system of conferring medals. Why are medals usually bestowed? Usually, so far as my information goes, after a victory over a foe. Who was the foe vanquished on Jubilee Day? Does Sir Charles Warren plume himself on the fact that the Metropolitan Police gained a victory over the common people? I recognize in this, among other suggestions, a tendency to which on a future occasion I will call attention to introduce into the administration of the Metropolitan Police military ideas against which I, for one, will firmly contend, for I believe the result must inevitably be to undermine that confidence and goodwill that for so many years have happily existed between the Metropolitan Police on the one hand and the public on the other. I move to reduce the amount of the Vote by the estimated cost of the proposed medals which I make out to be £1,162.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the item of £50,000 for the Metropolitan Police, be reduced by the sum of £1,162."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr.

MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I can assure the hon. Member (Mr. Pickersgill) that there is nothing of a military spirit that deserves his criticism in the proposal to give a medal to the police. I think the whole House will be of opinion that the Metropolitan Police on this occasion rendered extremely valuable service. The work was excessively arduous, some of the men were on duty for 30 hours, and all of them for a long time. The general feeling of the House was that there should be some gratuity or reward for these arduous services. The hon. Member has blamed the Chief Commissioner for originating the idea of a medal; but I may say the matter arose in conversation, and I rather think the mention of a medal or commemoration of some sort came first from myself, not from the Chief Commissioner. The latter undertook to ascertain the wishes of the Force when I desired to know whether they would prefer to have 1½ days' extra pay, or one day's pay and some object to serve as a memorial of what to the Metropolitan Police and many others was an interesting historical occasion. Sir Charles Warren took pains to ascertain the feeling of the men, and it is, I think, creditable to them that the majority of them said they would prefer to have a gratuity of one day's pay, not 1½ days' pay, and that the money that would have otherwise gone to make up the 1½ days' pay should be spent in providing a medal or some form of commemoration of a great national event. I was obliged to tell the hon. Member more than once that I could not state the exact cost of the medal. We consulted with the officers of the Mint and from them I obtained the estimate I gave to the hon. Gentleman to-day. But the form of the memorial has not yet been settled, the matter is still under consideration.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I understood from the right hon. Gentleman, a few days ago, that the matter did not remain to be considered.

MR. MATTHEWS: Not in this sense, that it was quite understood the wish of the Force was to have a day's pay and an acknowledgment in the form of a medal; there is no intention of reconsidering that decision. The exact form and character of the memento, whether it should take the shape of a medal at all or a piece of commemorative plate, has not definitely been decided upon; what is decided is that there shall be some object to keep as a memorial of Her Majesty's Jubilee year. Sir Charles Warren thought a medal would be the most appropriate form. The cost is not very large, though the total among a large number of men does naturally mount up. As I have pointed out, this money reward for extraordinary exertions seems fully within the enactment I referred to earlier in the day. If the choice had been left to me, I should have given the whole of the reward in the shape of money; but as the men themselves preferred that it should partly take the form of a commemorative object, and as we are always desirous to consult the wishes of those we wish to gratify in matters of this kind, the determination was come to of which I have spoken. There are minor details to settle. The Force wish that the medal should in some way have the sanction or assent of Her Majesty herself. I have not yet had an opportunity of learning the pleasure of Her Majesty. It would, no doubt, enhance the value of the gift if Her Majesty should graciously approve of the presentation on her behalf. I may mention that the acknowledgment in the form proposed is by no means an act of generosity on my part, for the one and a-half days' pay would probably cost more than the whole sum that will be expended in the manner proposed. The sum set aside in the Metropolitan Police Fund early in the year, in anticipation of such a purpose as this, will cover with an ample margin any cost incurred. I think it will be the general feeling of the House that it would be stingy not to allow more than one day's pay. This particular form of recognition is what the Police Force desire, and there is no military idea whatever implied.

MR. HERBERT GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden): On this subject I would like to ask, are these medals considered tokens of honour, and will the police, with the sanction of Her Majesty, wear them on their uniforms as a mark of honourable distinction, in the same way that soldiers wear those they gain in the field, or will they simply be kept as tokens of Her Majesty's Jubilee?

MR. MATTHEWS: No decision of any sort has been come to; but it is not, I think, in the contemplation of anybody that the Police should wear them. I am informed by the Chief Commissioner that though many of the men possess war medals, as a matter of fact they never do wear them when on duty, and that for two reasons—first, that to do so would subject the wearer to adverse and ridiculous comment from the irreverent London boy; and, secondly, that in the event of any scuffle in the streets, the medal would be the first thing to be grasped at. There is no reason to suppose that, except, perhaps, on special occasions, the medals would be worn.

Mr. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead): I would appeal to the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr Pickersgill) not to divide the Committee on the question he has raised. There can be no doubt that, with the great number of persons claiming to wear medals and decorations, these have become somewhat common, and it is rather an honourable distinction to be without such.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): May I suggest that as a medal is to be struck it might, in addition to the Jubilee, commemorate another proceeding in which the police are concerned, and recall the features of the celebrated Miss Cass.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary has not met all my objections, but he has advanced one strong argument why we should accept the proposal, that is that the police themselves have expressed a desire to have a medal rather than another half-day's pay. Of course, I accept that statement, and as I have already said, my object is not to treat the police in any grudging spirit, for I am most anxious they should receive a suitable acknowledgment. Accepting the statement that the police have, by a majority, expressed a desire to have the medal, I withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I wish to make an appeal to hon. Members to allow this Vote to be now taken. There is no single item in this Vote on Account that may not be the subject of discussion in Committee when the separate Votes are taken, and any delay that now takes place lessens the time the Committee will have for that discussion. I trust the House will recognize the necessity that is forced upon the Government of taking this Vote to-day, and allow us now to come to a decision.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I am sorry I must make one exception to the appeal in favour of a matter of urgent importance. I see among the Votes included in this Vote on Account, is a Home Office Vote and another for Criminal Prosecutions, and to these I wish to call the attention of the Committee by a Motion for reduction.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: This is a Vote that will come on first in considering the separate Votes. The hon. Member will find it the most fitting opportunity when this Vote comes on, probably this afternoon.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS: Criminal Prosecutions come in Class 3, and according to our rate of progress with Supply we are not likely to reach Class 3 for some weeks, probably the middle of August. Owing to the fact that the Government have refused to give a day for the discussion and redress of the grievances of Welsh tithepayers, the state of feeling is, in Wales, very serious. This has been shown by disturbances in various parts of the country. In some of the disturbances the officers of the law have had the worst of it, in others, ordinary bystanders have suffered at the hands of the police. What did the Government do in the face of this state of affairs? They proceeded to appoint a Commission to make inquiry into the cause of the disturbance when the people were batoned by the police, and they set up prosecutions when the officers were alleged to have been maltreated by the crowd. I would call the attention of the Committee to this—in the case of the trials the Public Prosecutor or the right hon. Gentleman, on his own initiative, changed the place of trial from the Petty Sessional Division where the offence was alleged to have taken place to another Petty Sessional Division 15 or 20 miles distant. The excuse the Government make is that they could not find Court accommodation in the place where the events occurred. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman will make further inquiry I have considerable doubt whether he will find that that is the fact. I think he will find there is ample accommodation for the 31 prisoners, counsel, and witnesses at Cerrig-y-Druidion. At the same time, while making this the ostensible reason, the right hon. Gentleman said it was not expedient that the prosecution itself should take place in the district where the disturbances occurred. Now, it seems to me that this is carrying the Irish method of administering justice into Wales, and further, if the right hon. Gentleman at his own initiative thus changes the place of trial he should accept the logical consequences, and see that the expenses of these men and their witnesses are paid if they are carried from one Court to another, 20 miles off. The next point to which I call attention is that, although the reported offence took place on the 27th May, no word of notice was given to the defendants until the 30th June and 1st July that the trial was to take place 20 miles off, and held on the following Wednesday, after a lapse of three days. How can the right hon. Gentleman expect that justice will be done to these men when they are treated in this way three or four days after they have had notice, before they have had time to consult their solicitors, and before the latter have had time to make up the cases? After this, requests were made for adjournment for a few days, for one reason, because the cases were not made up, and because the wife of one of the defendants died during the course of the preliminary proceedings. I called attention to this by Question, and asked was it in the interests of justice necessary to refuse an adjournment to allow a defendant to make the general arrangements necessary for the burial of his wife? The right hon. Gentleman answered that there was an adjournment in a couple of hours, while, as a matter of fact, this happened on the morning of Thursday, and there was no adjournment until the evening of Friday. I call the attention of the Committee to this fact, and I ask was it decent or fair, in view of the hurried notice and this distressing incident, to rush on the prosecution without a decent adjournment? And now I refer to the inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman promised an inquiry into the circumstances and origin of one disturbance, and then, partly at the instance of a Welsh Tory Member, he enlarged the scope of the inquiry, so as to include not only the disturbance at Mochdre, but the other disturbances in North Wales. Now, I should say that in the Commissioner to hold such an inquiry two qualifications are especially required, first, that he should be able to understand the language of the people; and, secondly, that the Commissioner or Commissioners should be a man or men who would not merely look at legal technicalities in connection with each disturbance, but who would take a fair and dispassionate view of the whole cause and origin of these disturbances. But the right hon. Gentleman selected the very worst man possible for the appointment. Mr. Bridge was sent some time ago to make inquiry into the Cardiff riots, and the Cardiff people, of all shades of politics, condemned the way in which he whitewashed the police and refused to listen to some 60 witnesses who were ready to come forward. His proceeding gave satisfaction to no one, and his Report showed that he was actuated by the idea that his duty was to defend the police and the authorities. Secondly, this Commissioner has no idea, I imagine, of the habits and language of the people. and does not understand what they say, In the third place, although this inquiry was promised a month ago, the arrangements are not yet made. The right hon Gentleman promised to appoint a secretary who understands Welsh; but, as yet, we have no information upon that point. Neither have we heard that a shorthand writer is appointed to take notes of the evidence; in fact, the whole thing hangs fire. Now, if the Government wish to further inflame the state of public feeling in Wales, they can do it by backing up the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the authorities of Christchurch by taking the stock of farmers at dead of night; they can enstrange the sympathies of the Welsh people, and provoke further disturbance, by rushing the prosecutions, on the one hand, and delaying inquiry on the other. In view of the action of the Government, I beg to move to reduce the Vote by the sum of £2,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the item of £5,000 for Criminal Prosecutions, &c., be reduced by the sum of £2,000."—(*Mr. Thomas Ellis.*)

Mr. MATTHEWS: I believe I can answer the hon. Gentleman. He finds fault with the conduct of the prosecution, Now, while I have not a word to say as to the persons charged, I think the hon. Member will admit that it is quite fitting there should be a prosecution. The men, 31 in number, are charged with complicity in a riot. They do not all live in the same part of the country; their places of abode are far apart; and I am informed that no place of trial could be selected to which some of them would not have to travel—I will not say all of them, so far as the distance between Cerrig-y-Druidion and Ruthin—but, at any rate, a considerable distance.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: Not one of them?

MR. MATTHEWS: I am giving the information I have received. I am informed that the Court House at Cerrig-y-Druidion is totally inadequate for the accommodation of not only the 31 defendants, but the magistrates, witnesses, counsel, and others who have to take more or less part in the proceedings. The hon. Member (Mr. T. E. Ellis) said it was very hard on the defendants that they should be put to this expense, and I very much sympathize with that part of the hon. Gentleman's demand, for it is rather hard on the defendants themselves that, if put to extra cost by having to go to Ruthin, that extra cost should not be met. I sympathize with the hon. Gentleman on that point; but the only allowance which can be made, and which will be made, is for their witnesses. By Statute, the magistrate who takes the depositions can give a certificate upon which the costs of any witnesses will be defrayed; but the law does not allow either the magistrates or the Treasury to defray the costs of the defendants themselves. Then he renewed the grievance which he presented the other day, and thought the answer which I then gave was unsatisfactory. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will grant me the indulgence of listening to what I have to say. An inquiry was granted for the Friday, and it would have been extremely unreasonable to have adjourned then and there without doing anything on the morning of that Friday, it being necessary to have the defendants present. Everybody had come at considerable expense to themselves and to the county, and so the proceedings were continued on that Friday so as not to waste a day, and in the afternoon the magistrates adjourned the case until the Tuesday following, on purpose to enable the poor men to obtain advice upon the Monday. Surely that does not call for any severe comment. Then the hon. Member finds great fault with the inquiry which has been instituted by this House. He finds great fault with the selection of the Commissioner, Mr. Bridge; but I am bound to say it was having read his Report on the Cardiff riots which suggested Mr. Bridge to my mind; for, so far from whitewashing the police, he blames them with great discrimination, judgment, and moderation. I thought that Report was remarkably able, temperate, fair, and impartial; and it induced me to think, with the representations it contained, that Mr. Bridge was a man who would act justly, and who was completely outside all the passionate feelings which had been aroused on both sides.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: Did the right hon. Gentleman read the evidence?

MR. MATTHEWS: I read a great part of it, and I read the whole of Mr. Bridge's Report, which showed him to be a man thoroughly competent to conduct the inquiry by training, experience, abilities, and the fairness of his mind. I think I could hardly have picked out a better selection to decide on local disputes. Then it is said I should have put somebody on the Commission who understood Welsh. I had great difficulty in finding a competent Welsh scholar who would do good service otherwise. I inquired in all directions, and I had great difficulty, but I ultimately fixed on a gentleman—Professor Rhys—the first Welsh scholar of the day, and Professor of Celtic in Oxford University, and he is not only an accomplished Welsh scholar, but a thorough Welshman in birth and sympathies. He is a Liberal in politics, I am told, though I do not care what his politics are—he is an admirable Welsh scholar, the first of the day, a perfect master of the language, and a man of thorough intellect and character. Being so perfectly associated by birth, language, training, and sympathies with the Welsh people, I felt sure he would prove a useful adjunct to the Commission, and a man clearly above all suspicion, for he has lived long enough out of the world of Welsh ideas not to be suspected of partizanship. He is a man who could not be suspected or accused of partizanship either on one side or on the other.

I myself had no object or purpose in the matter other than to get a tribunal which would deal as fairly and impartially with this inquiry as any tribunal could.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): I quite concur with the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) that it is inconvenient to bring on discussions of this kind on such an occasion as this. But my hon. Friend (Mr. T. E. Ellis) had no choice in the matter. If he had not brought the subject on for discussion now, he could not have done it for the next fortnight or three weeks. I gladly recognize the spirit of the reply of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Matthews); but, on one point, he is entirely wrong in his facts. Now, where do nine-tenths of these defendants live? They could walk easily enough to the Court at Cerrig-y-Druidion; but they are 19 or 20 miles away from Ruthin, and for a considerable part of that distance there is no railway, and, as far as I know, no coach, no omnibus, no public conveyance whatever to enable them to get there. What is the result? These poor men, most of them quite unable to afford to hire a conveyance—these poor men were obliged to walk a distance of somewhere about 40 miles, because the case could not be tried in the Petty Sessional Division close to their home. I think that if my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary will inquire, he will find something behind what appears—something which he has not yet discovered, and which will give him the real reason why the case was removed from the one Petty Sessional Division to the other. If my information be correct, there are four Justices who reside in this district of Cerrig-y-Druidion, only two of whom would have been required to deal with the case. Why did they not deal with it then? Simply because one of them is, for some reason or other, disliked by the other three, and they will not sit with him. Therefore it was that these poor men had to walk 40 miles, because three of the magistrates would not sit with the fourth. My information is very definite and very complete upon the point. The right hon. Gentleman has not said a single word about one little matter. The riots took place on the 27th of May, but no proceedings whatsoever were taken until the 27th of June—a month afterwards. And now one word as to Mr. Bridge. I know nothing whatever of him except that he has inquired into the case of the Cardiff riots; but I do hear from all sides a good deal of dissatisfaction expressed at his decision. Still, I am bound to say that if I were in the Home Secretary's place I would not put a police magistrate to try policemen—it is not exactly the right thing to do. A man whom I suggested to the Home Secretary—I will not mention his name, but he is a man who is highly respected, as well as familiar with the Welsh language—would have been a more proper person to conduct the inquiry. As to Professor Rhys, I know very well that he is a most competent Welsh scholar, probably the best in the world; a better man for the post could not be found; and as regards him I thought the right hon. Gentleman's reply on Tuesday was satisfactory. I do hope the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary will be able to tell us that the proceedings are to be commenced at once, because these matters lead to a great deal of irritation, and the sooner they are disposed of the better.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I must say, Mr. Courtney, that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) seemed to me to make out a bad case. What occurred was this—these unfortunate men were subjected first to a very heavy penalty; and I think that was quite unfair, and that the parties responsible for dragging men 15 or 20 miles from the place of the riots to the Petty Sessional District outside acted very unfairly for many reasons. Remember that the money penalty was only a small part of the penalty suffered. They probably had some legal friend in the district in which they lived—someone in whom they had confidence—and yet they are taken away a specially long distance, quite out of his reach. Although the right hon. Gentleman says the magistrate may certify for the costs of the witnesses for the defence, the defendants are taken away to magistrates who are partizans against the people, and who would probably refuse costs, and throw such difficulties in the way that the defendants' witnesses would probably never get paid at all. The proper thing for the Government to do, instead of putting the Public

Prosecutor in motion against them, would be to say that these people had suffered sufficiently already, and that nothing more should be done against them. As to Mr. Bridge, he may be all very well, but the fact is that he does not know Welsh, and he would have to hear the evidence of the witnesses through an interpreter, who would practically be against the prisoners; and the result would be that Mr. Bridge, however well disposed to do justice, would not get a fair statement of the facts, and would, therefore, not be able to come to an unbiassed and honest decision. I think the hon. Member (Mr. T. E. Ellis) did well to invite attention to this Vote; and I hope the Committee will mark their sense of the conduct of the prosecution by disallowing the Vote.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: I confess I do not understand the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary on one point. Do I understand him to say that Professor Rhys is to be Secretary to the Commission, or one of the Commissioners?

MR. MATTHEWS: I told the hon. Gentleman some days ago that Professor Rhys was to be Secretary to the Commission.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: The right hon. Gentleman made a statement that these men did not live in the Petty Sessional Division; and I think he led us to understand that it was almost more convenient for them to go to Ruthin than for the case to be heard at Cerrig-y-Druidion.

MR. MATTHEWS: No; I did not say that. What I said was that the Court selected was as good for them as any Court that could be chosen. That is my information.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: Then I must ask to be allowed to correct that information. Nine-tenths of the men, at least, live in the Petty Sessional Division of Cerrig-y-Druidion, and within two or three miles of the Court. No doubt, there are three or four of them who live at some distance away; but, instead of having to come some 17 or 18 miles to Cerrig-y-Druidion, they would have to go 24 or 25 miles to Ruthin. So that the information which the right hon. Gentleman has obtained—where from I know not—is distinctly incorrect and deceptive. However, I will not now divide upon the Vote; but upon a future occasion—on the Vote for the Home Secretary and for Criminal Prosecutions and the salary of the Director of Criminal Prosecutions—I will again call attention to this question, and to the way in which these matters have been dealt with by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and the Director of Criminal Prosecutions.

MR. BIGGAR: May I ask is it competent to summon a defendant from one Petty Sessional Division to another, and drag him from one Division to another? Unless there is some special law on the subject, you might as well drag him 200 miles as 20, and that would be a very easy way of persecuting a defendant, and making it impossible for him to get a fair inquiry.

MR. MATTHEWS: The law is that the inquiry shall take place in the county in which the offence is committed. Petty Sessional Divisions are established for other purposes and objects, and have nothing to do with the taking of depositions in cases which are afterwards to be tried at the Assizes for the county.

MR. BIGGAR: Then a man may be taken from one part of the United Kingdom to another?

MR. MATTHEWS: I said within the same county.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): I trust the right hon. Gentleman will be able to turn his attention to the very remarkable statement that has just been made; we have been told that the case had to be removed owing to the action of three Justices of the Peace in refusing to sit with a fourth, and that in consequence of that refusal the necessity has arisen for all these men being transferred from one Petty Sessional Division to another. Surely that is very remarkable, and if it is the case some serious notice ought to be taken.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: Will the right hon. Gentleman make further inquiries?

MR. MATTHEWS: Certainly. But I think the hon. Gentleman (Sir William Plowden) is hardly aware that I have already twice answered questions and twice made inquiry on the subject, and I have given to the Committee such information as I could obtain. I have been informed that the idea of there being any dissension among the magistrates is absolutely unfounded, and that the real reason why, on more than one occasion, cases have been transferred from the one district to the other is that Cerrig-y-Druidion is a most inaccessible place, where the magistrates frequently find that there is no business for them to transact when they get there.

Colonel CORNWALLIS WEST (Denbighshire, W.): I am afraid there is some foundation for the statement that three of the Justices have certainly had some personal feeling against one of their colleagues; but I understand that upon this occasion the four Justices were not asked to sit, but the Public Prosecutor, of his own accord, moved the inquiry from Cerrig-y-Druidion to Ruthin, and his reason for so doing was not, I take it, because these four gentlemen differed, but because he considered that it was far preferable that the inquiry should take place at a certain distance from the spot where this very serious riot took place, for I must say that this riot was one of a most serious character, and of such a nature as to almost make it a desirable thing that those who were implicated should be transferred, if possible, to some other district where there was no feeling at all likely to arise. I am exceedingly sorry that it was necessary that these defendants should be taken so great a distance as they were; but I was in great hopes that their expenses might have been, at any rate, partially paid. But I understand that that cannot be done, and, under these circumstances, I hope and trust that a very liberal allowance will be made for the witnesses they have been obliged to bring for this inquiry. I can only say with regard to the appointment of Justices to this particular Petty Sessional Division, which has been two or three times before this House, personally I have done the very best I could to increase the number of those who would act there, and have fortunately got these four, who have, up to the present time, taken part in the business of the Petty Session there, to agree to that. When this unfortunate riot took place they were not asked to sit upon it, and I regret very much, under the circumstances, that they were not asked; but if it was thought by the authorities that it was better, in the interests of justice, that the inquiry should take place at a certain distance from the scene of the riot, I can only say that if the defendants have to pay a considerable sum I hope it will be very largely made up to them from other sources.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN: I must protest against the doctrine of my hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Cornwallis West) that, because the question to be tried is a serious one, therefore these defendants should be taken 20 miles from their homes. I am glad my hon. Friend the Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) is willing to allow the Amendment to be withdrawn, and I think it will be wise to allow the matter to drop now.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS: I think the doctrine which has been laid down by the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Cornwallis West), that because certain offences are supposed to have happened at one end of a county you may take the defendants over to the other end, quite regardless of the expense to them or of the fair administration of justice, is simply preposterous. Now, if the Government could only allow the Welsh Members some time to bring this question of the Welsh magistracy before the House, we could let them have some very interesting facts. The one mentioned by the hon. and gallant Gentleman and the right hon. and learned Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench (Mr. Osborne Morgan) is only one of scores of instances that could be mentioned. In a published letter one of these offending magistrates is contemptuously referred to as "a Liverpool tea merchant." The whole administration of the law is, by these circumstances, bound to come into contempt. What happened in this case? Whatever may be said of the personal quarrels of the magistrates, two of them, at all events, did understand the language of the people, whereas the magistrates to whom the defendants have been taken have no sympathy with them, and are, politically and religiously, their enemies, and not one of them understands one word of the language of the 31 defendants. If the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary says that any magistrate in the county may take the depositions, how was it that those magistrates who do know the Welsh tongue were not invited to sit with their brother magistrates, in order to take these depositions? But, as a matter of fact, have the prosecution a right to take the defendants from one division to another? Suppose it happened, not in Denbighshire, but in Lancashire or Yorkshire, the consequences might be very serious indeed, for the distances to be traversed might be very considerable. I would, therefore, draw the attention of the Committee to the rather dangerous doctrine conveyed, not merely by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, but by the conduct of the Public Prosecutor, and to the approval or semi-approval which has been given to it.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I should like to have a thorough understanding on this matter. Is it the principle of Her Majesty's Government that they are to take prisoners a long distance beyond their own Petty Sessional Division from one end of a county to another? That may be all very well where the county is a very small one; but the same principle would apply to a large county—one 50 or 60 miles across. The men might not be able to go at their own expense, and what would happen then? They would not appear; warrants would be issued, and they would be taken handcuffed across the county to answer the summons. Upon what principle do Her Majesty's Government advise that these men should be taken from one Petty Sessional Division, where there were magistrates who sat able to speak their own language, to another 20 miles further, where the magistrates do not understand their language?

MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. Baronet (Sir John Swinburne) is under a misapprehension in supposing that we have had anything to do with this. We had nothing in the world to do with it. It is not within the discretion of Her Majesty's Government—it is a matter of law. Any magistrate in the county can hear the case. Any Justice in the county has jurisdiction, and it is the ordinary course with which we cannot interfere, and with which we have nothing whatever to do.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE: Does the right hon. Gentleman wish us to understand that he has not given any advice or suggestion as to the conduct of the case?

MR. MATTHEWS: Not only did we not advise, but we did not even know that the prosecution was going on. We knew nothing whatever about it. The prosecution is under Statute, and I was not consulted, and did not know of it. It was only when questioned on the subject in this House that I became aware of the facts.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): Before the Vote is agreed to, I wish to call attention to another matter. I wish to call attention to the case of a gentleman who was in the service of the National Board of Education in Ireland for 25 years. During that period he answered the expectations of his official superiors, and was recommended for good service pay. Unfortunately for him, this gentleman —Mr. Fitzgerald—some time back—in December, 1878—was called upon, by direction of the Irish National Board of Education, to inspect a school in the County of Waterford, and in order to reach it he could go by either of two ways—he could either cross a ferry, or he could drive a considerable way round by car. He was suffering from illness on the morning when he set out, and he crossed by the ferry, and on his way met a clergyman connected with the school who took a part of the duties under his inspection. The clergyman, being in a hurry, had no interval, and went into Waterford. Mr. Fitzgerald passed on to the school, and performed as much of the inspection as he could. He also met a gentleman who was one of the patrons of the school, and that gentleman asked him to call and discuss the subject in the afternoon, and asked him to stay and dine, as that would be the most convenient time for him to discuss the matter with him. Mr. Fitzgerald, having performed as much of the duties as he could in the earlier part of the day, set out in the afternoon and dined with the gentleman and spent the evening with him, and he also spent the sum of 5*s.* 6*d.*, the proper amount of the car-hire which he might have expended in the morning. He felt that that was a proper expenditure, and should be allowed; and in his journal for that day he entered that 5*s.* 6*d.*, which I maintain, and I hope the Committee will agree with me in the contention, was a proper charge. It so happened that the clergyman was asked by the National Board of Education as to the inspection, and Mr. Fitzgerald's journal was called for to prove that he had made the inspection. The clergyman said he did not think Mr. Fitzgerald could have made it, and Mr. Fitzgerald was called upon for explanations. As I have said, he was in bad health, and suffering mental disturbance on account of family afflictions. He had forgotten the precise transaction and the precise things that occurred, and he gave an explanation which was admittedly incorrect; but, as he subsequently explained, that was because he had forgotten the facts. Two Inspectors were sent down to inquire into the case, and they reported adversely to him; and after 25 years' service, commended warmly by the National Board, he was dismissed on a charge of having misappropriated 5*s.* 6*d.* A more unfounded charge was never made against any man. I may say that this gentleman is no Nationalist, nor is he any personal friend of mine; but I felt so strongly on reading his case as set forth in the Parliamentary Papers last year—I felt it was so great a perversion of justice, and that so grave an injustice and injury had been inflicted on him, that I felt bound, as an honest man, to take up the case and do what I could. I had no personal interest in the case whatsoever, and I never had an interview with Mr. Fitzgerald but once. He does not sympathize with me; and no Party politics arise in the case—it is case of purely abstract justice—and when the Committee hear the facts, I think they will conclude that a public servant has been made the victim of petty official spite, and has been treated in a manner disgraceful to the whole Department and to the Government of Ireland, and cast out upon the road friendless—for he is living upon the charity of his friends. This is the reward for long and faithful service to the National Board. One of the marked characteristics of the superior officials in Ireland is this—that they are utterly rapacious, and one method of satisfying their rapacity is that they economize on the inferior officials who do all the work, and ask for increased salaries themselves, on the ground that they are such vigilant and valuable economists. The Resident Commissioner, Sir Patrick Keenan, not many years ago, when he did not choose to live in the official residence provided for him, received £300 a-year to give it up and pay his rent elsewhere; but anybody acquainted with the place knows that he could have got the best residence in Dublin for half that sum. That illustrates the way in which these great officials who do none of the work—who are the drones of the industrial hive—get all the cakes and ale, and the poor men who do the work get nothing at all. It is well for these superior officials when they can get an opportunity, and can gratify personal spleen at the same time, by getting rid of officials who would otherwise come on the pension list and prevent the higher officials from getting increased salaries. It is well for these superior officials when they can get these men dismissed at the end of a long period of service on the least excuse, and thereby show a great saving in the Department. This Mr. Fitzgerald had the misfortune to incur the high indignation of the late Joint Secretary of the Board, who had received numerous rewards—the late Mr. Ewart—and also to incur the wrath of Sir Patrick Keenan; and when this charge is made against him, I pronounce it a trumped-up and malicious charge, so small in its proportions that if he deserved any measure of punishment at all, a reprimand of a severe character would have been what he deserved, and not dismissal. But they got him in a cleft stick, and gave him no chance whatever. He has spent these last seven years, not in having been reinstated, but in trying to get a fair and impartial inquiry into his case, for no man would refuse a verdict in his favour. But officialdom had not done with him when they got him out of his office, for they put before the Commissioners the documents, though they suppressed in the Papers before this House certain documents that he sent in which should have appeared in the Report they were called upon to give. That was trifling, if not worse, with this House; and I hope the Committee will show their sense of the injustice done to this gentleman in some very marked manner, and that they will compel the Government now to do what they have so long declined to do—namely, grant this gentleman a re-inquiry into his case. One of the gentlemen who reported originally—Mr. Patterson, one of the Inspectors of the Board—when Mr. Fitzgerald brought the documents under his notice, wrote to say that had he had them before he would have given a totally different verdict; but his colleague on the inquiry took a different view. The junior Commissioner's Report was the one which the Board acted upon. On every appeal which Mr. Fitzgerald has made, he has been met by the cry—"We inquired into the case before, and have no reason to open it again." But who are they who give this answer? This answer is given by the officials of the Government in this House; but it is not their answer; it is the answer of the gentlemen who originally tried Mr. Fitzgerald and condemned him, and who do not want to have their verdict reviewed by another Court. We know very well the matter will be referred back to the Board, and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel King-Harman) gives the reply, not from himself, but from the members of the Board whose conduct is impugned. So much does Sir Patrick Keenan feel about this, that he is in constant dread lest the question should be re-opened, because he knows that if it were to be re-opened his conduct would be open to the strongest animadversion by any honest man. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman himself (Colonel King-Harman) and the noble Lord the Member for West Down (Lord Arthur Hill) were members of a deputation to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), when he was Chief Secretary, and called on him to grant a re-inquiry. But the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel King-Harman) has changed his ideas since. He told us to-day that he was impressed by Mr. Fitzgerald producing as a voucher what was not a voucher. But Mr. Fitzgerald produced the allegation of the man who hired the car that he did properly expend the money, and I think it is scarcely an accurate description on the part of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to say that that was not a voucher. It was not a voucher technically, perhaps, but it is evident that it ought to have led to fresh inquiry to see whether the allegation was true or not, and, if not, Mr. Fitzgerald would abide by the result, and nobody would say a word if, on fair inquiry, the charges were proved against him. But the evidence is all one way. I say that this gentleman was not guilty, and even if he was guilty he has been treated with great cruelty, and in a way which this Committee ought not to sanction. Let us contrast what has occurred here with another case. There is another Inspector of the National Board—I do not want to mention his name—who had a horse and car belonging to him, and when he wanted to travel for his inspections he used his own car and horse and charged for them. He even did more than that. When a gentleman moves away from his own residence, he is entitled, when sleeping out, to his expenses for the night, if the distance is beyond a certain limit. One of this gentleman's practices was—and this was detected by an official who was sent down to watch him—to go to an hotel seven or eight miles off and charge for sleeping, though he would drive back to his own house that evening, and sleep at home. That case was inquired into, and what was the punishment? The Board, having considered his case, decided that what they would do with him was to remove him from that district and transfer him to another, and I believe they have altogether mulcted him in such a sum as they considered he had improperly charged. That was the proper course, if not too lenient a one—at all events, it did not err on the side of severity. But contrast that with the case against Mr. Fitzgerald. The charge against Mr. Fitzgerald was that he had misappropriated 5*s*. 6*d*. What are we to say as to the difference in the treatment of these two gentlemen, when one of them is simply transferred to another district, while the other is dismissed the Service and cast out upon the world? The fact is that this is not a political matter, but one of abstract justice; and I hope we shall receive from the Government an assurance that the case will be re-investigated.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): The latter part of the hon. Gentleman's statement consisted in a charge against another official.

DR. KENNY: I did not make any charge against another official, but by way of contrast mentioned the facts concerning another official.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: The hon. Gentleman certainly mentioned another official who, it is alleged, has not sent in his accounts as correctly as he ought to have done. I am glad to say, as the hon.

Gentleman says, this matter is one which can be approached altogether without Party spirit. I am aware that Mr. Fitzgerald, if he has any politics at all, is most likely to be a Conservative. The hon. Gentleman had the kindness to recognize the fact that in 1885 I was one of a deputation which approached the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), when Chief Secretary for Ireland, upon this matter, with the object of obtaining a re-investigation of the case. I may say, however, that since that time I have inquired more closely into the matter, and I now think that the Commissioners were justified in dismissing Mr. Fitzgerald. It was my impression that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), after hearing the statements of the deputation, was very much inclined to deal favourably with Mr. Fitzgerald's case. The right hon. Gentleman promised to go into the case personally, and, from what we know of the right hon. Gentleman, we know that when he promises to investigate a matter personally, he does not mean to take merely official documents, but to probe the matter to the very bottom. Having made a thorough personal examination, the right hon. Gentleman considered the Commissioners were right in dismissing Mr. Fitzgerald. I am bound to take exception to that part of the hon. Gentleman's statement in which he imputed malicious motives to the Commissioners. I am persuaded, on reflection, that the hon. Gentleman will see that it is hardly likely that these gentlemen, who have so much to do, would band themselves together to ruin a man by preferring such a petty charge against him as the embezzlement of 5*s.* 6*d.* There is no doubt it is hard upon a man of 25 years' service to be dismissed; but the evidence we have warrants the dismissal. It is impossible, for instance, to overlook the fact that there had been previous cases of irregularities on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Fitzgerald appears to me to have had every fair opportunity of defending himself. All I can say is that I was originally strongly impressed in Mr. Fitzgerald's favour; but I have had occasion to change my opinion.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The right hon. and gallant Member has called in question the course pursued by my hon. Friend (Dr. Kenny) in citing a case other than the one in which we desire to take action. The motive of my hon. Friend is clear. He desired to lay before the Committee the fact that there ought to be equality of treatment between the different officials in Ireland. The case of Mr. Fitzgerald is one of embezzling or misappropriating the sum of 5*s.* 6*d.* Upon that charge he was dismissed from the Public Service. The other case alluded to is that of a gentleman precisely in the same condition. This gentleman, having a horse and car of his own, used it in the performance of his duties, and charged the Commissioners the cost of car-hire, and on certain occasions when he slept at home he charged the Commissioners for a bed at an hotel. This gentleman had pursued this course for years; but the Commissioners decided he was sufficiently punished by compelling him to refund the amount he had improperly received, and by transferring him to another district. The facts of that case are not questioned; therefore, if that official was sufficiently punished by being transferred from one district to another, how can it be maintained that another official was not unduly and cruelly punished by being altogether dismissed from the Public Service? I protest against the reply of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman. He showed his goodness of heart, and perhaps his better judgment, when he went on a deputation to the Chief Secretary for Ireland on behalf of this unfortunate gentleman; but, Sir, official life, while it may have expanded the brain of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, has certainly contracted his heart. Now, what are the facts of this case? This Mr. Fitzgerald had been for 25 years, during the whole prime and vigour of his life, occupying the position of Inspector of Public Education in Ireland. During that time he filled his position not merely without reproach, but with credit. There was no public record against him, and I certainly do think the right hon. and gallant Gentleman might have refrained from throwing out an imputation which is not sustained in the printed Papers before the House—that he might in charity and justice have refrained from speaking of difficulties in regard to this gentleman on previous occasions. There is nothing in the Papers to bear out the imputation which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman made, and I protest against its being thrown out. I will not speak of chivalry, but I think it was extremely unfair for the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to take advantage of his position to attack, without any grounds that I can discover, the character of this absent man, a man without occupation or income. The whole question was one of 5*s.* 6*d.* This gentleman was engaged in a tour of inspection, and appears to have charged 5*s.* 6*d.* for expenses, and the question arose whether it was a proper charge. The case was inquired into by two Inspectors of the Board. This unfortunate man was at the time in ill-health. He had suffered a family bereavement, and his grief had led to mental depression. The Inspectors held that he ought to have produced a voucher for the expenditure, in the absence of which they condemned him. Subsequently Mr. Fitzgerald produced what he claimed to be a voucher—and let me point out that one of the Inspectors held that the document, whatever it was, was of such a character as to entitle Mr. Fitzgerald to a second inquiry. Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman deny that one of the Inspectors who conducted the examination was so much impressed with the genuineness of the document that he held that Mr. Fitzgerald ought to be granted a rehearing? Certainly, if the Inspector changed his mind on the subject, I find no record of it. Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman put upon the Table of the House any documents to show that Mr. Patterson changed his mind on the point? Now, I have come to no conclusion in my own mind on this subject; but I say that a man holding the position of this gentleman ought to be granted a re-hearing of his case. I do not go so far as to suggest—and I think the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was quite right in repelling the idea—that the Commissioners have worked against this unfortunate man. I am not in a position to assert it, and I, therefore, keep silent on the subject. Now, the position of Irish Members in this House upon a question of this kind is very painful. All Parties are disposed to give us a certain share of control, at any rate, over local government in Ireland; all Parties are prepared, for instance, to give us control of education in Ireland. Certainly, if we had such control we should insist upon a re-hearing of this case. Does the right hon. and gallant Gentleman seriously maintain that the unanimous opinion of the Irish Representatives in this House upon a question of this kind is to be disregarded and set aside? The National Board of Education is really a sort of Star Chamber. It is not under public control in any way; indeed, the Chief Secretary for Ireland is constantly telling us he has no control over it. He appears to be vested with the power of making some kind of humble suggestions to the Board; but he has no power over it, and he constantly disclaims any responsibility for its action. We are not aware of the evidence upon which it proceeds; we are not aware of the justification for its conclusions, and we, therefore, decline to accept any of its conclusions. I notice that the First Lord of the Treasury is present. I believe he is a statesman of good heart and of generous impulses, and I ask him, fairly and squarely, if he thinks that a man who has spent 25 years in the Public Service, and who is charged with embezzling 5*s.* 6*d.*, should be condemned and driven into beggary, without having his case re-heard upon fresh evidence, and especially in face of the fact that one of the tribunal of two Judges who tried him is of opinion that the case ought to be re-opened? Unless we get some satisfactory assurances on this point, the Irish Members will take care that this shameful case shall occupy more than 5*s.* 6*d.* worth, or than £5,000 worth, of public time.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I entirely sympathize with the feelings of hon. Gentlemen opposite. They are animated, I have no doubt, by genuine feelings of sympathy for this unfortunate man; but what are the facts? The circumstances attending Mr. Fitzgerald's dismissal have been examined over and over again by the National Board of Education, which is composed of men of position, entirely above any unworthy or corrupt motives. It is argued that the case should be re-opened in consequence of the opinion held by one of the two gentlemen who formed the tribunal which tried the case; but long subsequent to the expression of opinion by this Inspector the case was again investigated, and by, amongst other people, Lord Spencer and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). I ask the Committee how is any case ever to be regarded as settled if, after it has passed through a sifting so long and so minute—how is it ever to be settled if now, six years after the decision was arrived at, nay, more, eight years, the whole thing is to be re-discussed in the House of Commons, a place which, whatever else its merits may be, is not fitted for a Court of Justice, or a Court of Appeal?

MR. SEXTON: May I ask whether, at any time since the inquiry at which Mr. Fitzgerald was condemned, there has ever been held an inquiry at which Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed to appear and defend himself?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know that there has; but I understand that Mr. Fitzgerald was allowed in writing to state all the new material he had at his disposal; he was allowed to show cause why the case should be re-opened. [Dr. KENNY: No; he was not.] Whether he was allowed or not he has done so. [Dr. KENNY: He stated his case, but there was no inquiry.] He sent a document in, and that I understand was carefully considered by the National Board of Education, and after their inquiry they reiterated their decision.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.): It was Mr. Mitchell Henry who moved for the Papers in this matter, and they were published. Subsequently, I was instrumental in obtaining the printing of the Papers. I have looked most carefully through the Papers presented to the House, and, in my opinion, the National Board of Education came to a wrong conclusion. I believe there never was a public servant of so good character whose prospects were so completely destroyed on so paltry a charge as Mr. Fitzgerald. I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will not think too much time has been spent upon this matter. As to the time which has elapsed since the case was originally before the National Board of Education, I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that a great portion of that time has been spent in ineffectual attempts on the part of Mr. Fitzgerald to obtain a re-hearing of his case. I hope that this case will not be set aside merely from the lapse of time; but that my hon. Friends will keep their word in this matter, and bring Mr. Fitzgerald's case again and again before the House, until we are reasonably satisfied that a thorough investigation has been made, and that substantial cause is shown, if it can be shown, for the treatment Mr. Fitzgerald has received.

DR. KENNY: I should like to occupy a few minutes more of the time of the Committee, on account of the very unfair imputation which the right hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman) has cast upon this unfortunate gentleman. I am most strongly assured that there is not a particle of foundation in any act of Mr. Fitzgerald's life for the smallest imputation of any impropriety of any kind or description over and above this matter of 5*s.* 6*d.* Both the right hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman) and the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) have stated that subsequent inquiries have been held. Yes; but the inquiries were held by the very gentlemen whose conduct is incriminated or called into question by these proceedings; and when they found that their action was impugned, they, by insinuations, endeavoured to create the impression, which is not sustainable by one particle of evidence, that there was something else behind the embezzlement or misappropriation of this 5*s.* 6*d.* One of Mr. Fitzgerald's greatest grievances is that he is not allowed to meet his accusers face to face. That is one of the reasons why he has spent the last eight years in endeavouring to obtain a re-hearing. Mr. Fitzgerald has asked, as any man whose honour or reputation is at stake would ask, that a proper and fair tribunal should be appointed to inquire into his case, in order that if the facts are in his favour he may be reinstated in public opinion. That is all he asks, and that is what we are pleading for. I agree with my hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) that if we receive no satisfactory assurances upon this matter, it will be necessary for us to bring it forward on every occasion which offers itself. Perhaps it would be wise that I should move to reduce the sum by £500, in order that the Committee may mark its sense of the impropriety of Ministers of the Crown rising in their places, and, without the smallest evidence, making insinuations in respect of charges which are not in question. The Chief Secretary for Ireland and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet have tried to make out that there was a re-inquiry. Our case is that there never was a re-hearing. Documents were submitted to the Resident Commissioner, who is practically the Board of National Education. The judgment originated with the Resident Commissioner. This judgment is impugned. The same man whose judgment is called in question sits in judgment again, and says—"My judgment was perfectly correct; and there ought not to be a re-hearing." I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £500.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Item of £50,000, for Public Education (Ireland), be reduced by the sum of £500."—(*Dr. Kenny.*)

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 83; Noes 245: Majority 162.—(Div. List, No. 301.) [6.35 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I claim to move "That the Question be now put."

Question put accordingly, "That the Question be now put."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 252, Noes 78: Majority 174.—(Div. List, No. 302.) [6.45. P.M.]

Question put,

"That a further sum, not exceeding £1,185,000, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888."

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 242; Noes 64: Majority 178.—(Div. List, No. 303.) [6.55 P.M.]

DR. TANNER (seated, with head covered): During the Division, Sir, I was in the "No" Lobby, and I was not told that I was required to go on—I was writing a letter—and the consequence is that my vote has not been registered. Now, what is to be done?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Sitting is now suspended.

It being after Seven of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report the Resolution to the House at Nine of the clock.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again *this day.*

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £27,969, to complete the sum for the House of Commons Offices.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I do not want to detain the Committee; but there is one point which—though the Government will not be able to take action with regard to it this year—I should like to ask them to consider favourably in framing the Estimates for next Session. A good deal with which I do not agree has been said about the salaries of the higher officials of the House of Commons; but there are many lower officials, such as messengers, extra messengers, persons who see to the evidence of witnesses given before the Committees upstairs being corrected and sent out, and other minor attendants, as those in the cloak room, who seem to me to be miserably underpaid, and to be as much worthy of the attention of the Government as those whose case has been discussed. I direct the attention of the Government to the claims of these persons, in order that those claims may not be entirely lost sight of.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to add a few words to what has been said by the hon. Member for Northampton with reference to the case of the extra messenger. I believe the staff of messengers consists of 18 officers, 12 of whom are placed in one division, and who have salaries rising by annual increments of £10 a-year to a maximum of £200. There are six others, who are not in this favourable position, although they wear the same uniform and really perform the same duties, and who are required to have the same capacity and to be in attendance during the same number of hours. I am at a loss to understand why a distinction is made between one class of these messengers and the other class. As I say, they all seem to have the same capacity, and it certainly would seem as though the distinction should be abolished, and that the whole 18 should be placed upon terms of equality. I wish to testify to the able and efficient manner in which all these officers discharge their duties. In order to raise the six messengers who are in a less favourable position to equal terms with the others, the Government would only be called upon to spend an additional £60 a-year; and I trust that, looking at the nature of the duties they have to perform, the Committee will favourably consider their case. We know these messengers have to be long hours in attendance. We know that, at however late an hour the Speaker may finally leave the Chair, they have to be in attendance on Select Committees the next day. I certainly think there is no class of public servants who deserve more consideration than these messengers.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): There is one point which has escaped the attention of the Committee up to the present, and it is that up to within two or three years ago, whenever there was a specially long Sitting of the House, the messengers received an extra payment of 5*s.* or 10*s.* That system appears now to have ceased—or, at any rate, it has been revived only once this Session, although we have had a number of late Sittings. I do not know why that system should be abolished. I understand that we have 12 messengers who start at a salary of £100 a-year each, and receive annual increments of £10 until the salary reaches £200 a-year; but that the other six do not receive these annual increments until they are advanced into the ranks of the first 12. I cannot see that the fact of a man dying in one class makes the slightest difference in the value of the services of the man who fills the vacancy from the smaller number, six, seeing that all the 18 men have to perform precisely the same duties. I should like to know upon what ground the distinction can be defended, and I should also like to know why this practice of paying the men 5*s.* or 10*s.* as a recompense for their extra labour when the House sits very late has been abolished for the last two or three years? It seems to me a very reasonable thing to make these extra payments, and I certainly think we ought not to be so niggardly in our remuneration of those officers, particularly when we remember how freely we pay money for officials in the House of Lords.

Several hon. Members: Reply, reply!

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £34,045, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses in the Department of Her Majesty's Treasury, and in the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): Upon this Vote I venture to put a question to the Government which, perhaps, it would have been better to have put generally on the Vote on Account to-day, because it concerns the Civil Service Estimates; but as the Treasury are in charge of all these Estimates, perhaps this is a fitting opportunity for me to obtain the information I desire. Last year the Government thought fit to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the different Departments of the Civil Service. Now, that Commission has been sitting and taking evidence for some months, and as yet there is nothing to show as a result of their labours. I believe that, as a matter of fact, they have finished the investigation they undertook with regard to the War Office, and that the evidence with regard to that Department is to be submitted to Parliament before long. But at the rate of progress which has been realized up to now, it does appear as though a very long time, probably several years, will be consumed before anything like a definitive Report is presented with regard to the Civil Service at large. Now, Sir, the amount involved in these Civil Service Estimates is exceedingly great, very many millions per annum; and the Government themselves have, in regard to several Departments, already manifested a determination not to await a Report or Reports of that Commission. They have, in regard to the Inland Revenue and other Departments, already undertaken departmental re-organization and curtailment; and, that being the case, I think I shall be justified in asking the Government—either the First Lord of the Treasury or the Chancellor of the Exchequer—what is the policy the Government have decided to follow in regard to the Civil Service at large, pending the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission? There are a number of very pressing questions which have been raised from time to time in connection with this matter. First of all, I would take the question of the distribution of work as between different public Departments. I would say nothing of the War Office or of the Admiralty; but, simply confining my observations to the Civil Service Department, I would point out that as between such Offices as the Home Office, the Local Government Board, the Privy Council Office, and the Board of Trade, there is an allocation and distribution of work which, in many respects, is hardly intelligible. Now, it is perfectly clear that a long time—years—must elapse before any Royal Commission or any body of investigators can arrive at any authoritative opinion as to the advisability of disturbing the system which at present obtains. To illustrate the matter by one small point: within the last year or year and a-half there has been a transfer from the Home Office to another of the Departments of the work connected with sea fisheries. That alone would afford an illustration of the way in which work done in one Department could be done just as well in another. This brings me to the general conclusion, which I think is not a strained conclusion, that there is room for great economy and simplification of work, and reduction in the existing establishments, through the simple process of grouping together all the work of a similar character which is now distributed amongst different Departments; and inasmuch as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer defended in his place some little time ago the decision of the Government to adopt such reforms as appear necessary and opportune in respect to the Inland Revenue Department, I do not think it is too much to ask the Government to entertain, even pending the Report of the Royal Commission, such questions as the simplification of the administrative work of each of the Departments of the State in the matters I have referred to. There is another question. The Treasury has discovered that the Estimates of the Inland Revenue Department submitted last year were unnecessarily large. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), when Chancellor of the Exchequer, was challenged by myself with regard to certain vacancies. He admitted that pay was asked for a number of officers who did not exist, and the Estimates have been amended this year in accordance with the facts of the case. A number of different "rides," as they are called in the Inland Revenue Department, have been got rid of.

The CHAIRMAN: I must say that I fail to see how the hon. Gentleman connects the subject he is now discussing with the Vote under consideration.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I shall be happy, Sir, to explain to you, or to endeavour to explain the connection. The Treasury is concerned with the control and check of the Civil Service Departments, and whenever any organization or re-organization is proposed by any Department, application is necessarily made to the Treasury in connection with it. Now, what I complain of is, that the Treasury does not exercise, and has never exercised, that check and that control in a proper and efficient manner. That is the reason why the Civil Service Estimates at large, and in almost every single instance, are inflated beyond the figure which represents the necessary increase, and I was challenging the general policy of the Treasury in its capacity of a central office concerned in the administration of the public Departments.

The CHAIRMAN: The Treasury has no such control as that attributed to it. The Treasury can advise any Department; but, speaking from my own experience, I know that the Treasury has no such power as that to which the hon. Member refers.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Of course, Sir, I do not ask you to throw the light of your own experience upon this matter, seeing that yours is the position of moderator and director of the debates in Committee. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is not a fact—as admitted, at any rate, by his subordinates—that whenever organization or re-organization is proposed by any Department application must necessarily be made to the Treasury for the assent and consent to the changes which are proposed, and to the expenditure which these changes involve? Now, with regard to the Customs and Inland Revenue, I wish to submit to the Financial Secretary to the Treasury that it is evidently their best policy to take steps to reduce that expenditure, which, to a certain extent, they can control, in connection with this Department—for I maintain that they have the right of exercising control, their consent being necessary before changes can be made. The Office is immediately under the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose salary comes under this Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is altogether an abuse of the privilege of discussion on this Vote. The question the hon. Member is now raising can be properly raised on the Inland Revenue Vote, and should not be raised on the Vote now before us.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Very well, Sir, I will at once submit to your ruling, however unexpectedly it comes upon me. At any rate, I shall be in Order, I trust, in asking the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer what decision the Treasury has come to in regard to the position of the members of the lower division of the Civil Service, and what decision the Treasury has come to with regard to the position of the writers? These are matters which have been brought up in the form of questions before the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer several times during the present Session. The position of these different classes of men is a matter of great public importance. It affects the whole question of the administration of the Civil Service. Now, Sir, these clerks are, to a great extent, at the disposal of the Treasury Authorities. The Treasury have admitted the grievance under which the writers have laboured, and a Treasury Minute was issued some time ago, holding out to the writers some apparent prospect of an amelioration of their position. Well, the position of the writers has not been ameliorated at all. The boon which was offered was of an illusory and almost mocking character; but I understand that the Treasury have decided that the class of writers shall be extinguished as soon as possible. I shall be in Order, perhaps, in asking the Financial Secretary to the Treasury to inform the Committee what steps the Treasury mean to take in the future with regard to the writers that at present exist—how many it is proposed to remove from the Service; how many it is proposed to admit to the ranks of the lower division; and finally, I would ask if the Treasury have decided to suspend all appointments to the upper division of the Civil Service, pending the Report of the Royal Commission; and whether, for reasons of economy and reasonable administration, the Treasury will consent to suspend all appointments to the upper division, or will consent to fill them only by men promoted from the lower division? I would ask whether there is any reason to suppose that the lower division men are not perfectly competent to perform all the duties of the staff, and whether they would not be able to fill the superior staff appointments? Well, I do not wish to trespass by one hair's-breadth beyond that which is the fair latitude which ought to be allowed in discussion of this kind; but I ask these questions because a very large number of men are interested, keenly interested, in the answers which are to be given to them, and because I am perfectly satisfied that a very large field of economy is open to the Treasury in these respects. The Treasury is supposed to supervise the whole Civil Service; but, as a matter of fact, that Department has been allowed for years past to re-organize itself. I maintain that, as in the case of an important and elaborate piece of machinery, you would appoint an engineer-in-chief, whose business it would be to control, and supervise, and manage every part of the machinery, so the Treasury ought to have an officer whose special duty it should be to go over and examine into and report upon every Department of the Public Service. No such officer exists, and it appears to me to be ridiculous to vote away such sums of money as are presented in these pages, when it is plain that this duty is glaringly neglected. You have a number of clerks with salaries ranging up to £900. You have some whose incomes go up to £600, and on page 88 you will find in another Department that the salaries are paid on a similar scale. All these are very good allowances to the men at the Treasury itself; but there is no earthly reason why the Treasury should not have upon its staff some competent person whose duty it should be to overhaul all the other Departments of the State. I complain that you do not provide such an officer, and that the consequence is that the different establishments of other Departments are altogether incomplete. I say nothing about the pay of the Treasury Staff itself, which I think unnecessarily high and extravagant; but while we are prepared to vote some £59,000 or £60,000 for the Treasury, I think we ought to be able to provide out of that the salary of an officer to discharge the important duties I have indicated.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Perhaps the Financial Secretary to the Treasury will answer a question I desire to put to him when replying to the hon. Member who has just sat down. I should like him to say whose duty it is at the Treasury to check the payments that are made, in order to see that they are not made without authority. Sir Reginald Welby stated in his evidence, with regard to a sum of £630 14*s.* 2*d.*, that there was a gap in the authority for that payment for 45 years. Being asked as to whose duty it was to call attention to that payment, as there was no authority for it, he answered that he did not know whose duty it was. I would ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury if he can say whose duty it is to check such payments, and to see that such payments are not made without authority?

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): There is one item which I think no one will be disposed to call in question, and that is the salary of the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. That Gentleman certainly earns his salary; but the voting of this sum would be more gratifying to me if I had not to accompany it with the reflection that other Government officials do not earn their salaries. I would put a question to him with regard to the position of the Civil Service writers in Dublin. I put a question to him on this subject some time ago; but he was probably too busy to answer me, and I received no reply. I know some officials who are recommended for promotion amongst these writers; but in no single case has the desired promotion followed the recommendation. I think we are entitled to be informed why the Treasury, having issued a Minute providing for promotion, not a solitary promotion to a clerkship has been made in the whole division of writers. If the hon. Gentleman will be good enough to turn to the bottom of page 59, he will find there a large sum for fees to counsel for assisting Parliamentary counsel in the drafting of bills. Now, I find that there is a permanent Parliamentary counsel employed at a salary of £2,500, and that he has an assistant Parliamentary counsel who is paid a salary of not less than £1,200 a-year. I should have thought the gentlemen paid such salaries as those would have been able to do any drafting that the Government may require, yet we find that other counsel are to be paid large sums for the purpose of assisting those gentlemen to draw up Bills. At any rate there is an item for fees to counsel. Now, if there were a flux of legislation going on in the House of Commons, I could quite understand that the regular staff would require to be augmented; but it seems to me that the regular staff of Parliamentary counsel are doing little or nothing this year. The only Bill worth talking about which they have produced this year is the Coercion Bill, and that, I assume, was drafted by the Irish draftsman who gets a salary of £750 a-year. I presume he would draw up this Bill; at any rate, if he did not, the salary he receives appears to me to be thrown away. The journeys of this distinguished official between London and Dublin seem to be so numerous that an additional sum of £800 is charged to cover his expenses; and even this does not seem to be enough, because I find that he has an additional allowance of £700. He receives from the public purse, therefore, £2,250 a-year. Now, I should like to know when this official drew up the Irish Coercion Bill?

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! It is obviously premature to discuss that question under the present Vote.

MR. SEXTON: I want to know if the Treasury counsel drew up the Irish Bill or not? If they did, they show very little work for the sum put down here; but it is for the Government to show whether they did the work or not. As I pointed out, there has obviously been very little work done this Session; and I should like to know what Bills the official Secretary to the Treasury expects to have drawn between this time and March next, and whether he does not think that the officials who receive a regular salary for drafting Bills will be able to draft the Bills which he expects will be passed? It is puzzling to me why these large sums should be paid for extra counsel, when the Government already have a large staff at the Treasury. I think the official Secretary ought really to lay upon the Table some Return showing what payments were granted by the Treasury, what Bills are drafted, and showing exactly how this matter stands; as also the Bills the Government expect to introduce or to have drafted between this and next March.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): In regard to the question asked by the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), I may say that the Treasury Minute is being carried out as fast as it can be carried out. I am quite sure that if hon. Members knew the amount of work which has to pass through the Treasury, they would have a little more sympathy than they sometimes express for that Department. The Treasury Minute stated statistically that a certain number of writers of admitted credit would, after due consideration, be promoted to the lower division. What the Treasury has done has been this. They first invited from the several Departments recommendations as to those writers who were engaged upon the work which entitled them first to consideration in promotion to the lower division; and they also desired these heads of Departments to make a statement of the merits of these individuals. As hon. Members know very well, there has been nothing proposed that this country has been more particular in regard to than that the members of the Civil Service should be admitted on examination on Civil Service certificates. Now, what does this Minute mean—this boon to the writers which, to a certain degree, has been ridiculed in this House, notwithstanding that it has imposed an additional charge on the State of more than £6,000 a-year? Why, it means that it is now laid down, as a principle, that a certain number of writers of admitted merit shall be promoted to the lower division. The Treasury have invited recommendations from the heads of Departments; they have received those recommendations; they have appointed an officer of the Treasury to investigate those recommendations and to report upon them, and the Treasury have declared it to be desirable that no promotions shall be made to the lower division until the whole of the cases are complete. That is the sole reason of the delay. [Mr. SEXTON: When was that?] I am afraid to pledge myself to particular dates; but if the hon. Member will accept my assurance, I can assure him of this—that I have personally taken the greatest interest in this question, because the important and difficult duty of piloting these negotiations through has devolved upon me. I have not only taken the greatest interest in this question, but I am pressing it forward to the best of my ability; and I hope, certainly, in the course of a week or two, to be in a position to make a final statement as to these writers. Therefore, I can assure the hon. Gentleman that, so far as the case of these writers is concerned, it has been fully considered, with a desire not only to do justice, but to give the people concerned every benefit of employment which can be offered. Then reference has been made to the higher division. There, again, you have the same question to consider. It has been held by the Treasury that it is a most valuable principle that they should maintain the examinations which have been laid down as necessary to pass into that division. But there is no bar against a lower division clerk passing into a higher division except the bar of the examination. Well, Sir, is it desirable to remove that bar? I do not think that the House of Commons will be disposed to say that promotion by mere seniority, or promotion without due qualification, from one division to another should be permitted. Then, with regard to Parliamentary draftsmen. It is true, as has been stated, that there are but two permanent counsel employed; but I would point out to the Committee that these men are not engaged simply and entirely upon the Bills which are introduced into this House, and certainly not entirely upon the Bills which are introduced into the House by Her Majesty's Government. They have to take into account the Bills which are introduced into the House of Lords by the Government; they have to take into account the Bills that are to be introduced into this House by the Government; and there is an enormous amount of work which devolves upon these Parliamentary counsel

—or, if I might use another term, these Parliamentary draftsmen—in advising the Government not only according to the Bills which the Government themselves introduce into Parliament, but with respect to every Private Bill introduced into either House affecting the Treasury or the Government in any way. These gentlemen have to interest themselves in the framing and amending Bills which seem to be likely to proceed in either House; and certainly, speaking from some acquaintance with these gentlemen, I am prepared to say that I think the work which they perform is more than satisfactory. I can assure hon. Members that were it not for the assistance which these gentlemen have placed at our disposal from time to time, it would be absolutely impossible for the Government to keep in touch with the progress and introduction of Bills in this House. Therefore, I hope that, so far as the question of Parliamentary counsel or draftsmen is concerned, my statement may be accepted that they are full of work. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) asked whose duty it is at the Treasury to show that payments are properly made. He referred to an answer given by the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury—I suppose from evidence that official gave before the Select Committee in connection with which the hon. Member has taken an active part. Well, Sir, it is rather difficult to answer questions of that sort put in that general way, unless one knows precisely the particulars——

MR. BRADLAUGH: I was referring to a sum of £16,215 charged on the Consolidated Fund. An item of £630 14*s*. 2*d*. was directed to cease in a certain year; but which did not cease in that year. Although the money has since been paid, there is a gap in the responsibility for that payment.

MR. JACKSON: I think the Committee will see that it is difficult to answer a question as to a gap of that sort without Notice—a gap which occurred between the years 1839 and 1842. I think Sir Reginald Welby admitted—and if it is necessary I must admit also—that between the years 1839 and 1842 some gap did occur in connection with this payment as has been stated by the hon. Member; but I think that the Treasury of to-day can hardly be held accountable for what occurred in the year 1839.

MR. BRADLAUGH: They go on paying.

MR. JACKSON: They went on paying, it is true; but who did?

MR. BRADLAUGH: Why, you still. You go on paying it now.

MR. JACKSON: Well, I admit I am not prepared to answer a question like this. I suppose it is rather a question of being able to prove the necessary authority having been given at that particular time.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I am afraid I have not explained myself with sufficient clearness. There is a specific Treasury Minute directing that a sum of £630 14*s*. 2*d*., which is part of a sum of £16,215, should cease to be paid on the 5th of April, 1841; but, notwithstanding that Treasury Minute directing that this sum should cease to be paid, the payment is still continued, and has continued without authority from that day to this.

MR. JACKSON: Well, as I have said, it is particularly difficult to give any explanation without having any knowledge of the matter. I will, however, promise the hon. Member that, so far as I can, I will inquire into the subject and inform my mind upon it. I hope I have now answered all the questions which were put to me. [MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Not as to the writers.] The hon. Member for East Donegal seems to think that the rule which was adopted in regard to the writers is an illusory one; but I trust that it will not prove illusory. The Treasury is desirous of promoting economy, and, in regard to the hon. Member's reference to the principle of the extinguishing of the class of writers, I would reply that I am not prepared to say that the writers would be extinguished. But I will tell the hon. Member what I believe to be the policy of the Treasury. The Treasury believe that the class of writers who have hitherto been employed can, in the future, be replaced by boy clerks. They believe that the work can in that way be done with equal efficiency, and, at the same time, with increased economy. There is, however, no desire to inflict any injustice upon anyone. There is no desire to force the writers out of the Service, or to exchange them in this way;

but the Treasury believes it to be its duty to do what it can, when fresh appointments are concerned, to promote both efficiency and economy by substituting boy clerks as much as they can for men.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I thank the hon. Gentleman for his answer as far as it goes; but I must point out that he omitted to answer one question, and that is as to the appointment to the upper classes of lower division clerks in the Civil Service. We are well aware that there is in many Departments a redundancy of upper division clerks. These men are not all wanted in the Departments in which they are so redundant, and many of them can be as easily replaced by lower division clerks as writers can be replaced by boy clerks. We go on, however, paying hundreds and hundreds of pounds a-year for what can be done by clerks receiving one-sixth of the pay. There are in one Department half-a-dozen men in one room, all doing the same work. One of these men happens to be a higher division clerk, and for that reason he is drawing more pay for the work he is doing than all the other men put together, although, as I say, they are all doing the same work. There are men in the Civil Service who are only receiving 10*d.* an hour, and yet who are and who have been engaged for years in an extremely important work, whilst men working within a few yards of them are paid hundreds and hundreds of pounds a-year for doing what any boy at 6*s.* a-week could do equally well. I ask the hon. Member whether the Treasury will take cognizance of the redundancy of higher division clerks in certain Departments, and will take measures to transfer them to other Departments where men of that status are more required? I ask him whether he will see that the Treasury does that, instead of from time to time increasing appointments amongst the upper division clerks? I ask him whether, in making additions to the upper division, when those additions cannot be effected by transferring from one Department to another, he will take care to see that the claims of the lower division and the claims of the writers who have been employed upon confidential work will be properly considered? I ask him to do what he can to bring about the promotion of these men. When men who are only paid 10*d.* an hour have been employed upon superior and responsible work I certainly think they have a claim for any better appointments that may be in the gift of the Government. I think the Government should not overlook their claims when there are vacancies to fill up for the filling of which these men have proved their suitability. I maintain that if the Government would adopt that policy all round they would save tens of thousands of pounds a-year. I believe it would be an easy thing to effect the saving of £250,000 a-year in the Civil Service Estimates, and I say this with a perfect knowledge of what I am speaking of. As a matter of fact, the Treasury goes on keeping up redundant officials in some Departments, largely overpaying a great number of men, and in other branches of the Service underpaying most deserving clerks.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The Treasury are especially anxious, and so are Her Majesty's Government as a whole, to avoid creating any new appointments where they can possibly be avoided. I think if the new appointments in the upper division were enumerated, it would be seen that very few entries indeed have taken place during the past few years. We hope to be able to continue to reduce the number of new appointments. We are as sensible as any other Members of the House of the extreme necessity of reducing redundant establishments, and my personal attention has been directed to the subject in several cases. I am bound to say that the subject is greatly complicated by the very difficult question of pensions. In several cases where it has been possible to make large reductions of the numbers employed, I have myself been questioned in this House, because this course involved a certain amount of pensioning of those clerks who were dispensed with. But we see the possibility of reducing the number of clerks in many of the Government establishments, and that policy is one we are very anxious to follow up. So far as it can be done we should certainly be disposed and most willing to avail ourselves of existing labour in order to fill these posts as they become vacant. I must, however, point out to the hon. Member that promotions from lower to higher grades involve the complicated question of examinations. At the present moment the examinations for higher grades are open to men employed in lower grades of the service up to a certain age. I do not know to what extent the hon. Gentleman would wish to see examinations done away with. To do away with them all it seems to me would be a very serious step. While we should be anxious to utilize all existing labour and to promote all existing clerks, yet, practically, at the same time, it seems to me essential to keep up the standard of examination which we have deliberately adopted as part of our Civil Service system. I am perfectly in accord with the hon. Gentleman in his object—namely, the reduction, as far as possible, of redundant officials, and, at the same time, the promotion of capable men already in the service to higher positions.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman seems to have missed the point I was anxious to urge. It is this—there is a considerable number of men who are redundant. In some directions appointments are being filled up by appointments from outside, and my contention is that these appointments ought to be filled up as far as possible by men already in the Civil Service. Then you have the pension list. I object to pensions altogether. I think the pension list is a mistake, and I do not see why men should be put on it when the Office in which they are serving happens to be reorganized. The principle I am anxious to see enforced, and which I have advocated for many years, is the principle of the transfer of men from one Department to another. If an officer is not wanted in the 46th regiment, let him be appointed to the 56th. I cannot see why a man whose services are not required at Pall Mall or at Whitehall should not be employed in the Customs, when there is a vacancy, and *vice versâ*. As a matter of fact, the subordinate offices in the Civil Service and in the Accounts Branch can be filled by any man of ordinary education. The system of reconstruction which at present obtains floods the pension list with a number of men in middle life who are fit for 20 years' work. With regard to the question of examining, I beg to say that that examination may be necessary to give some kind of status, some kind of superior character to those who have charge of large and important Departments of the State, but that it is not so necessary in the case of the great bulk of the Civil servants who have work of a simple and routine character to do. Most of the men who are in the highest positions at the present time are men who entered the Service 25 or 30 years ago, when the standard of examination was considerably lower than that which you exact from the lower division clerks of the present day. In reality, comparing examination with examination, the lower division clerks of the present day are, educationally speaking, of quite as high a status as the higher division clerks, who entered the Service some years ago, and who are now at the top of the tree, and are doing the best work and giving every satisfaction. I maintain that the real gauge of a man's fitness is his capacity to do the work. I say that if a man has been found to do efficient work for five or six years, it is simply nonsense to say that because he may fail at any examination to get as many marks as some other person in an examination held some time before, that, therefore, he must be kept at a maximum of £200 a-year, although doing the same work, and doing it quite as efficiently, as a man who is paid £400 or £600, but who has succeeded in getting a few more marks. To carry the principle or the fetish of the examination to that extent is to do a substantial injustice for the sake of a mere phrase or effect.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): I would throw out a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by which he would find it easy to get rid of the difficulties of the present situation, and it is that he should establish a system under which, in the future, persons entering the Civil Service should be informed that they should not look forward to pensions. Wages should be paid at the market price, as in connection with mercantile concerns. The whole difficulty at present arises from the question of the pension which Civil servants should be allowed when they retire. That might have been a problem difficult of solution in the last century; but now, when there are such ample means for persons to insure their lives, or buy annuities in the Post Office Savings Bank, no such difficulty arises.

The CHAIRMAN: I must remind the hon. Baronet that the question of pensions is altogether outside this matter.

Mr. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): I desire to say a word or two about a matter which has already been mentioned and, in reference to which it seems to me that the answer of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) is most unsatisfactory. I allude to the payment of Parliamentary counsel who draft Government Bills. The item is a very large one. There is one of these Parliamentary Counsel who receives £3,000, and he is assisted by another who receives £2,000. I must ask the Committee to think what that means for a moment. Those sums represent very large salaries. They involve the employment of two counsel, who, of course, are counsel of eminence; but we know pretty well what the year's drafting for the Government must be. Anyone who knows anything about drafting must be aware that the number of Bills these two gentlemen could draw up in the course of a year is something tremendous. Of course, they are not engaged for the whole year in drafting; but even if they are only engaged for a reasonable period, the number of Bills they could get out would, I say, be tremendous. When I come to look at the Bills that are produced by the Treasury and the Government, I entirely fail to see how these Government draftsmen can have occupied their time. I would remind the Committee of this that very often Bills which come before us are reproduced year after year, and involve no labour, and certainly ought to involve no extra Parliamentary grant. Take, for instance, the Bill regulating railway and canal traffic. That Bill has been introduced I do not know how often. I dare say that measure, in its inception and original drafting, occupied some time; probably it was one of those Bills which required extra assistance; but such Bills as this cannot be said to have necessitated this call for over £2,000 in excess of the amount paid for the Parliamentary draftsmen. When you have a Bill of that kind to bring forward within a very short space of time in order to save the credit of the Government, probably it is necessary to call in extra assistance and to pay for it somewhat recklessly. It is necessary at times, no doubt, to proceed regardless of expense. I know that sort of hurry and pressure exists; but the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill has been re-introduced this year into the House of Lords in almost the same shape as it was drawn in a previous year. I should very much like to know what the Bills are for which the charge contained in this Estimate is made. We have had no information from the Secretary to the Treasury upon the point. I hold that the payment of these large salaries to these two permanent draftsmen ought to be sufficient to meet the ordinary requirements of Government Bills. I presume that at the time these gentlemen were appointed it was contemplated that the sum would be sufficient, and I am certain that if they properly looked after their work it would be found sufficient, and there would be no necessity to call in extra assistance. Looking at the extraordinary lethargy the Government have shown in bringing forward Bills latterly, I should like to have some explanation of the extraordinary burst of energy which seems now to have come upon them to necessitate this large extra expenditure in the preparation of Bills. The whole matter certainly requires some explanation. I want to know, first, as to what the Government have done within the first few months of this year. The First Lord of the Treasury, when asked about the Bills which have been promised, says that he has every hope and belief that consistently with public business these Bills will be produced; but I have much doubt whether the measures will ever be prepared. You have the Local Government Bill, which is to be the great crowning evidence of the credit of the Government. Has that Bill been prepared?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): Certainly.

Mr. ANDERSON: Has the Bill relating to the Secretary for Scotland been prepared?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: Yes.

Mr. ANDERSON: May I ask if the Scotch Bills are included in this Vote? I should like to hear what other Bills have been prepared. Perphaps we shall hear that. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer looks excessively good-humoured about it, but I want to know what Bills it is proposed to introduce in the future. Probably in incurring this large expense the Government are laying plans for startling us with a large amount of legislation. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite seem to think this a laughing matter. They would spend the money of the country regardless of the opinion of the public; but to my mind this is an important matter, and one which ought to be carefully examined. It seems to me that it is our duty to consider whether this expenditure is absolutely necessary. Knowing what I do of Parliamentary drafting, I am at a loss to account for this heavy expenditure, and unless a satisfactory explanation is given of this item, I shall move to reduce the Vote for the purpose of taking a Division upon it.

MR. GOSCHEN: What the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down appears to be more certain about than anything else is his precise knowledge as to the Bills which the Government have had drawn up. He challenged us with regard to certain Bills, expressing great scepticism, although it was stated most distinctly that those measures had been prepared. The hon. and learned Gentleman says that he has had great experience of Parliamentary drafting——

MR. ANDERSON: No; some experience.

MR. GOSCHEN: Well, the hon. and learned Member has had some experience of Parliamentary drafting, and I dare say he knows that the fees for that drafting are very high; but he makes a great mistake if he does not give the Treasury credit for being just as keen as he is himself to keep down that expenditure. Indeed, I am not sure that if the hon. and learned Member were called in as arbitrator when these fees are to be paid, he would not be found on the side of the Legal Profession rather than on the side of the Treasury. I can assure the hon. and learned Member that in this matter, as well as in most matters, the Treasury are considered to be the greatest possible "screws," and are falling into disrepute almost with every class because they are thought to look too carefully, if not too shabbily, to every item of expense. If the hon. and learned Gentleman knows what Parliamentary drafting is, as he says he does, he will know that to prepare a Local Government Bill, for instance, on a large scale is a task of great importance and very considerable magnitude. The hon. and learned Gentleman spoke only of Bills introduced into this House; but my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) reminded the Committee that the Parliamentary draftsmen employed by the Government have to examine a large number of measures. The hon. and learned Member seems to have forgotten the Coal Mines Regulation Bill, the Merchandize Marks Bill, the Local Loans Bill, the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill, the Tithe Rent Charge Bill, and the Employers' Liability Bill. I cannot enumerate all the Bills which have been introduced and dealt with by the draftsmen; but the hon. and learned Gentleman must know that in this list there must be a great many Bills which escaped his memory when he was speaking. I am bound to admit that there may be some Departments where the work is scarcely sufficient for all those who are employed in them; but the Parliamentary draftsmen have an extremely arduous task, and I hope hon. Gentlemen opposite will be good enough to remember that with regard to the assistance provided, Parliamentary drafting is very heavy at particular times, when two men are not sufficient to deal with all the Bills that are going on. The two Bills about which the hon. and learned Member inquired are prepared and are ready to be brought in, and a great many others besides. A large number of Bills with which the House is acquainted have been prepared, and there are others in process of being drafted. There are a great many legislative proposals with which the Government are bound to be prepared; and though I regret that it is necessary to pay so highly for the services of legal gentlemen, it must be remembered that first-class legal gentlemen in every Department receive considerable remuneration. Taking the standing of those employed, their experience and their services, it is not considered that they receive greater or as great remuneration as men of equal rank in the Profession who are engaged in private practice. I hope that, after this explanation, the hon. and learned Gentleman will see that there has been more work done than, from the hasty judgment he was able to form, he imagined. I trust he will not think it necessary to move the reduction of the Vote.

Mr. HALDANE (Haddington): I must say I think the hon. and learned Member for Elgin and Nairn (Mr. Anderson) has done valuable service in calling attention to this question of Parliamentary drafting. I speak upon this subject not with any great experience of Parliamentary drafting, but with much experience of having spent hours and days in endeavouring to find out what it is that the Parliamentary draftsmen mean. The Parliamentary draftsmen employed by the Government are, as most of us know, gentlemen of great eminence and ability; but to draw a Bill properly is a matter which can only be successfully accomplished by a man who is thoroughly familiar with the subject he is trying to deal with. Now the Parliamentary draftsmen who are employed by the Treasury receive high salaries. The Treasury do not invariably pay high fees to all classes of individuals they employ; but to many of their permanent officials they pay very extravagant fees. Well, these gentlemen so paid are called on, at a moment's notice, to draft Bills upon subjects with regard to which they know absolutely nothing. For instance, there is a Bill dealing with real property and land transfer, which has been introduced into the House of Lords, and which is likely to be presented to this House before long. This is a Bill dealing with an extremely technical subject, and is a measure which should only be drawn up by persons who understand all the details of the subject. A conveyancer of eminence and of considerable practice should have been employed to deal with such a matter. The subject is not now handled for the first time, for Lord Cairns dealt with it in 1881 and 1882, his Bills being drawn up by conveyancers—by experts—who were especially qualified, and the result is that we have had on the Statute Book most useful pieces of legislation upon this subject. These experts were paid upon a very small and moderate scale—upon a scale much more modest than that upon which the permanent counsel are paid. They were paid to accomplish a work which they were especially qualified to accomplish, and they carried out their work in an entirely satisfactory manner. That I hold to be the proper method of dealing with the preparation of Bills, and the result of that method compares very favourably with the preparation of Bills by the permanent draftsmen. The permanent draftsmen are every now and then called upon to deal with subjects at a moment's notice; they draft their Bills mechanically, and no sooner do these measures pass than they are enveloped in a cloud of Amendments which have to be passed. Look at the Amendments introduced into the Land Transfer Bill; look at the Amendments introduced into the Crimes Bill; look at the work which has been entailed simply because draftsmen, notwithstanding that they are men of great ability, are called on hurriedly to deal with subjects of which they know nothing. I hold that it would be of great convenience to the country, and that it would conduce to great saving of both time and money, if the Treasury would act on the principle of employing experts to draft Bills on those subjects with which they are familiar. I should like to see that system introduced. I am glad my hon. and learned Friend has called attention to this subject, because I think the Government would do well to consider whether it is really advisable to continue the system of employing so large a staff of permanent draftsmen instead of a number of experts.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I have no doubt that the Parliamentary draftsmen will have plenty to do while Her Majesty's present Advisers remain in Office, because there is no Bill of theirs that does not undergo innumerable changes before passing into law. I cannot understand, however, why the Government should spend this large sum on permanent draftsmen, and at the same time be compelled to employ outside assistance, paying counsel £1,000 or £1,200 for their services. I think the Government would do well to adopt the course recommended by my hon. and learned Friend below me (Mr. Haldane), that is, to pay a small salary to a permanent official, giving the remainder of the work to experts. As it is, we have a mixture of the two systems—a mixture which contains all the evils of one system and the other; £2,500, I must say, is an extremely good salary, even for a member of the Legal Profession. Why, Sir, we must remember that a Tory legal Member was only a few days ago willing to resign his seat and his Parliamentary career for a salary of £1,200 a-year; but here we have Parliamentary counsel enjoying very large incomes who have the honour to be assisted by gentlemen drawing £1,200 a-year. Since the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has come into Office I have not heard him say a word in favour of reducing public expenditure by one penny. It seems to me that the right hon. Gentleman forgot his economy as well as his Liberalism when he took Office.

MR. ANDERSON: With regard to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply to my remarks, I would remind him that I did not deny that the Government had prepared the Bills which they claimed to have prepared. The salaries of the permanent draftsmen are large, and I think I was right in protesting against extra assistance being brought in because these permanent officials did not do their work. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke of certain Bills as though counsel prepared them, but what are the Ministers doing? I should have thought that the chief work of a Minister was to prepare Bills, and that the work of Parliamentary counsel was merely to put these Bills into legal language. I do not wish to occupy the time of the Committee unnecessarily, but I certainly think that this is a matter to which attention should be called, and that I have done no more than is necessary is calling attention to the subject.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): All lawyers, without exception, at this moment get for their work about four times more than it is worth, and Parliamentary draftsmen are no exception to that rule. I do not wish to press this matter any further. I have risen for the purpose of proposing an Amendment, and of moving the reduction of this Vote. There is an Amendment in my name to reduce the Vote by a sum of £6,000, being a reduction of the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury by £3,000, and a reduction of the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer by a similar amount. I feel that I am dealing with very eminent Gentlemen—Gentlemen so eminent, indeed, that it would be almost uncourteous on my part to put them together in one Amendment. Each ought to have his own Amendment; and I will, therefore, conclude the few remarks I have to offer on the subject by moving the reduction of the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury by the sum of £3,000.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Where is he?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Now, it is really a most important thing, seeing that we are getting more democratic every day, that these political salaries should be revised. They are a relic of an aristocratic age. A good many years ago, everybody knows that the nobility of this country were fighting and quarrelling in order to get Ministerial posts, and those of them who were successful thought that because they were Ministers, they ought to live in exceptional splendour, and save a considerable amount for their children. In modern times, this idea of the right of a Minister, not only to have a large amount to spend, but to accumulate a large amount for his children, is dying out; and I have often seen in abridged histories that we are called upon to thank Providence that our Ministers are so modest in their demands, because Pitt owed £40,000 when he died, although he had enjoyed £10,000 a-year for over 20 years. There is no country in the world where Ministers are so highly paid as in this country. In Germany, for instance, a Minister has about £1,800 per annum. Prince Bismarck, when Minister for Foreign Affairs in Germany, received £2,000 per annum. In the United States the Minister receives £1,200; in France, 60,000 francs, or £2,060, and this is very much less than the salaries enjoyed by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also many other Secretaries of State. It may be said that in many foreign capitals living is much cheaper than in London. That argument might have held good some years ago, but I doubt whether it could be used with propriety in the present day. Living is certainly dearer in Washington; it is dearer in Paris; and I should say it is just as expensive, or even more expensive, in Berlin. In fact, I do not believe that there is much difference between the necessary expenditure of a person in this country and in any of the great Capitals of Europe. The most remarkable thing which we find in connection with this matter is that in this country there is a distinction drawn between the Ministers themselves. We have some who get £5,000 a-year, and some who get £2,000 a-year with just as good merit. Everybody knows that there is no distinction in the men, and that it is a matter of haphazard who gets the £2,000 and who gets the £5,000. If we can get the article for £2,000, I cannot see why, in the name of common sense, we should pay £5,000 for it. I would also point out that this difference between the salaries of different Ministers creates a certain amount of jealousy amongst themselves. When a new Ministry is formed—I hardly know what takes place in those lofty regions —but I should imagine that when a new Ministry is formed, there are Gentlemen who are exceedingly anxious to get these places, with the £5,000 a-year salary attached to them. A Gentleman may have been for some years President of the Local Government Board, or President of the Board of Trade, and he may have a familiar acquaintance with questions of commerce and of local government; but, in spite of his exceptional knowledge and experience of either of those subjects, he may say—"I do not care for the Local Government Board or the Board of Trade—I should like to have £5,000 a-year;" and he may be pitched into the Colonial Office, or some such place, of the duties in connection with which he knows nothing. I think the Committee will remember a case of that kind occurring not very long ago—a case of a gentleman being sent to the Colonial Office in that way, not because he knows anything about the Colonies, but because he says—"My means are such that I really must have a place of £5,000 a-year in order to make the two ends meet." Now, I think the salaries of all Ministers, with the exception, perhaps, of those of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, should be the same; and I, therefore, move the reduction of the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury by the sum of £3,000 per annum. Perhaps hon. Gentlemen think that this salary is all the Ministers get. Not a bit of it. When a Minister has been, I think it is five years in Office, he can come forward and say that his means do not allow him to live in a style becoming his position, and he then claims and receives £2,000 or £1,500 per annum for the rest of his life. [*Cries of* "Name, name!"] Well, I do not propose to mention names; but I can assure hon. Gentlemen opposite that I am not in this matter bringing any special Party charge. It will be remembered that I moved the same reduction in the salary of a Gentleman for whom I have the highest political respect—namely, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt). I can assure hon. Gentlemen that even if a Liberal Ministry were in, I should bring forward my Amendment, with, if possible, an additional amount of pleasure, for one always likes to make things comfortable for one's friends. Let us see what is the additional expense to which a person is put owing to the fact of his being in an official position. A Gentleman is appointed a Minister. He has a house to cover him beforehand, and a certain income, and lives in a certain way; well, why should he be called upon to live in a different style after his appointment? The time has gone by when we judged a man by the size of the house in which he lives, the carriages he keeps, or the number of footmen he employs. Neither do we judge people by the number of dinners they give, or the number of persons they invite per annum. It may be said that Ministers have dinners to give, and I do not want to make this a personal matter; but I would ask hon. Gentlemen to go over this matter in their own minds, and ask themselves how many more guests will a man ask to dinner in the course of a year because he is a Minister than he would ask if he were not. Say, he would ask 500 more, and say that they would cost him £2 a-head, which is a very handsome figure, he would then only spend £1,000; and I doubt very much, if you take the average number of persons invited to dinner by Ministers beyond those who would be invited under ordinary circumstances whether they would amount to anything like 500, or that the cost would be anything like so high as £2 per head. Then there are the entertainments—those crushes of the rag-tag-and-bobtail, which are called official entertainments. The idea of these entertainments is a purely Party notion. You have a certain number of the aristocracy at those gatherings, and you invite persons to them whom you wish to impress, and whom you think amenable to reason. I consider that those parties are no more nor less than a species of bribery. I believe that in voting this money on the plea that Ministers have to give parties, you are merely assisting Ministers to bribe their followers to vote for them. I will state what occurred to myself in this matter. The Committee will remember that I voted with the Government in the interests of my hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Bradlaugh), and that before my hon. Friend took his seat we had a great many Divisions. Well, on one occasion I was standing in the Lobby when a Gentleman, a well known Radical, came up to me and said—"I am sorry to say that my conscience will not allow me to vote in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh." "Well," I said, "the Division is to be in five minutes, and I have no time to discuss you and your conscience—what do you want? We want votes very badly now, and I do not know why you should not be a knight as well as other people." I said, "Do you want a knightship?" He replied, "You are entirely mistaken in the person you are speaking to." Upon that I rejoined, "Do you go to parties? Were you at So-and-so's Ministerial party the other day?" "No," said he, "I myself and my family have been very much surprised that we have been left out." I answered at once, "Why did you not tell me? Of course, you ought to have gone, you shall go in future, you shall go to all the parties." About five minutes afterwards I took him with me, family, conscience, bag and baggage, into the Lobby to vote for my hon. Colleague. These people, you know, are anxious to see their names in the *Morning Post* as attending these Ministerial entertainments. They like to ask each other—"Do you know Lord So-and-so?" and to be able to reply—"Oh, no; I do not know him very well; but I have met him in society in such-and-such a place." I must say I object entirely to voting money in order to enable Ministers to give those most corrupting parties. We may be told that Ministers are men so exceedingly eminent, that they are such superior persons, that we cannot pay them too much. Well, I admit that in the Cabinet there are generally one or two men who may be termed eminent. But who is the ordinary Minister after all? He is a very common third-rate sort of person, who may fill a place in the City, but could hardly be called a statesman. He is, perhaps, a good administrator—he does not get into mischief in this House, and performs his duty, which may be somewhat subordinate, requiring no vast amount of intelligence, to the satisfaction of the House. Most unquestionably, however, for £2,000 a-year we have had good Ministers, and that is why I think that £2,000 is sufficient. I believe high salaries themselves are demoralizing. I believe their tendency is to induce all sorts of gentlemen to do all sorts of things to get into the Government, and to do all sorts of things to remain there when once in. I think we ought to take away this temptation from these gentlemen. Now, there are special reasons why the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury should be reduced—and I speak with the greatest respect for the present occupant of that post. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] I dare say hon. Gentlemen opposite do not like this sort of thing. They like to talk about economy in general, but when it is brought home to them they cry out "Divide!" with the desire of seeing the clôture applied to the Estimates. I can assure hon. Gentlemen that it will not conduce to work being done quickly to raise these silly, foolish, and idle cries. I say that I speak with great respect of the First Lord of the Treasury; but as I have said, the Committee must take into consideration whether there are any special reasons why the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury should be reduced to £2,000 per annum. The First Lord of the Treasury is Leader of the House, and has nothing to do except as Leader of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), I think it was, this Session or last Session, speaking of Lord Salisbury accumulating two Offices, said that the First Lord of the Treasury could do all his work as First Lord of the Treasury in three days; consequently, we have the fact that the present Leader of the House, though it is said he is an able administrator, as a matter of fact that has nothing to administer, and yet receives £5,000 per annum for it. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Well, does he not? The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury will presently have an opportunity of explaining what his Chief does. All I can say is, that I take the testimony of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. I see the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) in his place. He is a great advocate of economy, and I should like to know if he is prepared to say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was in the wrong when he said that all the administrative duties of the First Lord of the Treasury would not occupy more than three days per annum. It might be argued that the right hon. Gentleman the present First Lord of the Treasury receives his salary of £5,000 per annum as Leader of the House. Well, this has been the case before—generally the First Lord of the Treasury is Prime Minister. Of course, the Prime Minister has an immense amount of work to do. But we have had a case before when the Leader of the House has not been Prime Minister—I refer to the case of Lord John Russell. Lord John Russell performed the duties of Leader of the House for seven months without any salary at all, and then he felt that he ought not to create an Office—for that is practically what it is—of the First Lord of the Treasury at £5,000 per annum, and he became President of the Council, at a salary of £2,000 a-year. I therefore point to that precedent to show the Committee that I am not putting before it anything new when I assert that the First Lord of the Treasury, acting as Leader of the House, ought not to receive £5,000 per annum. But there are other reasons why the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury should not receive £5,000 per annum. I have heard his Departmental speeches, which have been characterized by great ability, at the same time the right hon. Gentleman does not follow the example of former Leaders of this House. It seems to me that he is only got one speech, for he is perpetually telling us this that and the other cannot be done owing to the state of Public Business, or else he gets up and in cabalistic words says—"I beg to move that the Question be now put." That does not require any great intellectual power, and I am sorry that a man of his ability and intellect should be doomed to fulfil such functions; but, at the same time, they are functions he does fulfil, and we should look at it in that light and pay him accordingly. I say that such a mode of leading the House might be performed equally well by a postman who receives 16*s.* a-week with a possible rise to 25*s.* I am not saying the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury could not do better; but I am speaking of what he does in this House, and I say, if Lord Russell was satisfied to lead the House for seven months for nothing, and then considered himself adequately remunerated by taking an Office at £2,000 per annum instead of £5,000 per annum, surely for the perfunctory way in which the right hon. Gentleman the present First Lord leads the House I am not going too far when I suggest that his salary should be reduced by £3,000 per annum. There is one thing which I must call upon the House to consider. We, or a great many of us are in an economical vein; we are frequently complaining of the high salaries elsewhere; we complained of the salary received by the Usher of the Black Rod, as out of all proportion to the salaries received for the performance of similar duties in other countries; but how can the House of Commons legitimately complain when it pays Members of its own body who happen to be Ministers far higher salaries than are paid for similar services in other countries. In my opinion we must begin at the head if we are to reduce matters to a democratic level—[*A laugh*]—the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Sandys) laughs. I can assure him that if ever he becomes First Lord of the Treasury I shall move even a greater reduction in his salary. This is an illustration of how difficult it is for people outside to understand we are sincere with regard to economy. I proposed to reduce the salary of the First Lord of the Treasury—it is not an excessive reduction—and how is that met? By jeers and laughter from Conservatives, that is the way it is met. When they are making vague theoretical speeches to their constituents they are very great about economy; but bring it home to them or their Leaders, and where is their economy then? I am only sorry the Front Opposition Bench is so empty, as I have no doubt right hon. Gentlemen would be delighted to vote with me on this subject if they were here; but, in their absence, I have no doubt I shall have a large number of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House who will vote with me, and for the sake of decency I hope hon. Gentlemen opposite will join with me in bringing home to the people of England the fact that we do not shrink from making reductions when they regard Members of this House, but are prepared to begin, not at the bottom, but at the top, and to commence a period of economy.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That Item A of the Salaries, &c., in regard to the Salary of the First Lord of the Treasury, be reduced by the sum of £3,000."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 60; Noes 156: Majority 96.—(Div. List, No. 304.) [10.35 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I hope the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) will be good enough to allow me to ask him a question. I see he is provided with two Private Secretaries; the Chancellor of the Exchequer is provided with one. I do not wish to call attention to the number of Secretaries, but to remind the right hon. Gentleman that some time ago he was asked about a letter written in his name to a branch habitation of the Primrose League by one of his Private Secretaries. That letter was an impudent and insolent production, and also an unscrupulous letter, and was utterly false. I do not know which Private Secretary was responsible for it, but the young gentleman, whoever he was, took upon himself to make the right hon. Gentleman responsible for accusations against Members of this House, and against the National League and other organizations in Ireland with which they are connected. I scarcely blame the young gentleman, because, before he wrote the letter, men of some political eminence gave political currency to the accusations contained in the letter. But since the speeches of these Gentlemen have been made, the Government have been faced on the floor of this House upon them, and when challenged to give an inquiry, they ran away from the inquiry. That having happened, the question is now in a different position. The Private Secretary responsible for the letter expressed sentiments that the National League in Ireland were directly responsible for crime and outrage. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] The Secretary was guilty of a falsehood, and anyone who endorses it is guilty of the same. I want to know whether these Private Secretaries are to be allowed, in the discharge of their functions, for which they are paid a salary by the people—there is one here, I see, with a salary of £300 per annum—to spread broadcast accusations of this kind against the representatives of the National League? When challenged with respect to the letter in question, the right hon. Gentleman told us he knew nothing about it; he said he was not responsible for it. [Sir ROBERT FOWLER: No.] I think the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London has quite enough to be responsible for on his own account; his own character is quite enough for him without undertaking the defence of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, who, I think, may be left to defend himself. The right hon. Gentleman on that occasion complained he was not aware of the contents of the letter; and, therefore, if he was not aware of the contents, he was not morally responsible for them, and he promised to make inquiries. I now respectfully ask him what inquiry he made, and what explanation the young gentleman gave of the extraordinary accusations he made in that letter, and what defence he is prepared to give? I hope he will tell the House which young gentleman wrote the letter. In order to open the discussion, I will move to take off £300. I shall never allow men in virtue of their office, men who occupy high offices, to give currency to falsehoods that are levelled against Members of this House. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] If I notice any hon. Gentleman opposite endorsing those falsehoods, we shall have a repetition of the scenes that are not pleasant.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is wholly unnecessary to put the Motion which the hon. Member has made. I think I informed the House, when the matter was brought before the House by a Question, that the letter to which the hon. Gentleman referred was written by one of my Private Secretaries, and that I undertook the full responsibility of it. No insult whatever was intended, and I regret that anyone should write anything that is deemed offensive when acting on my behalf. This gentleman was one of the unpaid Private Secretaries attached to the Office to assist me in the discharge of the important duties for which I am responsible, and, therefore, is in no way concerned in this Vote. I would only say that, in the discharge of my duties, I desire to avoid as much as possible touching the susceptibilities of, or offending, any hon. Gentleman. I at all times seek to avoid this; and if by any accident an expression is contained in a letter written by my direction, or for which I am responsible, I should be exceedingly sorry that it should offend. But, in this particular case, no person who is paid by the Vote of this House has written any such letter, or, I believe, offended in the slightest degree against hon. Gentlemen.

Sir JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield): Is the young gentleman who wrote the letter still attached to the Staff of the First Lord of the Treasury?

[No reply.]

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I wish to ask a question of the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to a letter of some considerable importance which was written last year in reference to the Woods and Forests. The gentleman who is concerned is Crown Receiver to the Woods and Forests; but I need not mention his name. This gentleman receives the rents from the Crown farms. He receives a salary something like double that received by the Prime Minister himself, and when we come to the Vote for the Woods and Forests I shall move that it be reduced. But the point I wish to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to is this. These Crown moneys arising from the Crown farms were paid into his private account for many years, though he received a large sum of money for properly attending to the matter. The Auditor General, in his Report, drew attention to what he considered this most improper conduct, by which the attention of the Treasury was drawn to the matter. Considerable correspondence took place, and the reply of this gentleman to the observations made by the Auditor General was as follows:—

> "My banking account as Receiver is kept with the banking account of my firm. I have not and never had any separate account, and cannot, therefore, produce the bank-book in question."

Therefore, though the Auditor General drew attention to the action of this gentleman, and called upon him to produce his bank-book, in order that the audit made by the Auditor General should be properly made, he declined to produce the bank-book, and has declined to make any alteration in the system in which he kept his accounts. This took place last year after a very long discussion lasting over three hours.

The CHAIRMAN: I do not see how the question is connected with this Vote.

Mr. MOLLOY: I am coming to the point; but it was necessary to make this explanation in order to make it intelligible to the House. The point of my objection is that the Treasury permitted Crown moneys to be used in this way, and, up to last year, had not taken any step in the matter. In reply to the complaint I made last year, the Treasury admitted the very improper way in which the matter had been previously conducted, and promised to examine into the matter. I, therefore, want to ascertain whether this improper system of keeping accounts, which was allowed to go on last year—whether since last year the Treasury have made such arrangements that these moneys under the control of the Treasury and audited by the Auditor General shall be properly accounted for in the future?

The CHAIRMAN: Any Vote connected with the Treasury could be subject to this line of discussion; and I must rule that as this is a matter connected with the Woods and Forests, it must be raised when that Vote is before the House.

Mr. MOLLOY: The correspondence took place with the Treasury, and it is in reference to the correspondence that I ask the question.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.): The hon. Gentleman is quite right; I did promise to look into the matter, and I have done so.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I have now to move the reduction of the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the sum of £3,000, and that would reduce his salary to £2,000 per annum, which I say is sufficient and not an excessive amount for any Minister. I feel it my duty to make this Motion, because, otherwise, the right hon.

Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury would think my last Motion was a personal attack upon himself. I believe I am right in saying that next to the First Lord of the Treasury the Chancellor of the Exchequer has the easiest post. [SIR ROBERT FOWLER: Oh, oh!] Yes; I have it on good authority. Though the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London says "Oh, oh!" he has not yet been Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have it from the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer that it is the easiest of the Offices in the Government, excepting that of the First Lord of the Treasury. All he has to do is to look over a quantity of accounts, form in his own mind a scheme of Budget, and bring it into the House. That occupies him some six days, and, under these circumstances, I see no reason why he should have this excessive salary. I have already stated the general principles on which I am going—that we ought to reduce all these salaries that are voted to Gentlemen who occupy prominent positions if we are really in earnest in regard to economy. I see that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is on that Bench. He is certainly one of the ablest speakers in the House, and I should like to know if he would have the kindness to explain why any Minister in this country should receive more than any Minister in any other country for doing precisely the same service—in France, Germany, Austria, and the United States; why our Minister of Finance should be paid more than the Minister of Finance in any of these countries; and why the right hon. Gentleman, who does less work than either the President of the Board of Trade or the President of the Local Government Board, who comes down here for a couple of hours, as do these two other Gentlemen, and who does not speak more frequently than either of these Gentlemen, should receive £5,000 per annum, while they only receive £2,000 per annum? Does the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer consider he is worth two of his Colleagues? He does, I suppose. He defends his salary. I shall be curious to know on what ground. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] I can assure the hon. Gentleman who cries "Divide!" that he is making a great mistake if he thinks to shorten debate by that silly, assinine cry. I do not assume for myself a very high position, but it is an insult to the understanding of a jackass to answer by such tomfoolery. [*Laughter, and cries of* "Order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must beg the hon. Gentleman to restrain himself.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I will make an effort, and I hope a successful one, to restrain my emotions, and now beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £3,000 in regard to the salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That Item A of the Salaries, &c. in regard to the Salary of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, be reduced by the sum of £3,000."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 56; Noes 174: Majority 118.—(Div. List, No. 305.) [11.5 P.M.]

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £55,947, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department and Subordinate Offices."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews), first, a question with regard to Inspectors of Factories, and, secondly, the inspection of mines. Some time ago there was a Coroner's inquest held in London upon the body of a man whose death was caused by lead poisoning; and from the evidence it appeared that though the factory was one in which blue lead was converted into white lead, and the *employés* were under Home Office regulations, and should have been provided with overalls or clothes fitted to preserve their usual garments from impregnation by lead-dust, the most dangerous form in which lead could be brought into proximity with the human system, yet in this factory, where white paint was made, where white lead was used in the minute form, and where the danger of poisoning was great, the regulations did not prescribe any such protection for the workers, neither as to their clothes, or with regard to washing or the time for necessary ablution before meals were taken. Much white lead-dust was distributed through the atmosphere, and it was almost impossible for the men to escape the danger of poisoning; consequently, not only had there been many deaths, but a great deal of suffering from blood poisoning and pains in the joints and bones arising from this cause. Representations were made as to the necessity of alterations in the rules, and Her Majesty's Inspector promised to have this brought specially before the notice of the Home Office. I desire to ask whether this has been done? Have any regulations been drawn up in respect to the use of white lead in factories, and are they yet in force? The next point upon which I desire information is this. Some months ago inquiry was made of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary whether the Montine Colliery, in the Leinster coal fields, had been left uninspected by the Government Inspector for 17 months? He admitted this was so, but he said the inspection of these mines was as regularly carried out as the inspection in any other district of the United Kingdom. If that is so, it is an admitted fact that many mines in Great Britain and Ireland are not visited by Her Majesty's Inspector for periods of a year and five months. Last autumn the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary admitted, in reply to a Question from these Benches, that in his own opinion the staff of Inspectors of Mines was altogether inadequate, considering the importance and burden of the duties to be discharged, and, personally, he was in favour of increasing the staff of Inspectors; but there was the difficulty from the quarter of the Treasury in the objection to the higher charge necessitated by an increase in the staff. Now, I desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he proposes to go through the whole of the financial year with a staff of Inspectors of Mines no stronger than is provided for in these Estimates, which, according to his own admission, is altogether inadequate for the discharge of the duties incumbent on these officials?

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): This Vote contains an item for the salaries and expenses of 56 Inspectors of Factories and Workshops, and I wish to ask how many of these are to be found in Ireland and how many in Belfast? Some time ago I asked the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) as to whether a vacancy had arisen in the office of Inspector in Ireland, and he replied there was no such vacancy. There appears, however, to be a strong local idea that such a vacancy has arisen. Perhaps he will clear up this matter on this occasion, and tell how many Inspectors are appointed for duty in Belfast. I have had numerous letters from resident artizans expressing a strong sense of the unsatisfactory nature of the inspection carried on in the Belfast industries, and also a general desire that competent working men should fill the position of Inspectors. It would be interesting to know, of those who out of the 56 are in Ireland, how many are even practically acquainted with the details of the work they are called upon to inspect. There is a large and growing feeling that from the working men Inspectors should be drawn. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman can give me the information for which I have asked?

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I have to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) on a subject to which I have directed attention once or twice, and to which I intend to direct attention as often as possible while I have a seat in this House. I take it that these Inspectors of Mines and Factories are appointed to take care of the welfare of the working people; and I think the Committee will agree that an Inspector cannot properly discharge his duty if he does not understand the language of the people. Now, it has been the tradition of the Home Office hitherto—I do not blame the right hon. Gentleman the present Home Secretary more than his Predecessor, or distinguish between Liberal and Conservative Governments—to ignore the question of language in the appointment of Inspectors for collieries, quarries, mines, and factories. These are appointed on the assumption that the Welsh language is dying out. Now, whether the language will die out or not, or whether it is well that it should, is another subject; but the point to be realized by the Home Office is this—that Welsh does not only now hold the field as the language of the people, but, except perhaps in some of the agricultural districts, the use of it is increasing. In the colliery districts and in the industrial centres of North Wales it is more spoken than ever. Now, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he will give a pledge that, so far as in him lies, he will make knowledge of Welsh a qualification for appointments to the Inspectorships of mines, quarries, and, if possible, of factories, in Wales and Monmouth? I can tell him that he is quite mistaken if he supposes this is unnecessary because the Welsh language is dying out. He and many of his successors will be gathered to their fathers before Welsh ceases to be the language of the Welsh people. Will he give a pledge that, so far as he possibly can, he will appoint to these posts men who understand the language of the workers?

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth): I would refer for an instant to the last item in the Vote—the salary and expenses of the Inspector under the Habitual Drunkards' Act. I do so not for the purpose of criticising the amount, which is moderate, but to ask whether the Report of the Inspector has been rendered this year, and what progress has been made in the interesting experiment commenced under this Act? I believe I am right in saying that it was a tentative and experimental measure, and that for the first two or three years after its passing no progress was made. Since then, however, I believe something has been done; and it would be interesting to know the result of this piece of novel legislation, whether experience has developed any improvement in the direction desired, or suggests any alteration in the Act.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I have some knowledge of the working of the system of factory inspection; and I know, as a matter of fact, that in the district where I reside, with 300 factories under his charge, it is impossible for the Inspector to make more than two or three visits in the year, for he has a circuit of 20 miles. The consequence is that the Act is not carried out, so far as inspection is concerned. To my certain knowledge not more than 10 per cent of the boys employed in factories are certified to be of the proper age. The Inspector has so much reportorial work to do at home that he has not sufficient time to visit the factory so frequently as he should. I think it would be an easy matter for the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, if he means the Act to be carried out, to appoint working men Assistant Inspectors, for so far as the employment of children is concerned the Act at present is a sham. When the Inspector visits a factory and finds a boy at work, and may doubt if he is of proper age, and asks how long he has been employed, the boy is taught to say he has only been there a fortnight. By the law employers are allowed to employ young boys for a fortnight in the country and a week in London, and so the Act is evaded on every side. This matter has been brought before the House several times, and under Governments of both Parties; but they do not see their way to the appointment of Under Inspectors. Then, I say, they might as well allow the Act to lapse, for, worked as it is at the present time, it is of no use whatever.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I trust the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary will take care to have definite instructions given in reference to breaches of the Truck Act. We should not have had the great difficulty of dealing with this by present legislation, if Inspectors had previously done their duty; if they had not taken upon themselves a dispensing power, allowing wealthy offenders to escape punishment.

MR. M'LAREN (Cheshire, Crewe): The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) will remember that last autumn this question of the appointment of Inspectors was raised. At that time the right hon. Gentleman gave a full and friendly answer to those who asked him to appoint working men to such posts. He said he had taken steps to appoint one working man Inspector, and whether he succeeded in that or not, he certainly stated that he was friendly to the appointment of working men, that is, so far as he could subject to the examination they would have to pass, and subject to the powers he possessed to make such appointments. I can assure him there is a very strong feeling indeed among working men of all trades in favour of such appointments, and all who are acquainted with the mining districts will be of opinion that it is necessary to have working men Inspectors if the work is to be adequately supervized. I do earnestly hope that the Home Office, whenever vacancies occur, and where it seems at all desirable and possible to have working men Inspectors, will select from among foremen and leading workmen of experience, men of first rate character, ability, and good education—and there will be no difficulty in finding such—in preference to gentlemen who only begin to understand the work after they are appointed. I am sure if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary signalized the passing of the new Mines Regulations Bill by the appointment of working men Inspectors he would do a most popular thing.

Mr. WINTERBOTHAM (Gloucester, Cirencester): I was surprised to hear the somewhat severe criticisms on inspection from the hon. Member for Ross (Dr. R. Macdonald). Speaking from an intimate knowledge of factory work in the West of England, I can say that the inspection is thorough and real, and I doubt if you could find a single child under age employed in the numerous cloth factories there. The work of inspection is carried out minutely. I have no doubt the hon. Member spoke of districts with which he is well acquainted and where the inspection is not so good; and I should like him to inform the Committee more specifically what part of the country it is where the Factory Acts are, as he states, such a sham. Before I sit down I wish to endorse what has been said by previous speakers, that there is a strong and natural desire that, as far as possible, Factory and Mine Inspectors should be chosen from the ranks of the workers and from those who understand the requirements of the workers——

Dr. R. MACDONALD: Let me explain that I did not, for a moment, say that Inspectors did not do their work; what I meant to say was, that it is a physical impossibility for them to do their work well, they having so much ground to cover, so many factories under their view. From what I know of Factory Inspectors, I must say they are most hard-working men. I do not find fault with the individuals; but with the system by which more work devolves upon the men than it is physically possible for them to carry out. The district I especially referred to was the East End of London.

Mr. THORBURN (Peebles and Selkirk): So far as my experience goes, I can say that a most effective inspection of factories is carried out by the present staff; and, so far as Scotland is concerned, I feel sure that a better and a more effective staff of officials does not exist in any part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I quite agree with my hon. Friend who has just spoken as to the inspection of the factories. The Chief Inspector of his district has also the charge of the whole of the South-East of Scotland. He has under his charge Edinburgh, with all its workshops—there are not many factories there—and he has the whole district of Galashiels, with its large factories. As far as my information goes, I can quite believe with my hon. Friend that the inspection of factories is complete; but there have been very grave complaints from year to year with regard to the workshops that the staff is not adequate for the inspection—that in a great city like Edinburgh, where there are not many manufactories, but a great many workshops, there are continual infractions of the Factory Acts. I believe, with my hon. Friend, that the Chief Inspector does his very best; but the staff is not adequate to the work, and there are believed to be continual infractions the Act. If the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary will only consider what it is to have one man having the charge of the whole of the South of Scotland—the Lothians, Berwickshire, the Galashiels district, as well as a large city like Edinburgh, together with Leith, with their innumerable workshops—he will see it is hardly within the power of one man to maintain complete supervision over the whole of that work.

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): More than one speaker has referred to the Inpectors of mines, particularly the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), and the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty (Dr. R. Macdonald); the hon. Member for Selkirk (Mr. Thorburn) and the hon. Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), who has just spoken, have referred to the Inspectors of factories and workshops, all giving advice of the same kind. With regard to the Inspectors of mines, some remarks of mine in an earlier period of the Session were quoted, in which I am supposed to express the same view as that now expressed by the hon. Member for East Donegal. I do not think the hon. Member quoted me quite accurately. If my memory serves me accurately, what I said was this—

> "If you inspect frequently or even occasionally, going into every factory and every workshop in the country, it is impossible for the existing staff of Inspectors to do it. If you expect the Inspectors to supervize the minute processes of manufacture and the conduct of these establishments, you would require not two or three times as many, but 10 times as many."

But I would ask hon. Gentlemen if we would gain much if we carried inspection to that point? It seems to me it is hopeless to think that inspection can ever be carried to the point of taking the place of the owner's eyes. What you ought to do, and what I agree, perhaps, is not sufficiently done under the present system, is to let the Inspector come, like an angel unawares, and come especially at moments when he is not expected, in order to detect shortcomings. I am afraid we cannot look for an expenditure which would be necessarily involved in enlarging the system of inspection, and which would be beyond the result attained. We cannot look for more than the present system of inspection. We cannot attempt to supersede supervision by the owner himself by constant supervision on the part of the Inspectors. So far as I am able to judge of them—of course, Inspectors, like other men, are not perfect—they do their duty fairly well. A little more of the unexpected, a little more of the surprise about their visits, I have often thought would be very desirable. There is great difficulty in catching those who infringe the law in workshops. All sorts of precautions are taken by those who infringe the law to make everything smooth at the time they expect the Inspector, and I am sorry to say that on the part of the workmen there is an inclination to assist in the infringement of the Act, instead of giving the Inspectors hints upon which they could act. I hope, with a little effort on the part of all those concerned, that even the existing number of Inspectors may bring about a more wholesome terror of the Inspector's visits. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) has asked me about the Inspectors of Factories and Workshops in Ireland. In Ireland, until quite lately, there have been three Inspectors. I regret very much that the number is so small, and, if I may say so, it arises from the fact that there are so few establishments in Ireland which require inspection under the Act. Belfast, Dublin, and Cork are the only places where Inspectors are wanted, and so slight is the work and so insufficient to occupy their whole time that one of these Inspectors has been recently withdrawn, and the Factory Inspector at Manchester now takes his place. Thus the answer I gave the other evening that there was no vacancy in Ireland was perfectly correct—Manchester filled the vacancy which occurred. Then the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) asks for the appointment of Welsh-speaking Inspectors of Mines. Well, I have endeavoured to do so. I have only had to deal with one vacancy in Wales, and I delayed the appointment, and cast about in all directions in order to find a man, speaking Welsh, who was also competent. I cannot remember his name at the moment; but the only appointment I think I made in Wales since I held Office was of a man who could speak Welsh, and I had that in view when making the appointment. I do not hope the Welsh language will die out; but I hope it will not be long before English, as a means of communication between Inspector and workmen, should be so general that the accomplishment of being able to speak Welsh will be less necessary than it is at present. I am asked to appoint working men as Inspectors. Again I am speaking from memory; but I think all the appointments of Factory Inspectors I have made have been of workmen. In my own view, it is more desirable to have working men to be Inspectors of Factories than Inspectors of Mines. I have hesitation in appointing a man to be an Inspector of Mines who has not scientific knowledge, because that is a very important thing in an Inspector of Mines, who has to supervise the engineering operations of mines, and give advice regarding large concerns, as to how they could best be managed with safety. However skilful, and however well qualified a workman may be in all the practical parts of mining, and in the supervision of the comfort of the men, you rarely meet a workman who has scientific attainments at his command. But as regards factories, a man who has gone through a course of labour in a factory is best qualified for factory inspection. With regard to the other fact which the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty pointed out—namely, that the age of boys was not properly certified, I must remind him that that is not the duty of the Inspector at all. It is the duty of the certifying surgeon.

DR. R. MACDONALD: What I meant to say was that these boys were used by the owners of factories and not certified, and if the Inspector came there and found boys not certified, of course he could cause action to be taken. If the Inspector does not go there the boys go on working, and they are not certified by a medical man to the Inspector to save expense.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth): I desire to add my testimony to that of the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty (Dr. R. Macdonald). I believe it arises from the fact that it is physically impossible for the Inspectors to do the work which they are expected to do. Great injury is going on in consequence of the evasion of the Act in this way in London.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid): I wish to endorse what has fallen from the hon. Member for Ross and Cromarty (Dr. R. Macdonald), and I also agree with what has fallen from the hon. and learned Member for the Cirencester Division of Gloucester (Mr. Winterbotham). I believe the factories in Scotland are as well inspected as they are in England; but the workshops are not. There is a distinction to be drawn between workshops and factories. I do not think the workshops are sufficiently inspected, and I may say the same with regard to mines. I do not consider the mines in Scotland are by any means sufficiently inspected, and that arises to a considerable extent from the inadequate number of Inspectors. You require a much large staff of Inspectors than you have now. Whatever the expense may be it is far better to have the thing done thoroughly. Inspectors' visits are like angel's visits, "few and far between." They can only be in one place at one time, and unless the staff is sufficient the work cannot be properly done. With regard to the question of scientific attainments on the part of the Inspectors, I think it is important that they should have scientific knowledge; but if you have regard to that alone, and appoint a man without practical knowledge, it is far worse than appointing a good practical man who knows his work without science. I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary will keep that matter in view, and let us have a more thoroughly adequate staff. Then I am convinced many of such accidents as have arisen, resulting in loss of life, and which have arisen from the defects which have been pointed out, will be in a great measure prevented.

MR. M'LAREN: With regard to the inspection of the workshops, especially in London, where women are employed, I think the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary expressed himself very favourably towards the appointment of female Inspectors. I would like to ask him if he has been able to do anything in that direction during the last year, or, if not, whether he sees his way to an alteration of the law by which there can be a number of female Inspectors appointed, or whether he will appoint them under the present law to workshops?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have made inquiries at the Home Office, and I find it is against my power to appoint female Inspectors. It is also pointed out to me that if you have female Inspectors, there will be a difficulty with regard to their covering large districts, and in many places the irregular character of the work would be ill-suited to female Inspectors. I will by no means lose sight of the subject.

MR. M'LAREN: Could it not be done in London?

MR. MATTHEWS: You might make a district in London.

MR. SEXTON: I asked the right hon. Gentleman three questions, and he has answered only one. I asked, in the first place, what proportion of these Inspectors were composed of working men? The right hon. Gentleman had expressed his intention of appointing working men, and I wish to see how far he has exercised it. He told me, very much to my surprise, that the three Irish Inspectorships had been brought down to two, and we find that one of the three has been appended to Manchester. We know that Ireland is a dependency of the British Crown; but to find it a dependency of Manchester is something new. What part of Ireland does the

Manchester Inspector deal with? Where are the two Irish Inspectors stationed? Is there one stationed at Belfast, and is he a working man? From communications made, I believe the factories and workshops in Belfast, of which there are hundreds, embracing a great variety of industries, and employing a great number of people, would take up the whole time of two Inspectors; and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary that there is great dissatisfaction in Belfast in regard to factory inspection. The visits of the Inspector are few and far between; but, perhaps, they might have some effect if they were skilfully timed.

MR. MATTHEWS: There is one Inspector resident at Belfast; there is one Inspector resident at Dublin; and there was one resident at Cork, but it was found he had not enough to do, and, therefore, the Cork district has now been annexed to Manchester. The hon. Member for West Belfast asks how many of the total number of Inspectors are working men. I cannot answer that question at present. A number of them were appointed before my time at the Home Office. I have only appointed, I think, three or four, since I have been in Office, and they have all been working men. I think that answers all the questions now that have been addressed to me.

MR. KIMBER: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my question.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to reply to his question. At present there are six Retreats in existence. This Act has been in existence since 1879, and has been continued from year to year. The last Report of the Inspector was made just 12 months ago, and it unluckily happens that the Report for the last year is only just expected. These establishments are licensed for 86 patients, but they actually have in them only 39 inmates. So far as one can judge, the working of the Act to the limited extent to which it has been adopted is satisfactory, and the Inspector speaks of it as such. It is true amendments in the law are demanded—first and foremost, that the law should be made permanent, and that is a matter which is now occupying the attention of the Government. It is not fair to expect the licensees to embark in an expenditure under an Act of Parliament continued from year to year. Another point of amendment desired is that the signature of two Justices should not be necessary for the admission of a person to a Retreat. That question is at present surrounded with some difficulty, and is engaging the attention of the Government. With regard to deputy-licensees, I dare say that some concession might be possible. There might be deputy licensees, subject to the same qualifications and appointment, with the consent of the public authority, which licensees themselves have to show. I think this will answer all the questions raised by the hon. Member. On the question of Factory Inspectorships, I may be allowed to remark that the accidents in respect of which fees have been paid show of late years a tendency to decrease. I think that is a fact which may be taken into consideration as bearing upon the energy shown by the existing staff of Inspectors.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary has had to answer so many questions that I am not surprised that some of mine have escaped his notice—namely, with regard to white lead and paint factories, and the regulations now in force for inspecting them. In regard to the latter point, I beg to say that I by no means misrepresented the answer which the right hon. Gentleman gave last autumn as to the number of Inspectors, for I have been looking over it within the last 48 hours. I remember it very well—I am sorry I have not it by me—and the expression he made use of was that in his own opinion the staff of Inspectors was inadequate for the onerous duties they had to perform, and he went on to say that, so far as he was personally concerned, he would be glad to see the number increased, but the difficulty was with the Treasury, on account of the increased expenditure. That is precisely what I complain of. If the people interested were Bishops or the daughters of well-to-do people, then there would be a great fuss made about anything which imperilled either their safety or their comfort; but the persons concerned here are the children of the poor, and therefore very little attention is paid to the claims put forth on their behalf. What is involved in the question of efficient inspection? Efficient inspection of places where hundreds and thousands of men are employed in dangerous avocations ought to go on all the year round, and with regard to the angel's visits, they are always timed after an accident has happened. The Coal Mines Inspectors of Scotland always knew where they had to go next, by inquiring where was the last explosion, or where was the last accident. Whoever heard of an Inspector going to one of these mines without an accident? They have not the time to do it. They have two Inspectors in Scotland, and I do not know how many hundreds of mines they have within their jurisdiction. It is physically impossible that they could inspect, even if they did nothing else. It is absolutely necessary, in order that the duties of inspection should be properly carried out, that the number of Inspectors should be materially increased. When you come to consider the lavish way in which this House is invited to vote hundreds of thousands of pounds for services which are of incomparably less importance than this, it does appear to me to be a very strange and unseemly proceeding that an official in the position of the Home Secretary should plead the opposition of the Treasury to a further expenditure of £20,000 or a few tens of thousands for the purpose of appointing men whose inspection might result in the saving of a very large number of lives annually. I would urge upon the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to pluck up a little courage. He is, after all, a Secretary of State. He may have a very humble opinion of himself, but he has the responsibilities of his Office upon him, and it is incumbent upon him to make strong representations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to afford him the means for the adequate discharge of the duties he has to look after. These Inspectors are not equal to their work, according to the admission of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary himself. It is his duty to take steps to strengthen their hands and to increase their number; and whatever may be the charge which it is necessary to ask this House to vote, I am perfectly certain the House would readily vote it for the sake of thus adding to the efficiency of our Public Service.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I would like to say a word in support of my hon. Friend's statement that Inspectors go to places after accidents happen. Two or three weeks ago I was down in one of the largest manufacturing districts of this country, and I took the opportunity of inspecting some of the workshops, and I cross-questioned some of the workmen employed in them. I went to one particular shop—one example will do as well as many—where there was a very elaborate system of machinery, and where accidents were of constant occurrence. I asked how it was that accidents took place so often, and I was told by the men that the real cause was in the hurry to get the work done. They were so pressed and the machinery was so complicated that there was almost certain to be an accident. I asked how it was that the Inspector did not see to this, and—I hope this will be a lesson for the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary—the answer was that this Inspector never comes except after an accident has happened. This was the evidence given to me by a most intelligent workman—I do not know whether he was a foreman or not—in charge of these men. I asked if the Inspector's attention was drawn to the dangerous part of the machinery. The workman said—"No; before the Inspector comes that portion of the machinery is removed." I asked why did none of the workmen complain. He said—"If a workman complained, he would not have much work in this place afterwards." This was evidence which I could not doubt. The man had no suspicion of the reason why I put these questions to him. He told me that before the Inspector's visit takes place this dangerous part of the machinery is taken away and hidden, and as soon as the Inspector has gone and the matter is closed that dangerous part of the machinery is put up again. As I said, I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary by that example—very seriously given to me—and which I have not the slightest reason to doubt, to look more carefully into this question of inspection, and do as my hon. Friend suggests. If it is necessary to spend more money, let it be spent, and appoint more Inspectors, not for political purposes as has been done in the past so often—appoint men who are able to detect this deception practised on the part of employers. The men dare not complain, because, if they did, they would not get employment in that particular shop and probably in any other shop where their conduct had been reported.

An hon. MEMBER: Where is it?

MR. MOLLOY: I do not think it is fair to say where these things occurred.

An hon. MEMBER: But cannot the hon. Member give some particulars?

MR. MOLLOY: I have already explained that I do not think it is necessary to give names in this House, and I do not think it is fair. If hon. Members will take my word for it, the district is one in which there is a large system of planing wood by machinery in operation. If the hon. Gentleman is anxious about the district, I have no objection to give it; but, as I have said, I do not think it is fair to ask for these particulars in full House.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): It may be quite true that there are portions of the country where more inspection is required; but however many Inspectors you may have, they will never be able to do their work efficiently unless they receive the co-operation of those for whose benefit they are appointed. I know that in some manufacturing districts there are means made use of for giving the Inspector a hint when something is going wrong; and I cannot help thinking that in this matter referred to by the hon. Member (Mr. Molloy) it might have been possible to bring so serious a breach of the law under the notice of the Inspector.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): The hon. Member (Mr. Molloy) is under a misapprehension as to portions of machinery being put out of the way, and all that sort of thing, because I can tell him what is the procedure in these cases. When an accident occurs the medical man, who looks after the district, goes and sees the machinery, examines the man and the nature of his wounds, takes the man's evidence, and satisfies himself that the machinery is as it was when the man was wounded. Then he sends in his Report to the Inspector of Factories, so that if the machinery was changed in any way the Inspector could not fail to be aware of it. That is the system, and so far as I know there is nowhere any departure from it. I must say that, in my experience, accidents are not always reported. I have sometimes found them out by the newspapers after the inquest was held, and I have gone to the works and said—"Did not you have such and such an accident the other day?" The reply has been—"Yes, there was; but we forgot to let you know about it." I have sometimes heard of accidents months afterwards, and they were never reported by the people at the works, and that, perhaps, will explain why in the Reports of the Inspectors the number of accidents are not so frequent as they were. The suggestion I have to make is that at those factories and workshops which are under the inpection of Inspectors of Factories there should be a book kept in which the Inspector should enter his name and the date of his inspection. It would then be a very simple matter to ascertain how many times a factory was inspected; and the Home Office would also know exactly what their Inspectors had done all the year through. I do not think that would be in any way derogatory to the Inspector, and would be a very reasonable and useful improvement of the existing state of things.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse): I should be glad if my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary would say in which manner these officials are appointed, and whether there is any principle upon which they are promoted. The chief complaint of hon. Gentlemen opposite seems to be that Inspectors are not appointed who thoroughly understand the works they have to inspect; but that gentlemen are selected who have never had any experience of their work before. We want to know for what reason these men are appointed, and before we pass from this subject I am anxious to know what steps are taken to see that they are capable of doing the work they are appointed to do. In the case of the Welshmen, I am very desirous that their Inspectors, should be men who understand the language of the people.

MR. MOLLOY: I am sorry the statement I have just made should not have the full force it deserves. Of course, when I speak of hiding away machinery I do not mean that a considerable piece of a machine was taken away and put in a back cupboard. I will tell the Committee how it is done. In the case I was speaking of, there is a guard to protect the man's hand when the machinery is in rapid motion. That guard is not used under ordinary circumstances, but after an accident when the report is made and the Inspector comes, this guard is put up. I hope the Home Secretary will believe that the statement I have made is really a correct and a very important one.

MR. R. G. C. MOWBRAY (Lancashire, Prestwich): I just wish to add my testimony to the fact that the provisions of the Factory Acts are evaded in many cases. In certain parts of Lancashire there is a considerable demand for a sensible increase in the number of Factory Inspectors; and I sincerely hope the Government will see their way to doing something in this direction.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The statement of the hon. Member for the Birr Division of Queen's County (Mr. Molloy) appears to show that if the Inspector had made ten times the number of visits he now makes, and the workmen had shown the same reluctance to give him information, the conspiracy to defeat the Inspector would have been just as successful. What I hope is, that there will be a stronger desire to give information, because if this assistance is withheld, you will never do any good even if you multiplied your Inspectors ever so much. In reply to my hon. Friend the Member for the Limehouse Division of the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Norris), I have to say that under the Factory Acts I have absolute power of appointing these Inspectors; and that after I have appointed them, then they go before the Civil Service Commissioners to pass a test examination, which qualifies them for receiving the appointment. If they cannot comply with that condition, they are not appointed. As for the appointments which have fallen vacant since I have been at the Home Office, I have had so many applicants—gentlemen of equal merit—that I have had the greatest possible difficulty in deciding. I have therefore selected five or six which appeared to me to be the best, and have sent them up for competitive examination. This is the system I shall follow in the future when I have any appointments to make. I am sorry to say that the task of selection is one of extraordinary difficulty.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.): I have to draw attention to what appears to be a mere question of account, but is really a matter which has cropped up so often in this House, that it ought to be noticed. Exactly parallel cases have occurred in the Army and Navy Estimates, and we have found, in the Committee upstairs, cases in which sums have been smuggled in under one Vote when they really belonged to another Vote; so that the cost of particular items has been kept down by smuggling the amounts into another Vote. I want to point out that this occurs here in Item No. 4. There are certain people well known in this country as Queen's Messengers, and everyone in this Committee would naturally look for them in the Foreign Office Vote. Well, so they are; there is a sum of £15,000 for them in that Vote. But there is this smuggling process going on here, for in addition to this £15,000 in the Foreign Office Vote, we have another £1,100 amongst the Home Office items. The Committee will see at the bottom of this page that there are five Messengers receiving £150 a-year each, which makes £750, and, in addition, there is £350 for travelling expenses for the Queen's Messengers, making a total of £1,100. I say that this is an attempt to hoodwink the Committee, and I would invite the Home Secretary to explain exactly how these Queen's Messengers are used, and how they are put down in the Home Office Vote. I can understand that their travelling expenses to Dover might possibly come in here; but still I say that they ought properly to be put in the Foreign Office Vote. That is the way all through these Estimates, and that is the way all these Estimates are run up. It is like a tailor who does not like to charge you £4 10*s*. or £4 15s. for a coat, and so he charges you £3 10*s*. for the coat, and 15*s*. for the lining of the sleeves, 10*s*. for the braiding of the pockets, and so on, and thus makes the price of the coat run up to £4 15*s*. or £5, whilst if he charged this sum straight off many people would decline to pay it. This process has been carried on to an extraordinary extent in the Army and Navy Estimates, and I consider that to lighten the Foreign Office Vote by putting such sums in the Home Office Vote is a great abuse of the forms of the House. When I drew the attention of an hon. Member near me to it he would not believe it, and he had to go through both the Votes to convince himself. And so it is with a good many hon. Members. We all know that the Queen's Messengers are employed to go abroad; but I believe there is a good deal of humbug about it, and that the £15,000 which appears in the Foreign Office Vote could very well be cut down to £3,000 or £4,000 a-year. When you have these charges in connection with the Home Office, however, I say it is an anachronism. The telegraph ought, in my opinion, to supersede the Queen's Messengers to a very great extent, and this is a matter which the Committee might very well look into. I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,100; but, of course, if the Home Secretary gives a proper explanation, I shall be happy to withdraw my Motion. At the present moment, however, I think the best way is to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,100.

MR. MATTHEWS: The hon. and gallant Member is, I think, under a misapprehension. The Queen's Messengers are frequently employed to carry documents and despatches to Scotland and other places. [Colonel NOLAN: Name the people who carry them.] I cannot give the hon. and gallant Member the names of the Queen's Messengers. There are five Messengers constantly employed in carrying despatches to Her Majesty at Windsor, Osborne, or Balmoral from Ministers; but I cannot give the names. There were originally six; but in 1871 their number was reduced to 5, and it was then arranged that they should receive £150 a-year to cover everything. When you consider how many things—reprieves of prisoners and innumerable documents to which Her Majesty's signature is required—that you have such things almost daily, it will be apparent that the money is required. I can assure the hon. and gallant Member that there is no intention to conceal any expenditure.

COLONEL NOLAN: In that case, perhaps, it would be as well to move the reduction of the salary of the Postmaster General when the proper time comes; but I do not intend to do that, because I think the Postmaster General is a necessary and hard-working official. I cannot understand Queen's Messengers being required when the Post Office can do the work as well. That is, in my belief, the whole fault of these Estimates. I am not afraid of new charges being put upon the Estimates; but what I am afraid of is keeping on the old charges, even if they are 200 or 300 years old. These Queen's Messengers ought to be superseded by Her Majesty's post. They are not more trustworthy than the post, and the post would do the work for £5 a-year which you are now paying £1,100 a-year for. The Home Secretary says these officials are sent to Windsor with the despatches. If the bag were put into the Post Office, it would be conveyed in just the same manner, quite as safely, and perhaps more expeditiously than by the Queen's Messenger. You keep up these expenses partly for the patronage they give, and partly because it is an old custom. I can understand that there may be some reason for employing these men abroad; for there may be some difficulty in sending despatches through foreign post offices; but there is no necessity for it at home. Can the Home Secretary point out the use of these Messengers? If these letters can be committed to the post there is £1,100 a-year saved. You commit writs, even the Writs of this House, to the post, and why cannot you commit the documents intended for Her Majesty? The Home Secretary has totally failed to justify this item of expenditure. I think he is bound to point out why we are to pay £750 for salaries and £350 for travelling expenses for these men. When I moved the reduction of the Vote before, Mr. Courtney, you probably did not notice it; but I now formally move the reduction by £1,100.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £54,847, be granted for the said Services."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I want to make a double appeal—to the Committee on the one hand, and to the First Lord of the Treasury on the other. It is that the Committee should decide on the Amendment and on the Vote now, so that we may proceed with a matter on which there is almost a distinct engagement that we should proceed, and as to which Members have waited here night after night in vain.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): If an engagement has been entered into to report Progress, I have no wish to disturb it, nor do I object to large salaries being paid to the people who deserve them. But it should be known that there are Members of this House who, with regard to the salary now demanded for the Home Secretary, do not merely grudge it, but know that it is ill-deserved. In the face of events which have recently been under the consideration of the British public, I say that this salary should not be paid without the conduct of the Home Secretary being taken into the most thorough consideration by Members of this House; and if the Vote is allowed to pass now, at any rate, the matter will be raised on Report.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jackson,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

TRUCK BILL.—[BILL 299.]

(*Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Warmington, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Esslemont.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, *resumed.*

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.): I desire to detain the House but a very short time in moving a new clause prohibiting the payment of any part of wages in intoxicating liquor. The real point I have to put before the House is, why should farmers be the only persons in England allowed to pay their labourers in anything but money? Why should not a farmer's labourer have a fair day's wage in money for his work? I suppose it is generally known that a custom has grown up in many parts of the country to pay labourers in harvest time partly in money and partly in intoxicating liquor. In some counties it is the practice to pay a man, say, £1 4*s.* a-week and allow him a certain quantity of common beer a-day, and in other counties cider is allowed. I speak more particularly of beer. However temperate a man is inclined to be, he has to choose between accepting a wage much less than he is entitled to, or taking part of it in intoxicating liquor, and I maintain that this is an alternative to which no man ought to be subjected; it is a practice monstrously unjust. Take the case of a man who is a teetotaller. You place him in this position—that because he is a temperate man and cannot consume the drink, he receives 5*s.* less payment than if he was drunken and disreputable. That, I think, is the strongest possible argument in favour of this clause. And now I wish to remove a total misconception that seems to exist as to the feeling of farmers themselves on this point. It is a slander on farmers to say that they wish to continue the system. Some six months ago a meeting of farmers was held in a county where the practice of giving the men cider largely prevails, I mean Somerset. A hundred farmers present, representing the farming of 25,000 acres, passed a resolution—

> "That, in the opinion of this Conference, it is desirable, in the interests of masters and men, that the practice of supplying beer and cider to men in the harvest field should be discontinued, and that all work should be paid for entirely in money."

The Conference was held at Yeovil, on the 11th February. Further proof of what I say that it is a slander to say that farmers are in favour of the system, will be found in the journal of the Royal Agricultural Society, vol. 20, p. 515. There will be found the report of three well-known agriculturists, appointed judges of the best cultivated farm of the year, and these practical men, after giving careful consideration to the subject, recommend that farmers should give up a custom which, in their opinion, was more honoured in the breach than in the observance, and in the interest of all concerned should make their payments entirely in money. I am happy to say the custom is by no means general throughout the United Kingdom. It is almost unknown in the West and North of Scotland, and it is far from being general in Ireland. Even in Norfolk, and other counties where the custom obtains, it is far from being universal, and the payment of a lump sum in lieu of drink is often substituted. I may further support my case with the opinion of one who was long a Member of this House, and whose opinion in relation to agricultural subjects is entitled to great respect, Mr. Clare Sewell Read. He said—

> "The reason why I did not give my labourers beer at harvest time was because I did not wish it to be said that I encouraged men and taught boys to drink. I give them money in lieu of beer or cider."

I know that objection to the clause will be raised. I know that the hon. and learned Attorney General will say that I have raised the question in the very worst form; but I say I have raised it in the most direct and only form I could—I put it in a definite way. This House has given a decision on the subject; but it was then put in a negative form only, and I say it should be put in a positive form, and I trust the House will decide in the way I suggest. The Attorney General will, I know, raise a number of other objections——

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The hon. Member is referring to a private conversation.

MR. KELLY: I am sorry that I mentioned this, and I will say no more about it except this. If it should be said that the Bill as it now stands would prevent that which I seek to prevent by my clause, I can only say that it is difficult to find it out, and I can see no harm in putting in so many words as will make plain to farmers the penalties they incur if they supply men with drink. I do not address the House as an advocate of temperance, but I do ask the House to consider the full effect of forcing drink upon the labouring classes, inducing men, and even mere boys, to contract habits of intemperance.

New Clause (to be inserted after Clause 3)—

(Wages not to be in intoxicating liquor.)

"No servant in husbandry shall be paid any part of his wages in intoxicating liquor, and any employer or agent of the employer of such servant paying or agreeing so to pay any part of such wages shall be liable to the penalties imposed by Section 9 of the principal Act, as if he had been guilty of such an offence as in that section mentioned,"—(*Mr. Kelly*,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: If it should become a practice to refer to preliminary and private conversations, it will be impossible to discuss any matter before it becomes the subject of debate. I regret that the hon. Member should have thought it right to advert to what took place in private conversation. It is impossible to accept the clause he has proposed. The decision of the House has been already inserted in the Bill, and the section will make it clear, and to pick out one particular industry in this way will add nothing to its force. By Clause 2 of the Truck Act of 1831, any contract by which wages are to be partly paid in liquor is made illegal. But this did not extend to servants in husbandry; and by a clause in the present Bill this clause of the principal Act is made applicable to all workmen as defined by the Employers' and Workmen Acts, and that brings within the Truck Act servants in husbandry, the consequence being that the combined effect of the Truck Act and this Bill when passed will be that no contract can be made by which a servant shall be partly paid in liquor under penalties set forth. Instead of dealing with all trades, the hon. Member would pick out one trade for special legislation. He does not deal with the question of contract, or the penalties for entering into one, but simply lays down an absolute proposition that if a man has had beer supplied him, the master shall not take payment for that beer from his wages. The House, by decision in Committee, has proceeded on the basis that there should be no contract by which wages should be paid in liquor, and it would serve no useful purpose, and prove mischievous to tack on this clause. I hope the House will reject it without prolonged discussion.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I also trust the House will reject the clause. It does not touch the evil the hon. Member has pointed out. Where the farmer gives anyything in addition to wages, it does not touch that at all. As the Bill stands, it will, as the Attorney General says, apply to all industries, and prevent beer being given as part wages, and this clause would only bring confusion into the operation of the Bill.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. A. E. PEASE (York): The clause which I shall ask the House to insert, after Clause 6, has reference to the appointment of a medical man to mines. The practice at present, in mining districts, is for the owners to contribute towards the payment of a medical officer, and the workmen contribute another part which is deducted from their wages, and in return they are entitled to the services of this medical officer. The clause which I ask the House to insert proposes to give the initiative in the appointment of the medical man to the owners of the mine, but provides also that in case the men shall not be satisfied with the appointment so made, they shall have power to appoint another man such as they desire. I see there is an Amendment standing next to mine on the Paper that seeks to give the initiative to the workmen, instead of the employer or mine owner. An objection to this, in the first place, is, that the mine owner must have a medical officer in attendance on the miners employed, and if he has not the initiative in the appointment, it would in many instances be difficult to make an arrangement while the workmen are debating or disputing as to who should be appointed. Another objection to giving the men the initiative is, that at present there are, in many cases, hospitals in connection with the mines supported by firms in combination, and a medical officer from the hospital is attached to the mine, and if the workmen were to appoint the doctor, it would tend to bring into the mining district an unnecessary number of medical practitioners, instead of one well-qualified man from the hospital. The present system works very well, I believe the Amendment I propose will maintain that system, but will also bring in ample protection for the miners. I trust the House will accept the clause I now move.

Clause (to be inserted after Clause 6)—

(Appointment of medical man.)

"The medical man appointed to attend on the workmen of any mine shall be appointed by the owners of such mine, but, in case of any dissatisfaction as to the medical man so appointed a second medical man shall be appointed by the majority of the workmen who take part in such appointment, and the moneys deducted from the wages of any workman for medical attendance shall be paid to either of the two medical men as the said workmen may select,"—(*Mr. Alfred Pease,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): I hope the House will not be induced to enter into a discussion of these medical clauses. The more we hear on the subject and the more I learn from communications made to me, the more impossible it appears that we can make any alteration without a very great deal of discussion not germane to a Truck Bill. This Amendment of the hon. Member is an instance. He proposes after a man has been appointed by the owner, that, in case of any dissatisfaction, a second man shall be appointed by those dissatisfied. But, first of all, what is to be understood by dissatisfaction? How is it to be expressed and by how many men? We have not attempted to deal with this question from any particular point of view; we have adopted the system as it exists, and if we attempt to alter it now I fear that in this particular we shall make the Bill unworkable. In the interest of the Bill which has now reached a stage when we may hope it will be finally disposed of, I would appeal to hon. Members who have put down clauses dealing with medical assistance not to attempt to codify the regulations that should be left to be dealt with, if necessary, independently.

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I would join in an appeal to the hon. Member not to insist on his Amendment. Great pains were taken to ascertain the views of the men, and more and more our inquiries were pressed they disclosed great differences of opinion. After all, the matter forms no part or parcel of a Truck Bill, and need not be dealt with here.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I trust the House will not give heed to the preposterous proposal of the Attorney General and the hon. Member for Northampton, that we should relinquish any attempt to deal with this important matter as if it were foreign to a Truck Bill. Let me recall the intention of the Bill; it is to amend the Truck Act of 1831. The structure of the Act of 1831 is exceedingly simple; it provides, first, that wages shall be paid in coin of the Realm, and then, to that rule, it makes two or three specific exceptions—that is to say, that part of the wages may be withheld for two or three specified purposes, and one of these specified purposes is medical attendance. The complaint of the workmen is that the sums so deducted are not properly controlled by them, and not properly applied. Now, I ask the House how is it possible that any point can be more strictly germane to the subject before us than these deductions for medical attendance; how is it possible that any Bill that could be devised would more properly deal with the subject than a Truck Bill? It is lamentable that there should be this anxiety to press on for the sake of passing a skeleton Bill that will contain next to nothing for the benefit of the workmen of the conntry. Why, after sitting up night after night, should we shelve a substantial grievance that workmen complain of? The Government have received ample acknowledgment from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) for their courtesy in regard to this Bill; for my part I trust they may drop a little of the vacillation and indifference with which they have met every useful and practical suggestion, now that we have reached this point, upon which with very little discussion we might agree. The Inspector, who some months ago reported on this subject, said that the men did not object to the amount of the deductions for the purpose, which was usually 3*d.* a-week; but they did object to the deductions being made over to the employers without the men having any influence whatever in the appointment of the medical man, who was solely the nominee of the employer. They contend they should have a voice in the disposal of the fund provided by themselves, and where is the difficulty in carrying out their desire? Why should it not be done if the Government are serious in proposing by this Bill to improve the condition of the workmen? Before I say more, Sir, I wish to obtain your ruling on a point of Order. The hon. Member for York (Mr. A. E. Pease) proposes this clause, and it is immediately followed by the Notice of a clause I wish to propose myself. He proposes that the medical man shall, in the first instance, be appointed by the owners; I that the appointment shall be by the men, or by the men in conjunction with the owners. Am I right in supposing that if the clause of the hon. Member for York should be negatived, that will not exclude the moving of mine?

Mr. SPEAKER: If the clause now before the House is negatived, that will not prevent the hon. Member from moving that of which he has given Notice.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD: I have nothing to add to what I have said already, and move the new clause in reference to deductions for medical attendance.

Clause (to be inserted after Clause 7)—

(Appointment of medical man.)

"Where any deduction is made for medical attendance or medicine from the wages of workmen in the employment of any employer, such workmen may from time to time by a majority of their number appoint a person, being a legally qualified medical practitioner, to be their medical attendant and to supply them with medicine, and such deductions shall be paid to the person so appointed.

"Provided that it shall be lawful for such workmen, by a majority of their number, to make an agreement with the employer that, in consideration of his contributing a certain amount or proportion of the remuneration of the medical attendant, he shall have a voice and share in his appointment to such extent as may be agreed on,"—(*Mr. Donald Crawford,*)—

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): This is rather an important matter to a large number of miners, and I hope the Government will allow it to be a matter germane to the Bill. Workmen complain very much of being compelled to have a sum deducted from their wages and of having no voice at all in the expenditure. The medical man might neglect his duty and send an unqualified assistant; but the men would have to go on paying in the same way, not having in return the attendance of a duly qualified medical practitioner, but the attendance of a young student who, by experiments on the bodies of the miners, gained information for practice upon other people. As the miners pay for a medical man they ought to have the right of determining who should attend them, and of dismissing that attendant if he did not do his work properly. I think the proposal in the clause is a wise one. Where the entire sum is paid by the men the men should have the right of appointment; but where the master pays part of the charge, then the master should have a proportionate voice in determining the appointment. The clause is reasonable, and would do no harm to any medical practitioner, while it would remedy a great grievance of the men who, paying for duly qualified medical assistance, do not get it—but the attendance of a person in whom they have no confidence.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Again I ask the House not to enter into the discussion of these medical clauses; the same objections apply to both. It is not quite correct to say that there is general complaint of the medical attendance; on the contrary, complaints are few and far between, and most of them are such as the men by their own organization can redress.

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE (Fifeshire, W.): I join in saying that this is a matter in which serious difficulties do arise between employers and men in collieries. Also, I must say that it does not appear to me to be just, if these medical men are to be paid out of deductions made from the wages of the men, that the men should not have a voice in appointing the medical man who is to attend them. There seems to me only two alternatives in the matter; either you must make it illegal to have these deductions at all, and leave the miners to shift for themselves in regard to medical attendance like other persons——

MR. BRADLAUGH: Will the hon. Member allow me to explain? Under the principal Act, no deductions can be made, except on agreement signed by the men.

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE: No doubt that is true; but, at the same time, I think the hon. Member will acknowledge that where a system of deductions has once been introduced, it is exceedingly hard for the men to get rid of it, and especially for a minority among the men to give effect to their dissatisfaction with the existing arrangement. Therefore I shall continue what I was saying, there are only two alternatives, either to prohibit deductions altogether, and leave the men to shift for themselves, in regard to their medical attendance, a change that might answer very well in populous places, where there are numerous doctors in the neighbourhood; but possibly would not be so satisfactory in sparsely populated districts; or else the difficulty can only be met in one other way—that is, by giving the men a recognized voice in the selection of their medical attendant. This last is the principle upon which the clause is framed, and I shall cordially support it if it is carried to a Division.

MR. MASON (Lanark, Mid): I do not agree at all with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). I think this clause comes very well into the discussion of a Truck Bill, and I also disagree with his statement that complaints are few and far between, for they are very numerous in Lanarkshire. As proof, I may refer to a case that recently occurred. Some three months ago the workmen at a colliery being dissatisfied with their medical attendant, held a meeting and decided by majority that another medical man ought to be substituted. The manager resisted this decision, and invited a ballot which the men accepted, with the result that there was a majority of five to one in favour of the change. But the reply of the manager was, that any man who refused to pay for the old medical officer could leave his employment. This was reported to the Home Office, and the reply was that the Secretary of State had caused inquiry to be made into the circumstances and found there was "no ground for his interference." This was conclusive. But we wish to give him ground for interference in connection with an important question. I think the clause is most appropriate to the Bill, and I hope it will be inserted.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I do not agree with the strictures upon the method in which medical work is done by members of my own profession. I think the tendency to allow work to be done by unqualified assistants is rapidly dying out, and I know that many assistants, far from being ignorant experimentalists, are often very skilful surgeons. They do their work thoroughly, and have no necessity to make experiments upon the bodies of the miners whom they attend. At the same time, I think the clause contains a principle the House ought to recognize. I do not see why a miner who contributes to the payment of his doctor should not have an equal voice in his choice or dismissal, as any Member of this House has in regard to his medical attendant. I think there is a little too much tendency on the part of mine owners to regard the doctor as part and parcel of their establishment and belonging to the mine. This tendency ought to be resisted, therefore I prefer this clause to that of the hon. Member for York (Mr. A. E. Pease). We want the medical man to have the confidence of the workmen, for then the work will be done better, and will give more satisfaction. On this account I think this clause is likely to be useful; it will conduce to better work by virtue of establishing more cordial relations between the medical man and the workmen.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington): I think nothing of the argument that these agreements can only be made in writing according to the principal Act; the question is, is the Amendment of any value? The hon. Member for North-East Lanark (Mr. Donald Crawford) has proposed Amendments not only in connection with this Bill, but in the new Mines Regulation Bill, and I must say that it has struck me, I am sure it has not been done intentionally—that he has not been treated with the courtesy and attention he deserves. My hon. Friend represents a great Scotch mining constituency, and I speak within my own experience when I say he probably knows more about these matters, and has given more time and attention to them than any other Member of this House, and I do not exclude the Labour Representatives. Yet he was never invited to the conferences of which we have heard so much upon this Bill and the Mines Bill——

MR. BRADLAUGH: The hon. Member will pardon me; but I think there must be some mistake. I have met the hon. Gentleman in consultation with the Attorney General myself.

MR. HALDANE: He has not received that attention from the Government he is fairly entitled to upon this and the other Bill.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Allow me to say that, far from there being any want of attention to the experience of the hon. Member for Lanark, he has himself attended the conferences.

MR. HALDANE: The hon. Member has repeatedly proposed Amendments on this and other Bills, and, I repeat, has not received the attention he is entitled to from his position by being invited to these conferences. I shall certainly support the clause, for it seems to me a right and proper one, and also because it is supported by Members whom I consider the best authorities on the question.

MR. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness): I represent a good many miners, and I employ a good many more in the mining districts of West Cumberland and North Lancashire, and, so far as I know, there is no grievance whatever arising out of the appointment of medical men. I do not believe there is any need to legislate on this subject, which had much better be left to be settled, as it now is, between the employers and the men. If any change is made, and you wish to insert it in the Bill, it would be much better to make the change in the direction of the custom we have in West Cumberland and North Lancashire, where we allow each man to choose his own medical adviser, we collect the money, and pay to each qualified medical adviser the amount he claims for attendance. But it would be wiser, I think, to leave matters as they are, and not attempt to introduce a clause on the subject.

MR. A. E. PEASE (York): I regret that the Government will not take this opportunity of regulating the appointment of the medical adviser and protecting the workmen from grievances that do arise in regard to these deductions from their wages. At the same time, I have great objection to the proposal of my hon. Friend (Mr. Donald Crawford), because it would throw into confusion the whole of the present system, and strike a serious blow at the system of miners' hospitals that exists in the North. I wish my hon. Friend had put his Amendment in a different form; in the form in which it now stands, I must, if he goes to a Division, oppose it.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness tells us he employs a good many more miners than he represents, a statement with which we have no desire to disagree. We have been told by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) that an agreement in writing must be entered into by the workmen before deductions for the payment for medical attendance can be permitted. But I do not think anything of that. I think the whole principle of the Truck Act has been—that contracts that have the result of compelling workmen to accept payment otherwise than by money should be prevented. No doubt, exceptions have been made; but the question is, is it proper there should be such? It is difficult to defend them on principle. No doubt, it is desirable that, to a certain extent, a man should have the advantage of medical attendance by this means; but it seems to me an extraordinary system that enables the master to dictate to a man the precise medical man he shall employ. I do not see how you can defend the system, or, if you allow it at all, why it should not be extended to dictation as to where a man should buy his boots, his clothes, or food. Now, workmen do not require to be told where they can best invest their money, and I do not see why there should be this grandmotherly system by which a man accepts what the master thinks fit for him. I can conceive that, from the master's point of view, it might be desirable he should retain this patronage; but that is not the principle of a Truck Act. This Bill extends the principle to Ireland; and, therefore, I have a right to speak upon it. I confess I do not know in Ireland any case where employers do dictate in this matter, and I have no desire to see such a system introduced under the name of an Act intended to prevent these improper contracts. It is a distinct falsification of the whole principle of the Act, and I trust the House will pass this necessary and proper Amendment.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.): I do not think there would be any difficulty in carrying into effect, under the proposed Amendment, if accepted, the system referred to by the hon. Member for Barrow. I think the clause ought to be accepted. I know that in Lanark there is a strong feeling that the workmen ought, at least, to have a share in the decision who is to be their medical attendant, and any objection that could possibly arise, is removed by the Proviso that in cases where employers supplement the fund, they shall have a proportionate influence in the decision.

Mr. DONALD CRAWFORD—[*Cries of* "Spoken!"]: Will the House indulge me with a word or two of explanation? The hon. Member for Haddington (Mr. Haldane) has made a personal reference to me in kindly terms. I wish to explain that on this Bill I have had conferences with the Attorney General in his room, and have no complaint to make. I presume my hon. Friend referred to the fact that neither I nor any other Members representing mining constituencies were invited to attend those miniature Parliaments summoned by the Home Secretary in reference to the Mines Regulation Bill. As the opinion of these miniature Parliaments has been referred to by the Leader of the House as if it carried great weight, it is perhaps unfortunate that a Member like myself, probably representing the largest mining constituency, should not be admitted. But that will not, I am sure, detract from the influence of arguments here which will be considered on their own merits. This Amendment is, I believe, one that employers throughout the country will not object to. I am sorry the hon. Member for the Town District of Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) is not here; he would have explained how necessary such a clause is in South Wales. I hope the House will accept the clause.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 65; Noes 115: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 306.)

[1.5 A.M.]

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I rise to move a clause for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drink. Under a former Amendment it was proposed that no employer should have the power to sell drink, food, or clothing, but that was opposed on the ground that it introduced unnecessary interference with the action of an employer who, being proprietor of a store, might undertake the sale of goods to the workmen. It was felt that the sale of food and clothing was not likely to lead to abuse. But there is a distinction in the case of intoxicating drink, a distinction that the Bill recognizes in the clause dealing with servants in husbandry. The object of the clause I propose is to protect the workmen against the influence of the master which might be exercised to effect sale of drink, upon which we know profits are larger than on anything else. It is open to the workmen to obtain his spirituous liquors whenever he thinks fit, but this provides that the employer shall not contract for the sale to him. It might be said that this is an interference with freedom of contract; but then the whole essence and principle of the Bill is that interference to some extent is necessary, and I hope the clause will commend itself as quite in accordance with the principle of the Bill.

Clause (to be inserted after Clause 8)—

(Prohibition of sale of intoxicating drink.)

"No intoxicating drink shall be sold by any employer or agent of any employer to a workman in the employment of such employer. Every sale made in contravention of this section shall be illegal and void, whilst every employer who by himself or his agent acts in contravention of this section shall be liable to the penalties imposed by Section nine of the principal Act, as if he had been guilty of such an offence as in that section mentioned,"—(*Mr. Caldwell,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I must ask the House to reject this clause, and for the reason that it is no part of a Truck Act at all. The object of the Truck Act is to insure that the wages agreed upon to be paid shall be paid in money, and not to regulate other transactions between employer and employed.

MR. RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster): I hope the House will not consent to read this clause a second time. It would be attended with great injustice towards the farmers of Herefordshire, and an interference with those private arrangements by which employers undertake to supply their workmen with cider, by which the latter are supplied with a wholesome drink and are not tempted to go to the public-house. This clause would affect not farmers only, but others, as a publican holding a few acres of land could not sell a glass of beer to his workmen, and I would point out it would prevent a brewer selling a moderate quantity of beer to a man in his employ; it would prevent a grocer selling a bottle of wine to one of his men. In a great many other instances it would be an unconscionable interference with the rights of trade, and on behalf of my Hereford constituents I protest against it.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): The clause I now propose is to provide that the workmen shall have some control over the deductions that are made from their wages. At present, the employer has the power to make deductions for certain purposes, but the workmen complain that they do not know what becomes of the deductions so made; whether the whole of the fund is employed or not. After the Truck Commission reported in 1872, a Bill was introduced by Mr. Secretary Bruce, now Lord Aberdare, dealing with the subject, and this question of audit formed a leading clause in that Bill. I may say I have altered this clause considerably from the shape it had when the Bill was in Committee, when it was opposed by hon. Members who, I am sure, were most anxious to do everything that was just and fair towards the workmen. It was then pointed out that the clause might cover deductions for defective workmanship, as to which it would be impossible to go back for an audit. My clause is now directed strictly towards deductions made for medical attendance, education, and other matters proper to a Truck Bill. I think the Attorney General stated in Committee that he would be prepared to accept a clause of this kind, and I trust it is not necessary for me to say more.

Clause (to be inserted after Clause 8)—

(Audit of deduction.)

"Where deductions are made from the wages of any workman for the education of children or in respect of medicine, medical attendance, or tools, once at least in every year the employer or employer's agent who makes such deductions shall make out a correct account of the receipts and expenditure in respect of such deductions, and submit the same to be audited by two auditors appointed by the said workmen, and shall produce to the auditors all such books, vouchers, and documents, and afford them all such facilities as are required for such audit."—(*Mr. Donald Crawford,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): The House will, I hope, see that this is quite impracticable. When the deductions are made from the wages, then is the time for the workman to ascertain the correctness of the deductions. One of the subjects for which this elaborate audit is to be provided is the deductions for education of children, and that clearly is a service no employer would undertake, except he were actuated by a desire to benefit his workmen, and it would be an outrageous thing to put the employer to the cost of keeping elaborate books of account for the satisfaction of auditors. What would be the consequence? Suppose the auditors, who may be any persons the workmen choose to appoint, come to the conclusion that all the deductions are not accounted for, the employer will be surcharged with the amount, and the door is opened for interminable disputes. I really cannot imagine that any employer would undertake to make these deductions on such terms, and the cause of education would be greatly injured.

Mr. J. B. BALFOUR (Clackmannan, &c.): I understand the objection is, that the workman should make his objection at the time the deductions are made from his wages, if he has got anything to say. But at that time a workman would not be in a position to enter into a question of accompting with his master. As giving the men an opportunity of seeing how the fund is disposed of, the clause seems to me, on its merits, a reasonable proposal.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): When the Audit Clause was proposed in Committee, it assumed a very different shape, and I then said I would endeavour to see if I could get a form of words to meet the objections raised to the clause as it then stood. It is represented to me—I do not say that my own opinion is worth anything—that the effect would be the keeping open the accounts for the period of a year, and that it is not necessary to do this. The matter ought to be arranged, as between master and workmen, to have a proper inquiry, in the ordinary course, without a statutory provision. It seems unnecessary that there should be legislation for the purpose of an audit, and that is why I have not put down words for such a clause.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): May I ask you, Sir, if this clause should be defeated, what will be my position in reference to an Amendment that stands in my name at the foot of the page? It contains the same principle embodied in the clause now under consideration; but it covers more ground, and is more comprehensive. What will be my position, if this clause is rejected?

Mr. SPEAKER: The whole principle is involved in the Amendment of the hon. Member for North-East Lanark; and if that falls, then the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman will fall with it.

Mr. CREMER: I do not know if the Attorney General is aware that, in many instances, workmen have had reason to mistrust the mode in which these funds have been distributed. The clause I have put upon the Paper is intended to compel employers who now withhold accounts, to which clearly workmen have a right, to submit to an annual audit. I hope, if the Attorney General and the Government object to the principle contained in the clause now under consideration, and in the still more comprehensive clause of which I have given Notice, they will take care that some clause is drafted and inserted in the Bill, which shall give to workmen some protection against dishonest employers. I use the word advisedly. The majority are animated by the best of motives towards their workmen; but there are others of whom that cannot be said, and the course pursued tends to encourage those who deduct amounts from wages, small or large, and never, under any circumstances, render an account to the workmen of the amount received, and how it is disposed of. It is shameful that this practice should be allowed to continue. I hope, in the interest of the working classes—a large number of whom are compelled to suffer under this disadvantage—that the Attorney General, if he will not accept either of these clauses, will insert some provision to prevent these fraudulent practices on the part of unprincipled employers.

Mr. R. PRESTON BRUCE (Fifeshire, W.): I must ask leave to point out to the hon. and learned Attorney General that if his objection to this clause is merely that it would keep accounts open for a whole year, I think he has omitted to notice the words "once at least in every year." Therefore, arrangements could be made for the employer to make up the accounts as often as he desired. I cannot also help remarking upon the extraordinary speech made by the hon. and learned Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson). Let the House consider what these deductions are. A certain sum is taken from the wages of each man; a fund is thereby created to be applied to certain purposes. The hon. and learned Member for Preston says it is outrageous that the workman should ask for an account showing how the money has been spent. Seeing that the fund is created out of money taken from their wages, it seems to me eminently reasonable that a clear account should be given them showing how it is used. I believe that in almost every case the fund is properly applied; but the very fact that no clear account is given to the men gives rise to doubts in their minds which are very disagreeable, and tend to embitter relations between employers and employed. For these reasons, I think this clause is decidedly needed and perfectly just.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): While I am not quite free from hesitation in reference to the matter, I think, on the balance, I will venture to ask the House to accept this clause. The employers take the money in the shape of deductions, and I fancy there can be no reasonable objection to giving an account of its application.

MR. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness): I see no objection to this clause. The objects for which the deductions are made are extremely simple.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince): The question is, whether it is necessary? Sometimes there are stoppages from the workmen's wages at the end of their time of payment which do not create any fund at all. If a fund is created and remains in the hand of the employer, it would be a proper thing, no doubt, that it should be examined by a chartered accountant once a year.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Will the hon. and gallant Member permit me to point out that payments to a permanent relief fund would be stated under that head?

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be added to the Bill."

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): The clause does not cover the entire ground. The one which I drafted—and I trust the House will not think me egotistical in saying so—goes a great deal further. I propose to introduce, after the word "tools," the words "or any other purposes." As it reads at present, the clause does not provide for auditing the deductions from wages for a provident fund.

Amendment proposed, in line 3 of the Clause, after the word "tools," to insert the words "or any other purpose."—(*Mr. Cremer.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. BRADLAUGH: I cannot ask the House to agree to that; it raises the whole question of deductions for fines and other contentious matters.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. CREMER: Very well; in lieu of the words I moved to insert, I will substitute "or provident fund," to follow after the word "tools."

Amendment proposed, after the word "tools," to insert the words "or provident fund."—(*Mr. Cremer.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. TOMLINSON: I hope that the House will not agree to those words.

MR. CREMER: Why?

MR. TOMLINSON: Because if an employer seeks to give facilities to his workmen to invest their money in a provident society by undertaking the task of collecting it and paying it over, it is rather hard to call on him to be compelled to keep an account in a separate book and take the trouble of having it audited.

MR. BRADLAUGH: It is impossible to accept these words. There are some provident funds—of which we have had evidence—in which, in consideration of the sum paid, the employer accepts the responsibility of paying sums in case of accident or death. There are others in which the whole fund is controlled by a joint committee, of which the employer may not even be a member. I trust that the hon. Member will not press his Amendment.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): May I point out to the hon. Gentleman that he has omitted the word "or," in a previous line, and, therefore, it is necessary something should be inserted.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is quite immaterial whether the word "or" stands in or not.

Mr. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea): I am satisfied, from my experience, that most employers would be only too glad to give information in these matters. It is certainly desirable that in all these things the greatest confidence possible should exist between masters and men. I, therefore, hope my hon. Friend will go to a Division on his proposal.

Mr. BURT (Morpeth): The difficulty that I have in supporting the Amendment is that in many cases the money is kept at the request and for the convenience of the working classes; and, therefore, it seems rather stern to request the employer to do this, and to put him under the obligation of issuing a balance sheet. Balance sheets are issued by the men themselves. Perhaps my hon. Friend will make his Amendment apply only to cases where the working men do not issue balance sheets. If he does that I will support him.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 36; Noes 107: Majority 71.—(Div. List, No. 307.) [1.40 A.M.]

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I have to propose another clause; but I suppose it is in vain, as I can hardly hope to induce the House to accept it. I doubt very much if any clause is likely to meet with acceptance under the peculiar conditions in which we seem to be placed; but I submit that this is a most important clause. It provides that where deductions are made from the wages of any working man for contributions towards any provident or other fund, any such workman who has contributed to such fund for any period not less than three calendar months shall be entitled at the expiration of the hiring to a fair compensation from the funds to which he has contributed. I pointed out on a former occasion that it not unfrequently happens that a workman subscribes for six, 12, or 18 months, or two, three, or four years to a fund out of which he receives not one farthing, and then, either from slackness of trade or some other cause, he is discharged, and rendered no longer entitled to any benefit from the fund. The principle embodied in this clause is, I believe, recognized by some honourable employers here and there, and I think the London and North-Western Railway Company grant their *employés* some compensation when they are discharged under the circumstances referred to in this clause. I think the equity and justice of this clause will recommend it to all honourably-minded Members of this House. Without any further observation—for I have not the slightest desire to delay the progress of this Bill—I beg to move the clause which stands in my name.

Clause—

(Workman to have the right of compensation from funds to which he has contributed.)

"Whenever deductions are made from the wages of any workman for contribution towards any provident or any other fund, any such workman who has contributed to such fund for any period not less than three calendar months shall be entitled at the expiration of the hiring to a fair compensation from the funds to which he has contributed, the amount of compensation to be determined by the employer or his agent and the workman claiming compensation.

"In any case where the employer or his agent and the workman claiming compensation under this Clause are unable to agree upon the amount to be paid for compensation, the disputants may select one or more persons to act as arbitrators; and the decision of the persons so selected shall be final and binding upon the disputants,"—(*Mr. Cremer,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): It is quite impossible for the House to accept this clause, and it would not have been moved by anyone having any knowledge of working men's clubs. The bulk of the funds in many associations pass into the hands of persons who are neither the employers nor employed, and to propose to get them back from the employers who have no control even of the moneys is to make a proposition which is an absurdity.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 18; Noes, 111: Majority 93.—(Div. List, No. 308.) [1.55 A.M.]

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I will be very brief in moving the next Amendment. A very serious evil in the North of Scotland—in the granite pavement and slate quarries—is the habit of paying the men only once in every three months, and having a month after that to make up the books, so that a man must be four months in the employment before he gets his first wages. The managers of the quarries are not paid any wages. They are paid by being allowed to keep stores, to which the men are compelled to go and buy on credit. This clause does not touch any cases where the men are employed by contract; but where they are employed by the week they will get their money at the end of the second week. The House has already decided in favour of a clause exactly similar in the case of Ireland, only providing that the payments shall be weekly. This makes the payments fortnightly, or less than that if they like to make it so by contract. I beg to move the following Clause:—

(Workmen in Scotch quarries to be paid fortnightly.)

"Where a workman is employed in the slate, pavement, or granite quarries of Scotland for wages calculated by time, the period of the payment of such wages shall be fortnightly, or at such less intervals of time as may be provided by the contract."

Clause (Workmen in Scotch quarries to be paid fortnightly,)—(*Dr. Clark,*)—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I do not know whether the House will be inclined to follow in relation to Scotland what they have done in regard to Ireland. Certainly, the habit of deferring payment of wages constitutes a great evil in Scotland. I have here an instance in which payment of wages has been deferred for 32 weeks. If the House is disposed to accept the clause I shall not oppose it.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added.*

Amendments made.

MR. C. W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon), in moving an Amendment in Clause 4, page 2, line 10, to leave out "not being intoxicating," said: Some hon. Members may be present to-night who were not here on the occasion on which the three words I ask you now to take away from his clause were added to it. They were carried by a very narrow majority, there being 112 for their inclusion in the Bill, and 101 against. I would point out to the House that these words forming part of the clause will upset—I think I may say in a very vexatious manner—long-standing customs between farmers and their men. We have heard to-night, from, I think, the hon. Member for North Camberwell (Mr. Kelly), that farmers are in the habit of giving their men 25*s.* a-week, and then taking away 5*s.* for beer; and should such a remark have made any impression on hon. Members I wish to state that I have no experience—I am sorry to say—of agricultnral labourers getting 25*s.* a-week, or anything like it. My experience among farmers and labourers is large, and I certainly have had no experience of cases in which farmers have tried by any means we can imagine to take away any portion of a labourer's wages, after once he has contracted with him to give him a certain amount. I have always understood that the intention of the Truck Act was to prevent employers of labour from cheating their men, as it were, out of the wages which they had contracted to give them; but this clause, as now drawn, would prevent the labourers in the Eastern Counties from getting an occasional pint of beer for extra work. And I can assure hon. Members that up to the present they have not succeeded in making these men think that an occasional extra pint of beer, when the work has been very hard or the day hot, does them any harm. I have no objection whatever to hon. Members who advocate temperance principles going down to the Eastern Counties to make as many converts as possible; but I do object to their making use of a Bill of this sort as a peg on which to hang those principles. No one dislikes intemperance among farm labourers more than I do, but I assure hon. Members that the words I ask to have omitted from the clause have nothing whatever to do with the Truck Act; and as I understand matters in the Eastern Counties, if they are not omitted the result would be, not that the men would have less beer, but that they would be driven to the public-house for it, and have to carry it about in the hot sun with them all day long, instead of getting it fresh and cool from the farmers' cellars. I maintain, Sir, it is much better for the men to have their beer fresh and cool. What would hon. Members think if they had to carry their beer about with them during their shooting on a hot autumnal day? Would they like that? [*Cries of* "Divide!"] I shall be only too happy to let the Division take place. I have no wish to unduly detain the House; but I do most earnestly resent what I consider is a gross libel on the farmers of England—namely, the assertion that they try to force beer or any other intoxicating drink whatever upon their *employés*. I am sure no one can produce any evidence that such a thing has been done.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I should not have intervened in this debate, except that I mean to give a vote to-night which I think is contradictory to my vote on the last occasion. When this clause was moved by the hon. Member who represents one of the Divisions of Cornwall (Mr. C. T. D. Acland), I stated that I did not think the House then had sufficient information to enable hon. Members to give a decision upon it. I, therefore, voted against the insertion of the words. Since then I have received from all parts of the country a very large mass of information which satisfies me that the words will not have the effect attributed to them. I should like to point out to the hon. Member for the Maldon Division of Essex (Mr. C. W. Gray) what this clause does. Originally, under the Truck Act, all contracts except those paid in money were illegal. It was then pointed out to us that in regard to services in husbandry it was customary to provide the men with cottages and other things. This, too, raised the question of intoxicating liquors. As the clause now stands you can contract to give the labourers wages and food, and a cottage if you please, but not intoxicating liquors. The only thing prohibited is a contract whereby as part of the remuneration for service intoxicating liquors are to be given. The clause does not prevent a workman going to his master and making arrangements for fresh and cool beer to be sent out to him; it only prevents the master forcing on the labourer a contract whereby, as part of remuneration for his services, he is to receive intoxicating liquors. We want to do this. Supposing a farmer says—"I will give you 14*s*. a-week and a quart of beer a-day;" and the labourer replies—"I do not want the beer," we want the man to be able to say he will have more than 14*s*. a-week, and not allow the master to say—"If you do not take the beer you shall only have 14*s*. a-week." We do not want to prevent the workman obtaining from his master intoxicating liquor; that would be a separate contract. It seems to me that the mischief alleged by my hon. Friend behind me does not exist.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.): I am sorry to have to intervene in this debate, because I must differ from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, who, in my humble judgment, has given very insufficient reasons for his change of opinion. The hon. and learned Gentleman has told us that he wishes to prevent the employer of labour saying to a man—"I will give you so much as wages, say, 14*s*. a-week, and so much drink; but if you will not have the drink, I will not give you any more money." He wishes the labourer to be able to say—"No; I will have 15*s*. a-week without the drink." He thinks that this clause will enable the labourer to get that 15*s*. from the farmer. Will he allow me to point out that it will not prevent the farmer saying—"Well, I will have in your place some person who will take 14*s*. a-week with the drink." The supply of labour depends on the demand for it; and whether a labourer can make a good bargain with a farmer or not depends, not upon this drink question, but whether there are more or fewer labourers asking for employment in the district. This Bill does not touch that at all. I object to the introduction of these three words on the very grounds alleged by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), who has told us to-day, in regard to every Amendment which he has asked the House to reject, that he does so because they form no part necessarily of a Truck Bill. Is this then a case, I ask him, of truck, or is it not? Sir, I submit that it is not a case of truck—it is simply a case of temperance. Section 4 excepts from the operation of the Truck Act persons engaged in husbandry; and if farmers, instead of producing—as in the district in which I farm—cider, produced, say, barley-water, there would be no question such as is raised by these three words. It is simply because cider is supposed to be intoxicating that these words have been inserted in this clause. It should not be forgotten that I speak for a considerable interest. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General has told us he has changed his opinions, because he has received a number of letters expressing certain views on the subject in agreement with those which he now holds. But he did not show us those letters; he did not tell us who his correspondents were. But, Sir, I am able to give the House some information on this subject recently obtained from the best sources. I spoke only last Tuesday at a meeting composed of farmers and labourers, and I mentioned to them what had been done by the House in reference to this matter, and a general opinion was expressed that it was against the interest of the farming community. I do not know whether the Amendment will be supported by hon. Members on this side of the House to-day. When they go down to the country they sometimes pose as the friends of the farmers, and say that the agricultural interest is the cause of the Conservative Party. Now, the real desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite in regard to this clause is not to prevent any evil arising from truck, but to smuggle into the Bill something that may assist in promoting another cause, which has nothing whatever to do with truck, and with the merits of which we are not now concerned. I am sorry at this time of the morning to detain the House; but the persons on whose behalf I speak, though they are not Bishops, or Bishops' daughters, happen to be agricultural labourers who, for hundreds of years, have been accustomed to this system—[*Laughter*]—they and their predecessors, and find it suits them. Hon. Gentlemen opposite cannot, I think, know the full extent of the interests involved. I wonder if the hon. Member for Launceston (Mr. C. T. D. Acland) could tell us the quantity of orcharding that exists in his county, and in the five principal cider counties? It is really much more extensive than people suppose. From the Agricultural Returns for last year the total area under orcharding in those counties appears to be 112,000 acres. The fruit in these orchards is chiefly cider fruit. Then most of the farmers have mills, large cellars—[An hon. MEMBER: And buyers.] Yes, they have buyers as well; and it is to prevent them from having buyers in future for the produce of their orchards that these three words I wish struck out have been inserted. All this represents a large amount of capital invested, and a large amount of trade carried on; and the result of inserting these three words, which I now ask the House to omit, will be to interfere with this trade without any previous intimation whatever to the persons engaged in it. I will venture to give the House the opinion, not of anonymous letter writers, but of a person who, I think, is a competent judge of the matter—my own farm bailiff—a thoroughly practical man, who belongs to a class that ought to secure attention from hon. Gentlemen opposite, for he has risen to his present responsible position from that of plough-boy——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is dealing very irrelevantly with the Amendment.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE: I only proposed, Sir, to give the opinion, with which I will conclude, of a competent person familiar with the cider districts of Herefordshire, and I hope that may be considered germane to the subject. I informed him in outline of what had been done in this Bill; and his answer was—"They send a'most anyone to Parliament, don't they, Sir, now?" I then stated to him the action of the House as affecting the cider trade, on which I give his opinion in his own homely language—"It's the biggest foolishness as ever was. One would think they was folks as never know'd the nature of life." In this opinion I concur.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 47: Majority 31.—(Div. List, No. 309.)

[2.35 A.M.]

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE (Fifeshire, W.): I propose to move the Amendment of which I have given Notice as far as the word "made." If the House desires it, I will state the object.

Amendment proposed,

In Clause 7, page 2, line 37, to leave out from "wages" to end of Clause, and insert—"For education, any workman sending his child to any State inspected school shall be entitled to have the school fees of his child paid therefrom, at the same rate and to the same extent as the other workmen from whose wages such deduction is made."—(*Mr. R. Preston Bruce.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.): I cannot help thinking there is a little ambiguity in the Amendment as now proposed, though I am sure it is not intended. If the Amendment is accepted, there will be no security, so far as I see, that a workman is entitled to send his child to any school of his own selection.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The words "selected by the parent" are in the clause already.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD: I thought it was proposed to leave that part out.

Question put, and *negatived;* words *left out.*

Question proposed, "That the proposed words be there inserted."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I think it will be necessary to add the words "selected by the parent or guardian" in the proposed Amendment, after the words "State-inspected schools."

Amendment proposed, to amend the proposed Amendment, by adding, after the word "school," in the second line, the words "selected by the parent or guardian."—(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD: Then it is just as well I called the attention of the House to this.

Question put, and *agreed to; words inserted.*

Question, "That the Amendment, as amended, be added to the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) being out of Order, the second of the two following Amendments will, I think, best carry out the wishes of those who desire the Amendment.

On the Motion of Mr. AINSLIE (Lancashire, N., Lonsdale) the following Amendment made:—Clause 8, page 3, at end, add—"Except by agreement not forming part of the condition of hiring."

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL the following Amendment made:—In Clause 11, page 3, line 30, after the word "employer," to add the words "or agent, as the case may be."

Schedule.

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—In page 6, line 3, at beginning of line, insert—

12 Geo. 1, c. 34.

"An Act to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen employed in the woollen manufactures, and for better payment of their wages."

Section three, and so much of section eight as applies to section three.

22 Geo. 2, c. 27.

"An Act, the title of which begins with 'An Act for the more effectual preventing of frauds,' and ends with the words 'and for the better payment of their wages.'"

So much of section twelve as applies to any enactment repealed by this Act.

30 Geo. 2, c. 12.

"An Act, the title of which begins with the words 'An Act to amend an Act,' and ends with the words 'payment of the workmen's wages in any other manner than in money.'"

Sections two and three.

57 Geo. 3, c. 115.

"An Act, the title of which begins with the words 'An Act to extend the provisions of an Act,' and ends with the words 'articles of cutlery.'"

The whole Act.

57 Geo. 3, c. 122.

"An Act, the title of which begins with the words 'An Act to extend the provisions,' and ends with the words 'extending the provisions of the said Acts to Scotland and Ireland.'"

The whole Act.

Page 6, line 4, after "jury," insert "inclusive;" and in page 6, line 12, after "agreement," insert "inclusive."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I hope the House will now allow the third reading to be taken.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I object to that, and propose to defer the third reading to Monday.

MR. BRADLAUGH: If the hon Member opposes it I will not press the

Motion; but I am sorry he carries his opposition to that extent.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday* next.

MOTIONS.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOUNDARIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Ritchie, Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire and report as to the Boundaries of certain areas of Local Government in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Jackson, and Mr. Long.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 324.]

SUPREME COURT OF JUDICATURE (IRELAND) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Balfour, Bill to amend "The Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland), 1877," so far as relates to certain Judges, and to the office of the Accountant General, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Attorney General for Ireland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 325.]

MARRIAGES CONFIRMATION (ANTWERP) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. James Stuart, Bill to confirm certain Marriages solemnized at Antwerp, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Picton.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 326.]

BANKRUPTCY (DISCHARGE AND CLOSURE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Attorney General, Bill to amend the Law relating to the discharge of Bankrupts and the closure of Bankruptcy proceedings, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, and Baron Henry De Worms.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 327.]

PUBLIC PARKS AND WORKS (METROPOLIS) (PENSIONS).

Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of a portion of any pension that may be awarded to any officer transferred from the services of the Commissioners of Works to the Metropolitan Board of Works under any Act of the present Session for the transfer to the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the maintenance of certain Public Parks and Works in the Metropolis (Queen's *Recommendation* signified), upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at ten minutes before Three o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 18th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) * (172).

Third Reading — Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) (164), and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Second Reading*—Public Health (Scotland) (Cowdenbeath Water) * (154); Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * (167); Local Government (No. 7) * (166).

Committee—Pier and Harbour (No. 2) * (137); Gas and Water * (131).

ARMY (RE-ORGANIZATION).

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS, who had on the Paper the following Notice of Motion:—

> "That the statement regarding Army organization recently made by Major General Brackenbury by authority of the Secretary of State for War, at the Royal United Service Institution, be laid upon the Table."

said, that this was an important question, and he felt anxious to bring it under the consideration of the House; but it, unfortunately, stood before the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill, upon which a desire prevailed that there should be a full discussion, and, no doubt, his noble Friend who was not long ago Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer) would be glad to show in what particulars this Bill differed from the Coercion Act which he so ably administered, consequently he would postpone his Motion till Friday.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.—(No. 164.)

(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Ashbourne.*)

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that the Government had assured them that there were criminal conspiracies and intimidations and dangerous associations in Ireland with which the ordinary law was not able to cope, and asked for further powers. The House must either grant the Government those powers, or propose some alternative course. The noble Earl the Leader of the Opposition (Earl Granville) was the only person who had taken up a line of opposition to the measure, and the line so taken up was one of indirect rather than direct opposition. In his speech the other night the noble Earl said that as he had but little support in that House, he did not think it advisable to move the rejection of the Bill, and did not propose any Amendment. The noble Earl chiefly limited himself to the general statement that a sufficient case had not been made out for the Bill. It was quite true that the noble Earl had very little support in this House on the Bill. When the noble Earl and his Colleagues executed a right-about-face upon the Irish Question, and adopted a course diametrically contrary to the course they had previously pursued, the enormous majority of the Liberal Peers did not follow them; but that was no reason at all why an important measure of this sort should be passed over without full and adequate discussion. That course was neither consonant with the dignity of the House nor consistent with the public interest. The public interest demanded that when measures of this sort were proposed the reasons for opposing or supporting them should be fully stated in both Houses of Parliament. Turning to the consideration of the measure, he would ask their Lordships whether it was correct to say that a sufficient case had not been made out for the Bill? He did not think that the necessity for the measure should depend on whether there had been a hundred crimes more or less in any particular set of months; but he thought they ought to consider much more the nature of the crimes committed than mere statistics, and whether it was possible for the ordinary law to detect and punish those crimes. Was it, then, or was it not the fact that the Plan of Campaign was widely disseminated in Ireland, that Boycotting was prevalent to a large extent, and that juries were deterred from doing their duty? He found in a morning paper that at the Kerry Assizes juries had refused to convict on what the learned Judge held to be clear evidence. Mr. Justice O'Brien, in granting an application by the Crown to postpone the trial of the prisoners until the next Assizes, said that he had never known such unfaithfulness to duty on the part of jurors in all his experience, and that, so far as the protection of life and property was concerned, the law was at an end. Kerry was, he imagined, just one of the districts contemplated by the Bill. With regard to the points he had put, he wished to ask the noble Earl who had lately been Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whether, in his opinion, it could be stated with truth that a sufficient case had not been made out for granting extraordinary powers to the Government in such a district as the County of Kerry? It had been stated in the other House of Parliament and in the country that the Government were taking away the liberties of Ireland. Such a statement was absolutely incorrect and contrary to the truth, and conveyed a false impression to the minds of those who heard it. With the general liberties of Ireland the Bill had nothing whatever to do. Although the noble Earl had limited himself on the second reading to a general statement with regard to the Bill, when the Committee stage was reached the noble and learned Lord the late Lord Chancellor, fortunately, as he thought, took a different course. Great advantage, he thought, accrued from that discussion, seeing that the questions involved in the Bill were chiefly legal questions, and the legal opinions to be had in their Lordships' House were such as were not to be had in any other Assembly in the world. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) had brought forward certain points and suggested certain Amendments. In the first place, he urged that a proper appeal had not been given in this Bill; but the answer to that was that the appeal afforded was the appeal given by the regular law of Ireland—precisely the same appeal given by the Act of 1882. The noble and learned Lord also raised a point with regard to Sub-section 2 of Section 2, and said that he agreed that it was desirable that those who conspired criminally should be tried; but he took exception to the word "induce." A most complete answer, he thought, was given to that point, and it was shown that "inducing" a person to do anything wrong was one of the very worst forms of compulsion. With regard to what passed in Committee, he would like to make one remark. Objection was taken to the power given to the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim associations, but the answer seemed conclusive that the names of these associations should be widely known, in order to prevent persons joining them, and thus rendering themselves liable to punishment. He noticed that during the whole discussion in Committee the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) was on one side and all the remaining legal opinion in the House on the other. He was particularly anxious to hear what argument would be raised before their Lordships as to new crimes created by the Act. So much had been said on this point by unlearned persons elsewhere that he was anxious to hear from some noble and learned Lords what new crimes would be created. He was bound to say that he had heard nothing whatever with regard to any new crimes, except in so far as unlawful associations were concerned. He should like to know from noble Lords who were prepared to take upon themselves the responsibility of rejecting this Bill what other policy they had. The noble Earl the late Foreign Secretary had contended, with some justice, that the Opposition were not bound to formulate any policy, and they were, therefore, compelled to conjecture for themselves what that policy would be. Two years ago not a single noble Lord in the late Ministry of Mr. Gladstone was in favour of a separate Parliament and Government for Ireland. What was the reason for those noble Lords thus turning completely round? The reason why most of them accepted a Home Rule policy was, he believed, because Mr. Gladstone adopted it. He said most of them; but not all, for he wished to make a prominent exception of the noble Earl who was lately Viceroy of Ireland (Earl Spencer). There was no reason why they should not be inclined to think that the noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench would accept any policy with regard to Ireland that Mr. Gladstone might think fit to propose. To the noble Earl the late Viceroy they had a right to make a special personal appeal. Never was a man more loyally supported by noble Lords sitting on that side of the House; and, however much they might now differ from him, they considered that his conduct as Viceroy did honour to himself and the Liberal Party. They had followed him faithfully and loyally; but when he turned completely round, although they believed thoroughly in the conscientiousness of his motive, yet they could not but feel a painful impression with regard to his judgment, and they had a right to ask him how he knew that his judgment now was right, when he formerly led them in an entirely different direction? The course recommended by the Home Rule Party was avowedly experimental; but such an experiment had never before been tried in Ireland. Had the noble Lord satisfied himself that Mr. Parnell knew what he wanted, how far he was prepared to go, and what power he had to carry out any engagement he made? With regard to the land, could the noble Lord tell them positively whether, if there was a Home Rule Parliament and Government for Ireland, the control of the land was to be handed over to the Irish Parliament? Recent utterances of Leaders of the Home Rule Party had made him doubt whether the opinions entertained by them some months ago on the Land Question were entertained now. He desired to call attention to the different manner in which this Bill had been represented in Parliament on the one hand, and in the country on the other. In the country it was represented that the measure was to apply to the whole of Ireland, whereas, in fact, it would only apply to the districts in the country which were specially proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant. The measure had been stigmatized throughout the country as a Coercion Bill, whereas it merely relieved jurymen from the peril they now had to encounter if they did their duty in the jury-box, and restored freedom of action to tenants and others engaged in agriculture. It had been objected that this Bill was not congenial to the people of Ireland; but what was meant was that it was not congenial to Messrs. Parnell, William O'Brien, and Davitt. Another objection had been raised to the measure on account of its permanent character; but, in his view, the permanent character of the Bill was its greatest merit. The real cause of the failure of other so-called coercive measures had been their temporary character, which had offered an inducement to evil-doers to wait for a happy future when they might renew their criminal courses. It was the temporary character of former measures of the kind that had enabled the Irish

Party to make overtures first to one side of the House and then to the other with considerable success. In his opinion, the Government had made out their case. It was abundantly clear, from the statements which appeared in the newspapers, that Boycotting and other malpractices were still prevalent in Ireland, and that jurors would not do their duty. In these circumstances he could not take upon himself the responsibility of declining to support a measure of this kind, which the Government believed to be necessary for the preservation of law and order in Ireland.

After a pause,

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said: My Lords, I had hoped that some noble Lord sitting upon the Front Opposition Bench would have risen to address the House, because it appears to me that as often as this subject is discussed there is more and more reason why those who oppose this measure should fully explain the grounds of the position which they have taken up. However, it would appear that either the noble Lords who sit upon the Front Opposition Bench desire more of us to be heard in support of this Bill before they trust themselves to give any reply to us, or else they have no reply to give to the arguments which have already been put forward in support of our view. I am glad that upon this occasion we shall have an opportunity of stating our case in the hearing of the noble Lords who sit upon the Front Opposition Bench, and of hearing what they may have to say in reply. In my opinion—it may be an old-fashioned one—both public and private liberty everywhere—in all countries governed by the British Crown, and certainly not least in Ireland — depend upon the authority of the Courts of Justice and upon the maintenance of the supremacy of the law. I therefore look upon this measure, which has for its object the maintenance of the supremacy of the law in Ireland, as one rendered necessary by the circumstances of that country. It has been brought in, as I understand, for that object alone, for the purpose of repressing crime, and crime alone, and I think it has been brought in under circumstances which made its introduction necessary. It seems to me that its provisions are, on the whole, well adapted for the purpose which it is intended to effect, and I can only express a hope that they may be sufficient to put an end to a state of things which cannot safely be permitted to continue. In these circumstances, I think that the measure is entitled to your Lordships' support. The noble Earl who leads the Front Opposition Bench is, however, of a different opinion. Not only has he criticized some parts of the present measure, but he is of opinion that no measure of repression, of whatever description, ought to be passed. The noble Earl said that it was not because he had been a party to similar measures, if they were similar, in recent times, that he should be justified in supporting the present Bill at a different time and under different circumstances. He illustrated that proposition by an example derived from his own experience. There was a time when, in deference to what he thought a moral necessity, arising out of a state of opinion in society more powerful than law, he advised a friend to fight a duel; but, if a similar case were now to arise, he would not give similar advice. Whether I should have thought my noble Friend right formerly, or not, I will not undertake to say; but he would certainly be right now in giving different advice, more in accordance with law and sound morality, and in a better state of general opinion upon the subject. My noble Friend's present change seems to be rather in the contrary direction; and I fail to perceive the analogy; although I certainly agree with him, that it does not follow that because a thing has been done before it should necessarily be repeated under different circumstances.

Now, what are the circumstances indicated towards the close of my noble Friend's speech, which appear to him to make all the difference in this respect? I made a note of them at the time, and I have verified it by looking since at the report of his speech. My noble Friend's first reason was that an enlarged franchise has been given to Ireland. Is that any reason whatever why the supremacy of the law should not be asserted? His second reason was that five-sixths of the Irish Members were against the measure. I am very sorry it should be so; but if five-sixths of the Irish Members are for overthrowing the supremacy of the law in Ireland, then I say that if

Ireland is to remain in any way or on any terms connected with this Empire, and if the Parliament of Great Britain is to have any responsibility whatever or any authority whatever about Ireland, neither five-sixths nor even the unanimous voice of all the Irish Members should induce us to abandon the supremacy of the law and say that disorder shall prevail in Ireland because the Representatives of Ireland wish it. The next reason was Mr. Knipe's difference from his Colleagues on the Cowper Commission. My noble Friend, to do him justice, did not say much about that; and I will not trespass upon your Lordships' time by saying a word about it. Then my noble Friend spoke of the sympathies of millions of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen—I own I could not help thinking when I heard those words that a little time ago that trisection of Great Britain would not have issued from the lips of my noble Friend. I thought I could trace that division of England, Scotland, and Wales into separate nationalities not altogether to my noble Friend, but to a source for which I do not hold him responsible. There are, said my noble Friend, the sympathies of millions of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen, all condemning repression, as injurious and ineffective. Well, now, I concede this at once to my noble Friend, that if he could prove that a measure of repression — that is, repression of crime, as I understand it—must necessarily be ineffectual, his whole case would be good. We ought not to pass a measure which would do no good, by whatever name you may call it. If it will not answer the purpose for which it is passed, those who think so have a right to oppose it. But on that point I entirely differ from my noble Friends; and I think that our whole experience, under circumstances less favourable, sustains my opinion.

Now, I really want to know what is the meaning of this contention, that we are not to introduce or pass any measure of repression, as it is called. Does it mean that the law at present is sufficiently maintained; that it is strong enough; that the jury system works as it ought to work; that the powers of combination against the law are feeble; that the means for the detection of crime are sufficient to restrain it—in short, that the law and the Courts and the authority of the Government in Ireland have already all the strength which they want? It is possible, though it is very unlikely, that this may be the opinion of my noble Friend. But all I can say is that if it be his opinion, not merely from reckoning up the figures and statistics, not merely by a comparison of crime at one period of so many months with crime in another period of so many months, I come to an opposite conclusion. I take a far broader view of the facts which everybody knows; and I believe it cannot be said with truth—I hardly think it can be said with sincerity—that the state of the law in Ireland, the power to enforce it, the working of the jury system, the fear of punishment by those who commit outrage, are such at this moment that no further strengthening of the law is required. You have in Ireland an organization—the National League—which the highest authorities of the law in that country have declared to be criminal; you have branches of the National League all over the country setting up Courts, calling upon people to attend them, overruling men's freedom of action, and reversing the decisions of the Courts of Law. I have in my mind the case of two brothers, of which the particulars are contained in the evidence of the Cowper Commission, which I think I recollect accurately enough to be able to summarize it. Five or six years ago they bought a farm and entered into possession, but permitted the former possessor or some of his family for some time to occupy a farmhouse not wanted for themselves. About four or five years after they wanted the house, but were obliged to go to law to get it. They got a decision, first from one Court, and then from one of the highest Courts in Dublin; but the League Court afterwards sat upon the case, called the brothers to appear and to justify their conduct in presuming to occupy the land which they had bought and going to law to get possession of the house, and the League Court not only reversed the decision of the Courts of Law, but ordered the purchasers to pay £100 by way of damages to the other party. That sort of thing, with all kinds of variations, is notoriously going on all over Ireland. My noble Friend the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Earl Spencer) knows it as well as any person. But the attempt to substitute a different sort of law is not all. You have the Plan of Campaign, which deals with the rights of landlords and tenants, and uses influence of every sort which can be brought to bear upon tenants to pay no rents, or only such as the League thinks right, setting at defiance the laws of the land and making war upon private rights, and that whether people are willing to pay or not, and, after preventing payment where the people would otherwise be willing to pay, taking the money from the tenants, not to take care of it for them, not to keep it in reserve to pay the landlord, but to use it for their own purposes, and undertaking to hold the tenants harmless as well as they can. My Lords, that is a *Vehmgericht*. Now, are we to allow such a state of things to go on without inquiring whether the law can be made stronger? Under the same influence intimidation is organized to overpower the exercise of free will in all the relations of life, putting men under all conceivable personal and social penalties, with the danger of even worse outrage behind if they do not submit to the League's orders. Under these circumstances, a more complete subversion of law and order it is impossible to conceive; and so far as the actual state of things goes, it not only justifies such a measure as this, but entitles every honest man to call it, not a measure of repression, but a measure for the protection of men's rights, properties, and liberties. Until I hear it distinctly stated, I will not believe that my noble Friends, however they may quarrel with me as to the statistics of the crime, will say that this is a satisfactory state of the law in Ireland.

Well, what else do they mean? I suppose they mean what the noble Earl (the Earl of Rosebery) here, as well as elsewhere, has called an alternative between coercion and conciliation. I should like to analyze that idea. I will postpone the word "coercion." But what do they mean by "conciliation?" The same question was asked by the noble Duke and by the noble Earl who sat next to me; but in the exercise of their unquestionable discretion my noble Friends thought it not necessary to give an answer. One can, therefore, only conjecture for oneself what sort of conciliation is meant, by such lights as we may gather out-of-doors. That in some sense or other it means Home Rule we all know. Formerly, it was said by the man who is now the foremost advocate of that idea, that until he knew precisely what the thing was he could form no opinion of it. Of course, we all know what the scheme of last year was. I do not want to press my noble Friends to tell us what modifications may or may not be in their minds as to that scheme. But, then, I think I may say, in the absence of that information, that my own impression is, that whatever modifications have been in any way indicated make the scheme worse, and not in any respect better, than it was before. Much worse; first of all, because there were some redeeming points in the scheme, such as the intention to withdraw the power of dealing absolutely with the owners of land in Ireland from the new Irish Parliament. That seems to be no longer part of the scheme; and therefore I must suppose that the new Irish Parliament, if it were created, would be entrusted with the whole power over the owners of landed property in Ireland. Then the relations which this country might stand in to that Parliament appear to be at present altogether unsettled in the minds of the advocates of the scheme, though nothing can be more important; and the tendency seems to be to try to find out how much power the Irish Members may have in the British Parliament, notwithstanding the uncontrolled power which they are to have in Ireland. I do not know whether these things are more than chimeras; but they have been put floating in the air, and do not seem to conduce to a more encouraging view of the alternative which is called conciliation. And the breaking up of other parts of the United Kingdom is an idea which also seems to advance. We were told, so lately as Saturday, that it may be necessary to develop the idea of other nationalities. We are continually told, in a tone which I can hardly describe by any other word than menace, that if things are not quickly settled in the way which the speaker recommends, we shall have to pay for it, in this and in other directions, and that our resistance is to be held accountable for all those developments. I cannot think that the indefinite expansion of these ideas improves the prospect. But let me for a moment put that on one side. We are always being told—and we were told, in a kind of ultimatum, a few days ago—that whatever is done must be in accordance with the desires of the Representatives of Ireland. And this proposition was accompanied with another, to the effect that the authority of the Imperial Parliament was to be maintained. I confess that I cannot reconcile those two ideas, that the wishes of the Representatives of Ireland are to be granted, and that the authority of the British Parliament is to be maintained; though, of course, their author must have persuaded himself that they can stand together, because he has said so. I do not know what the Representatives of Ireland do desire; but I know what they have often said they desire, and that would go very far beyond the limits even of the measure of last year. It was said that they were wonderful in their moderation when they accepted the measure of last year. When I first read that in one of Mr. Gladstone's many writings on this subject, I wondered, not at the moderation of the Irish Members, but at the condition of mind which could see in their taking so large an instalment of their aims, without pledging themselves never to ask for more, any proof of moderation at all. Nobody could expect anything else, than that so large a measure, coming from a British Minister, would be accepted with the greatest possible satisfaction; but it does not follow from that that they would want nothing more. I can only judge of that by supposing the case my own. If I were one of an Irish majority in Parliament, who were told that the relations of Great Britain to Ireland ought to be determined on the principle of giving to Ireland whatever she asked for by the mouths of five-sixths of her Representatives, I should certainly ask, in an Irish Parliament, for as much more as the general voice of that Parliament could be induced to demand, and I should certainly, on the same principle, expect to get it. But, then, I come back to the question, What is to become of the maintenance of the law? Is there anything to make one suppose that this sort of conciliation, giving them whatever they choose to ask for; is there anything in the history and proceedings of those who would thus be invested with the power of governing Ireland, to lead to the conclusion that they would immediately desire to do that which we desire to do now—to restore the supremacy of the law, to maintain private rights, to respect titles to property, to maintain the authority of the Courts? Why, their whole organization has been against those private rights, and their whole motive power seems to be to drive away what is called landlordism, to put an end to the payment of rent, to take the property of the landlords and give it to others. How can you possibly suppose that the supremacy of the law in Ireland could be at once restored by giving over the absolute power of governing Ireland to those whose organization has been directed against that object? Suppose you were sanguine enough to entertain that hope, what is to be done in the meantime? Are you to have no law in the meantime, except the law of the National League? Are you not to have the means of punishing or repressing crime, of stopping intimidation, protecting the people in the enjoyment of their lives, rights, and liberties? Why, the most sanguine men, who may most devoutly believe in their hearts that some measure of Home Rule will be carried within the next three or four years, do they sincerely mean to say that, besides all the uncertainties as to what sort of rule there is then to be in Ireland, you are to have no effective law there until that time? I have said so much about this idea of conciliation, interpreting it, as I do, to mean Home Rule; because, if it means anything else, then I say we are all quite as much for conciliation as the noble Earl; quite as much—I do not say more, because I give him credit for perfect sincerity, and a real, honest desire to do what is best for Ireland. For many years we have shown the sincerity of our desire to do everything in reason, and perhaps more than was in reason, for the conciliation of Ireland. But if conciliation means only Home Rule, then it is a little strange that there should be no law in the meantime, or no measures to strengthen the law, if the law is not able now to assert itself.

I refer now to the cuckoo cry—I hope I may be excused for using the expression—of coercion against conciliation. I have said enough about conciliation. Now, what is really meant by coercion? Who are they to whom it will apply—the observers of law or the breakers of it? Are they those who commit crimes or those who suffer from them? Those who commit crimes. Are they those who respect other men's liberties, or those who tyrannize over them? Those who tyrannize over them. If you call the repression of these things by the name of coercion, then I say that coercion is merely another name for government, for the Criminal Law of any kind, for the existing Criminal Law; and those who say you shall not have coercion are really contending for this—that where people choose to disobey the laws, they shall not be compelled to obey them; that where they choose to resist the law they shall not be compelled to yield; that where people organize conspiracies against the law, the law ought not to be maintained against them. Therefore, I say you may call it coercion if you please; but it is no more coercion than the administration of the Criminal Law is coercion in England; and if the ordinary administration of the law in Ireland were as easy as it is in England, and if juries were as free from intimidation and influence there as here, you would have all you want without new legislation. But to stigmatize the repression of crime and the enforcement of the ordinary law as coercion is even less reasonable than to say that Home Rule is the only possible kind of conciliation.

I will now consider the objections that have been made to the Bill. I have told your Lordships what I believe its purpose to be, and what I believe may be expected to be its effect; but my noble Friend the Leader of the Opposition here has criticized some points in it; and I must say that both he and my noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) have presented their criticisms in a manner to which no exception can be taken, and which I should like to hold up for imitation to all others who criticize it, in whatever other place. My noble and learned Friend said he defied anyone to say that the provisions of this Bill are justified by the Act of 1882. I accept that challenge; I say so. I do not, of course, mean, that no distinctions can be pointed out, nor do I overlook them as matters for legitimate examination. But I say that, looking at the Bill as a whole, its objects, its purposes, its general provisions, they are justified by the Act of 1882, and, to a very great extent, they are on all-fours with that Act. The principal difference is, that the Act of 1882 contained many more severe and more exceptional provisions, which are not in this Bill. The part of the Bill which, if I mistake not, was more pertinaciously contested in "another place" than any other, was that which refers to the inquiry into crime when no person is charged before a magistrate. The whole substance of that is similar to what was in the Bill of 1882. Then the clauses relating to intimidation, which I think are the most important parts of the Bill, are exactly similar to those of the Act of 1882, and those who were responsible for that Act would have done better if they had said, everywhere, that they did not object to those clauses now. The clauses relating to juries and venue in the Bill before your Lordships are similar to those of the Act of 1882. And I am bold enough to say the same, in substance, of all the provisions of this Bill as to summary jurisdiction. If all this had been fairly acknowledged, and if objections had been made to the Bill by those who were responsible for the Act of 1882 in the same tone and spirit, and to the same partial and limited extent only, which we have heard from the Front Bench here, those objections—though we might still have thought them unfounded—would, at least, have been entitled to more consideration than they are now. But we all know how different from this the character of the opposition to the Bill has been. There are, I admit, some points of difference, besides the omission of the most stringent provisions of the Act of 1882. My noble Friend (Earl Granville) has criticized them all—the 1st sub-section of Clause 2; Clauses 6 and 7; and the permanence of the present measure. The first of these has, in my judgment, been very much exaggerated, and becomes very insignificant when it is closely examined. I refer to Section 1 of Clause 2, which deals with criminal conspiracies, for certain purposes, now punishable by law. The Act of 1882 also made it an offence, and punishable by summary jurisdiction, to take part in the proceedings of an unlawful association; and it would be difficult to find any offence which comes within the 1st sub-section of Clause 2 which did not also come within the Act of 1882. The "unlawful associations" of the Act of 1882 were all criminal conspiracies, though the word was not the same. They were not only associations "formed for the commission of crimes," or "carrying on operations for or by the commission of crimes;" but also associations "for encouraging or aiding persons to commit crimes;" the word "crime" being defined, as including all offences against the Act itself, and all crimes punishable on indictment by imprisonment with hard labour, or by any greater punishment. That definition covered, in substance though not in terms, everything that is important in the 1st sub-section of the Summary Jurisdiction Clause of the present Bill. To be a member of, or to take part in the operations of any "unlawful association," as so defined, was an offence against the Act of 1882, punishable by summary jurisdiction. To obstruct, prevent, or defeat the course of public justice; or, in the words of the 1st sub-section of Clause 2 of the present Bill, "to interfere with the administration of the law"—is, under a Statute of 1851, punishable on indictment by imprisonment with hard labour. And so are acts done, not directly to compel, but

> "With a view to compel any other person to abstain from doing, or to do, any act which such other person has a legal right to do or abstain from doing,"

which are made penal, and are distinguished from the use of violence or intimidation, by the "Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act" of 1875.

This sub-section has, nevertheless, been criticized by my noble Friend, and by a great man in "another place," on grounds which I make bold to call absolutely unfounded, both as to law and as to fact. My noble Friend said—

> "The Bill imposes on the breach of a civil obligation the penalties of a criminal offence. It renders criminal the exercise of a man's undoubted right to deal with whom he pleases."

And the late Prime Minister, in "another place," said—

> "The words are proper to describe what we know as exclusive dealing, which is no crime in our law. Every man in England, Scotland, and Wales is free to induce as much as he likes, and to combine with others in inducing, other persons to do these things. These are rights of Englishmen which you are going to deny to Irishmen."

I utterly deny that there is any foundation for these statements. I deny that any man in England, Scotland, or Wales is free to combine with others in inducing other persons to do any of the things mentioned in this sub-section, in any way which the sub-section would prohibit in Ireland. It is difficult to understand how any rational man could call it a "right" of Englishmen to enter into a criminal conspiracy now punishable by law. Unless the criminal conspiracy is one now punishable by law, the sub-section takes no effect at all. I can quite understand the more reasonable arguments offered here in Committee. The noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell), when the Bill had reached that stage, admitted that the clause did not make anything a criminal conspiracy which was now lawful; he only said that he did not like the tribunal. That was a perfectly fair argument for my noble and learned Friend to use, although I think it is open to a satisfactory answer. To my mind it is quite obvious, that if the offence is not already punishable by law it does not come within the clause. Indeed, everyone who reads these words with the eyes of common sense—and my noble Friend (Earl Granville) has plenty of common sense, if he were only at liberty to use it—must perceive that there is noe the slightest ground for the argument advanced by the late Prime Minister Either I am wrong, and the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) is wrong, or else the right hon. Gentleman has made some great mistake.

But my noble Friend says that this is condemned in principle by the Act of 1875. I understood him to refer to the 3rd clause of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875, which relates to matters concerning trade. But the 18th section of the present Bill expressly saves all cases which come within that Act of Parliament, and nothing which is lawful under that Statute will be unlawful under the present Bill. The 3rd clause of the Act of 1875 is irrelevant to the present question, and the argument, that something similar ought to have been introduced into this Bill, is wholly fallacious; as the least consideration of the terms of that clause, and of the reasons for its enactment, is enough to show. It is in these words—

> "An agreement or combination by two or more persons, to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen shall not be indictable as a conspiracy, if such act committed by one person would not be punishable as a crime."

Everything there turns upon the words, "in contemplation of the furtherance of a trade dispute between employers and workmen;" and a later clause in the same Act makes punishable by summary jurisdiction acts of molestation by individuals, which, though not in their own nature compulsory, and not amounting to violence or intimidation, are done with a view to interfere with the lawful exercise of other men's free will. And the only reason for introducing that clause into the Act of 1875, as was at the time explained by my noble Friend (Viscount Cross), who was then Home Secretary, was, that the previous Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871, which otherwise might have stood without alteration, contained a Proviso, intended for the benefit of trade unions, to the effect that—

> "No person should be liable to punishment for conspiring to do an act that tended to restrain the free course of trade, unless the act was done with the object of coercing."

This was so interpreted by the Courts as to produce an effect different from what was intended; and it was for that reason only that the Act of 1871 was repealed, and the clause in question introduced into the new Act of 1875. To say that, because this was done, conspiracies now criminal and punishable by law, for the purposes mentioned in the 1st sub-section of Clause 2 of the present Bill—directed obviously against Boycotting—should be made lawful, whenever they might aim at procuring acts to be done, which would not be criminal if voluntarily done by individuals, is unreasonable; because, as the law now stands, combinations for such purposes would not be illegal, or punishable by law, unless they either sought unlawful ends, or used unlawful means to induce other persons to do what, if done without the use of such means in the exercise of individual free will, might be lawful. The use of unlawful means is, in reason as well as law, as criminal as the pursuit of unlawful ends.

And now I pass to the next part of the Bill, that contained in Clauses 6 and 7, which relates to the power given to the Lord Lieutenant to proclaim certain associations. My noble Friend (Earl Granville) said that the provisions of these clauses assumed that the associations which they make illegal are not unlawful at Common Law. Well, I assert that the meaning of the words of the Bill is exactly the reverse. Whether the Lord Lieutenant may be liable to make any mistake or not, it is quite certain that the Legislature has pointed out to him that he is to be satisfied about conditions every one of which involves crime—nothing less and nothing short of crime. The association must be either formed for criminal purposes, or carrying on its operations by criminal means, expressly so described in the very words of the definition of unlawful associations contained in the Act of 1882,—or it must promote or incite to acts of violence and intimidation — things not less plainly criminal, and also within the scope of the Act of 1882;—or it must interfere with the administration of the law, or disturb the maintenance, not of order only, but also of law. That also, most clearly, describes an unlawful and a criminal object. If such associations exist, as everybody knows they do, and are powerful, it is necessary to arm the Government with sufficient power to suppress them. It is true, that confidence is placed in the Lord Lieutenant's judgment, subject to his responsibility to Parliament; and, on the foundation of that confidence, obedience to his Proclamation is made an offence against the Act. And it is also true, that this particular power was not given by the Act of 1882. But other powers, some of them very large indeed, were by that Act given to the Lord Lieutenant; and not a few things were made offences ageinst that Act, which were not so without it. Among other things, the Lord Lieutenant was, by the 10th clause of that Act, empowered to prohibit any meeting which he might have reason to believe to be dangerous to the public peace or the public safety—a power not taken by the present Bill; and disobedience to any such order was made an offence against that Act, punishable by summary jurisdiction. If the Lord Lieutenant, under the present Bill, has good reason for being satisfied that any association which he may proclaim is within the descriptions contained in the Bill, his Proclamation will not make that illegal which was legal before. If he should fall into any error of judgment—which I see no reason to believe or to presume—he will be responsible, as those who administered the Act of 1882 were, to Parliament.

There remains the important question as to the permanence of this measure. I cannot help agreeing with those who think that its permanence is one of its principal merits, and one which entitles us to be most hopeful of the results. All the former Acts, while in force, did, in a greater or less degree, produce the desired effect. What is the history of those Acts? The Prime Minister lately said he had heard that 87 such Acts had been passed from first to last. I have not ascertained whether that is so or not; but I have looked into the matter since 1830, and I find that since that year there have been 49 such Acts. In 57 years there have been 49 such Acts—not quite one a-year, but not very much short of it. I do think that if anything in the world could tend to diminish the chances and probabilities of the success of such a measure it is to limit it for a short time. The time of Parliament would be over and over again occupied in this way. We hear, and from those whose right to make the complaint may not unreasonably be questioned, that all the time of the present Session has been occupied with this Bill. But if we are to go on passing Acts of this kind for limited periods—if for one year—we shall have every Session occupied in the same way. And if the Bill were limited to two years, every other Session; and if it were limited to three years, every third Session would be so occupied. But even that is not all. The accidents of political life and the exigencies of political Parties play into the hands of those who are against the law. What happened on the two most recent occasions? In 1880 a change of Ministry took place just at a critical moment, and when the new Ministry came in, the first thing they had to do was to consider whether it was possible to renew the Act which was then expiring. It was decided not to renew it, and what followed, the moment the pressure was removed? Crime and the machinery of crime began at once to revive. What took place in 1881 and 1882 we all know; but what took place in 1885? The then Government thought they ought to renew the Act of 1882, in some of its principal, though not all its provisions; but there came a change of Government, and then again happened the same thing which had happened in 1880. Again the experiment was tried of doing without this sort of legislation, and we all know what the result was. I think it is high time that we came to an end of that system. I must say—and in using the term I do not mean offence to anyone—I think there has been a good deal of cant talked about exceptional legislation. If all the laws of Ireland were the same as in England and Scotland, and if all the circumstances were the same, then I could understand, perhaps, this talk about exceptional legislation. But is this the only exceptional legislation we have had? What have been the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881; what was your great measure of conciliation, your Home Rule measure? Were not all these instances, on a great scale, of exceptional legislation? It seems to me that when the circumstances of one country are materially different from those of another, they must be met by differences in legislation; and it is perfectly unreasonable to lay hold of a misleading phrase for the purpose of objecting either to a permanent or a temporary measure, which the circumstances of the country require. The effect of making this measure permanent is that it will last as long as the necessity for it continues; and it is right that it should be so; the whole experience of nearly 60 years has proved that the evils are chronic, against which it provides.

I have now finished, my Lords, what I think it necessary to say in answer to the criticisms on the Bill; but there are some other topics connected with it as to which I must say something more, with your Lordships' permission. I have more than once borne a sincere and willing testimony to the tone and manner in which this subject has been dealt with by my noble Friends on the Front Bench. I heard with great satisfaction some things which they said. Speaking of gain to be acquired from these debates, my noble Friend (Earl Granville) said—

> "One lesson I learn from the present state of things and difference of opinion. It is to avoid all bitterness and acrimony of attack

> upon those who wish to stand upon the old ways and adhere to those methods of routine which have been so often tried and have so often failed."

But has there been no bitterness and acrimony of attack anywhere else? My noble Friend, of course, is not responsible for it. But some men have the misfortune to act in intimate conjunction with those who do not see these things with their eyes, or speak of them as they speak. I cannot help thinking that the authors of the Act of 1882 would have done well, if all of them from first to last had acted and spoken in the same spirit as my noble Friend. If they thought fit to oppose this measure they should, at least, have done so without bitterness and acrimony of attack in Parliament, or in the country. There were other things, my Lords, which I heard with great satisfaction from my noble Friends. I heard what sounded to me like a very unequivocal condemnation of the Plan of Campaign from my noble Friend the Earl of Rosebery. So, again, my noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) spoke in strong terms in condemnation of Boycotting, when he said that he thought Boycotting extremely cruel, and objected to such action wherever it was and might be found; and I have no doubt all my noble Friends agree with him. But, on the other hand, what has Mr. Gladstone said? What would be the natural interpretation of such language as this? Speaking on May 11, he said the Bill was invidious, because "it pretends to be for one purpose, while it is really framed for another purpose." Who, I should like to know, has a right to say that? I am not aware of any single word in the Bill, or of any single fact outside the Bill, which affords for such language, coming from such a man, the slightest justification, or even excuse.

> "It pretends to be a Bill against crime, and it is really a Bill against combination and exclusive dealing—which may be very bad things, but they are the only weapons of self-defence belonging to a poor and disheartened people. It is a Bill aimed against acts which are not crimes. It is a Bill for the creation of new crimes."

In all that there is not a word of condemnation of Boycotting; and it could not fail to be interpreted by those who heard it as a defence of Boycotting. He went on to justify obstruction, because, as he said—

> "You determine, under the name of crime, to prosecute what is not crime. . . . to invade very seriously the liberties of the people, and take from them, under the name of crime, methods of action which, though not to be desired in a healthy state of society, may, when society is in an unhealthy state, be the only available remedies at the command of the people."

Then, on another occasion, at Swansea, on June 4, Mr. Gladstone made another speech, in which he said—

> "The principal opposition against the Bill is not because it is not desirable to strengthen the law against crime, and not because it is merely directed against crime, but because it is directed against those combinations, which, in this country, are known as trades unions. It is an attempt to strike down combinations, not when they pass into crime."

This was said in face of the fact that there is a clause in the Bill which expressly provides that nothing which is legal under the Trade Unions Acts shall be illegal under this Bill. And, speaking at the National Liberal Club as late as Saturday last, Mr. Gladstone said—

> "A Coercion Bill has been passed of a character that we think entirely novel, bringing into the category of crime things that heretofore have never been crimes at all, carrying away the rights of Her Majesty's subjects to judicial trial, and providing that they shall be disposed of in a private chamber of the Viceroy or the Chief Secretary."

It is marvellous to me how a man like Mr. Gladstone can have persuaded himself of these things, for it is perfectly impossible that he could say them if he had not persuaded himself of them. I say, on the other hand, that for not one of these statements is there the slightest foundation, in fact or in law. And I have some right to ask him why he has not thought it right to condemn those things which are against the law—the Plan of Campaign, Boycotting, and other things—in terms at least as strong as those in which he denounces what he imagines to be the faults of the Bill? He might properly say—"I support the Bill as far as it goes against crime, but I criticize and oppose certain parts of it which go too far." It was open to the author of the Act of 1882 to take that course. He might have been content with saying, as he did say, "The case for the Bill is not made out;" or he might have said, "I have a better remedy." But it was not for him, without some loss of the great position which he had previously occupied, to try and run down the Bill by this sort of violence, by unsparing and indiscriminate, and, I had almost said, unscrupulous vituperation, when he had thought it his duty, in the responsible position which he formerly occupied as a Minister of the Crown, to provide for the accomplishment of the same purposes in part by the same, and in part by stronger, means. My Lords, it is a subject of regret to me that I am compelled to differ from so many of my noble Friends; but most of all am I sorry to differ from the great man to whose service I have devoted many of the best years of my life. My separation from him will be a bitter thing to me to the end of my days; but before all regard for persons, before all regard for friends, before all regard for myself, must be the regard I have for my country, for law and justice, for private liberty and public honour.

EARL SPENCER: My Lords, as I have been appealed to with regard to this Bill, I think it my duty to rise to make a few observations. The eloquent words of the noble and learned Lord who has just sat down show how painful it is to him to differ from the great statesman with whom he has acted for so many years, as well as from noble Friends in this House, and I can assure the noble and learned Lord that it is equally painful to us to find ourselves in opposition to him. But I may say that, with the exception of the two speeches we have heard to-night from the noble Earl who opened the debate, and from the noble and learned Earl, we have received more bitter attacks from our noble Friends on this side of the House than we have done from our opponents opposite. I am naturally reluctant to rise to cross swords with old friends, but I have felt that I ought not to shrink from my duty if challenged on any particular points. I will first refer to what my noble and learned Friend has called the vacuity on this Bench the other night. I can assure your Lordships that the neglect to be in our places was unintentional on our parts. Our absence was entirely due to the necessary function of dinner, and we expected to find the House sitting on our return. I may, however, say that we are not monopolists here in the way of speeches, and at the time in question I believe there were only 15 Members of the House present on the other side. I do not like to refer to personal matters, but I must say a few words after what the noble Earl who spoke first said with regard to myself. He spoke in too flattering terms of the way in which I carried out my duty as Viceroy of Ireland during three momentous years. I acknowledge with gratitude the loyalty and kindness which I received while fulfilling that very difficult task. I gratefully acknowledge the support I received in the performance of my duty, not only from this, but on many occasions, from the other side of the House. I endeavoured to do my duty in trying to enforce the law Parliament had put in my hands with moderation, but with firmness. I have nothing on my conscience to reproach myself with as regards my administration of the law in Ireland, and though I fully admit that I do not hold the same views on many points now that I did then, I shall never regret the part I took then in the administration of justice. I can quite understand that my noble Friends behind me should mistrust my judgment; I cannot expect them to follow me now as they did formerly; but I do claim for myself, and your Lordships on many occasions have admitted, that any change I have made in my views I had a perfect right to make according to my conscience, which I feel is clear upon this last matter, as it is upon my administration of justice in Ireland. But though I may have changed my views with regard to Home Rule, I have never changed on this point—that I consider it now as essential as ever to maintain law and order in Ireland, to maintain, in the words of my noble and learned Friend, the supremacy of the law and the dignity of the Courts of Justice of the country. That I maintain now as much as I ever did. I have the same horror of crime and outrage, I dislike Boycotting as much as I did when I administered justice in Ireland. I have never shrunk from saying that, nor from declaring against the Plan of Campaign. I have done it elsewhere and I have done it here. I hold those views as strongly now as ever before; but I claim to myself to say how they can be carried out. I maintain that past experience in Ireland shows that we shall not gain what we want—the peace and prosperity of Ireland; that we shall never win over the people of Ireland in support of law and order by a repetition of those Acts which have so often been passed, and which have never succeeded. What have they done? They have for a time restored law and order to the country; they have no doubt generally done that; but have they left behind them an improved feeling in the Irish people? My belief is that every one of these Acts has increased the irritation of the Irish people against the English Government. Your Lordships have said that when I left Ireland law and order had been restored and the supremacy of the law was maintained. But was the feeling of the people towards the Government of the country at all better? I believe at that time there was hardly a municipality outside Ulster where the majority was not prone to move resolutions hostile to the Government. The Government had no support from any part of the country except from the minority representing the landlords and some part of the middle classes. That was the state of things when I left Ireland. My noble Friend has been charged with saying that because of the new franchise we have not found it desirable to maintain law and order in Ireland. I deny that he said this; but I wish to point out this—that the use to which the new franchise has been put shows that the Irish people hold most determined opinions on the subject of English rule. We were prepared to find that those in favour of Home Rule were in a majority; but we were not prepared for the extreme weakness of the opposition. I could give instance after instance where in the case of contested elections in Ireland the National majority was some 4,000 or 5,000, and the minority was only some 400 or 500.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: That was because the people were afraid to vote against the National Party.

EARL SPENCER: The noble Marquess says that the people were afraid. In that case, how does he account for the universal expression of feeling in favour of the National Party on the part of the people at the elections throughout Ireland? Had the people been afraid, would not that fear have manifested itself in some way or another? If intimidation had been universally practised would not some persons who had been intimidated avail themselves of the proceedings that were open to them under the Corrupt Practices Act? It is a matter of fact that no attempt was made to show that the Irish electors had been intimidated. The intimidation argument is one which I am afraid that those who call themselves the Loyal Party in Ireland have relied upon too long. I myself and others believed in that argument for some time; but we are now convinced that it has no foundation in fact. I now approach the general aspect of the case. In my opinion, this measure differs in several important particulars from the measures that have preceded it, and particularly from the Act of 1882. Thus this measure contains for the first time a clause dealing with conspiracy, as well as with intimidation. The introduction of such clauses makes this measure very different from its predecessors. In touching upon the character of the tribunal who will have to administer this measure, I do not desire to say a single word against the Resident Magistrates of Ireland, who constitute a very good and efficient body, and I am satisfied that they have an earnest desire to do justice between man and man; but, at the same time, this must be borne in mind that the majority of these magistrates who will have to administer this measure are not trained lawyers. What I complain of is that these untrained lawyers will have imposed upon them by this Bill the duty of determining questions relating to conspiracies which are of such a difficult and delicate nature that they would puzzle most lawyers to decide. I also think that the powers which are conferred by the measure upon the Lord Lieutenant are of a very dangerous and far-reaching kind. The point I desire to make is that whereas under the Act of 1882 the question whether associations were or were not illegal had to be argued out in public, under the provisions of the present Bill the matter will have to be determined in private by the Lord Lieutenant. I am sure that the Lord Lieutenant will endeavour faithfully to carry out his responsible duties; but neither he or his legal advisers are infallible, and I object to the grave duties of a legal character imposed solely upon the Irish Government. I do not desire to detain your Lordships by adverting at length to the subject of the permanency of the measure. Although I regard that as a very important matter I feel that it has been sufficiently dwelt upon by my noble Friends near me, and therefore I do not propose to trouble your Lordships with any further remarks with regard to it. It has been pointed out by the noble and learned Lord near me that the Act of 1882 vested power in the Lord Lieutenant to declare a meeting illegal, and he argued that in view of that fact there was no reason why the power of declaring associations illegal should not also be entrusted to him. In my judgment, however, there is a great deal of difference between a power to declare meetings illegal and a power to declare associations illegal. When a meeting is declared to be illegal, all that is done is to inform people that the meeting cannot be held and that the people must not proceed to the place where it was to be held; whereas, when an association is declared to be illegal, all its machinery is thrown out of work and many transactions must be interfered with. I should like to ask, however, whether the present Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government is likely to succeed? Is the Irish Government itself stronger than those which have gone before? Down to the present time we have not had much proof of either the consistency or the firmness of the noble Marquess's Irish policy. We have had changes made in the *personnel* of the Irish Office. The Government removed, no doubt by promotion, the Under Secretary, Sir Robert Hamilton. I always have regretted this—for he had gained much experience, and was much trusted in Ireland. Rumour says that his successor, Sir Redevers Buller (whose ability and generosity of feeling made up for his previous want of official experience or knowledge of Ireland), is shortly to leave his port. These changes do not add to the strength of the Irish Government; and, besides its lack of tried permanent officials, it is obvious that it is especially weak, because it is not in touch with the Irish people. So much as to the actual Irish Government through which the policy of the Government will be carried out. If we turn to the criminal legislation of the Noble Marquess—he has one policy in 1885, another in 1886, and another in 1887. As regards remedial measures, we know what has taken place with respect to the Land Bill in this House, in connection with which Her Majesty's Government most certainly did not show any fixed or determined policy. They are now credited with great changes in their Land Measure since it has been in "another place." I do not think, therefore, that the experience we have already had of the past policy of Her Majesty's Government is very encouraging as regards their future policy. I cannot believe in the success of the present scheme of the Government with regard to Ireland, because experience leads me to the belief that their present policy will fail in winning for them the affections of the Irish people equally with all their past efforts. What are the circumstances that will make it even more difficult than before for the noble Marquess to carry out his policy in Ireland? Not only have you got the voice of the people of Ireland almost unanimous in demanding a National Legislature for the country, but that voice is supported by great numbers of Irishmen in America, and by a large portion of our own population. The noble Marquess thinks he is going to succeed by carrying a large Purchase Act. I think he will be deceived. He will find great difficulty in carrying such an Act; but if he does carry it he will find in Ireland the same strong feeling for National Government existing which has prevailed there since 1782, which was defeated at one time, but which has always re-appeared with greater strength, and I believe that will be one of the causes which will prevent the noble Marquess from being more successful than those who preceded him. There is no doubt a deep responsibility on any person who takes up a position of opposition to the policy of Her Majesty's Government. We feel that responsibility. But I am convinced that there is no use in going on with the old remedies, and I believe we can find a policy which is safe for the United Kingdom, and which will carry with it the approval of the Irish people, and therefore we cannot support a measure of this kind, which will only further irritate them. That is the reason why we oppose the measure. I shall not go into details. This is not the proper time for doing so. There are many clauses in the Bill to which I should very little object; but there are some clauses which, even in the opinion of those who would not adopt a policy of Home Rule for Ireland, are very dangerous. I do not intend to go into the whole question of Home Rule; but I will say that it is absurd to say that we have no alternative policy; if the Bills of last year are dead their principles survive and are alive in the country. I believe that that policy may be carried out with perfect safety to the people of this country, and that is the alternative which I prefer to supporting the measure which is before your Lordships.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): My Lords, I confess I should be very much disappointed if the policy of silence indicated by the noble Earl had been persevered in to the end. I think we have had some valuable admissions in the speeches reluctantly extorted from noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench; but, even as it is, your Lordships must be disappointed with what they have said. On every platform, at every meeting where this Bill has been discussed by those adverse to the present Government, those present were assured that this Bill is unexampled in its severity, wholly unlike Bills before it, and involving principles never before adopted in the legislation of this country. We are assured that this is an attempt to put down lawful combinations for trade and industrial purposes, which have always been respected in legislation of this character. I can understand those observations made to people who do not know better; but I should expect, if noble Lords intended to rely upon propositions of that sort, that they would be prepared to debate them in this House. The noble Earl who last addressed your Lordships has, I think, a little misunderstood the history of the years from 1880 to the present time. It is not for the idle purpose of accusing noble Lords of inconsistency that I wish to point out that they are the authors of Bills of greater severity than the measure before your Lordships. Those Bills involved the admission by the Government of the time of the necessity for such measures. We have had an admission to-night that the Government of 1880, when it came into power, were most reluctant to have recourse to coercive legislation. Your Lordships will give them every credit for endeavouring to govern Ireland without repressive legislation. But the experience of that year, and what followed in 1881, showed that it was impossible in their judgment to govern Ireland without additional powers. Then came the Act of 1882. I am surprised at what the noble Earl said of that Act, considering what it contained. I believe the noble Earl is mistaken when he says there was no such definition of intimidation in that Act as is contained in the Bill before the House. There was a definition of intimidation in that Act which differs very slightly from the definition in the present Bill.

EARL SPENCER: What I alluded to was the second sub-section with regard to conspiracy.

LORD HALSBURY: I accept at once the noble Earl's explanation. But, although every year from 1881 to 1885 the Government of that day were most anxious to avoid coercive legislation, yet they were obliged to recur to it, and in 1885 it is admitted that they contemplated a Coercion Bill. I have no right to say what were the exact sections it was intended to reproduce. But, at all events, they were sections which were considered necessary by the late Government for the maintenance of law and order in Ireland. When was it, after 1885, that the noble Earl changed his mind and thought it unnecessary to obtain any additional powers to reinforce the law? If there be any section in the present Bill to which he objects, why does he not urge his objections? Are we to be met in this House, after what we hear on platforms, by a silent opposition, while noble Lords give us no assistance? And I maintain that we are entitled to claim assistance from them upon such questions as this. I deny that the Courts of Law in Ireland do not require additional strength. We have had uncertain utterances, and a very uncertain sound according to the particular audience which is being addressed. Where it is possible to appeal to those general principles of liberty which are never more respected than in your Lordships' House, the appeal is made as if the only coercion ever exercised was exercised by the law of the land; and it is implied that this is a hypocritical and dishonest Bill, not intended to maintain law and protect the innocent and industrious, but to crush the already oppressed, and to be an instrument of oppression in the hands of the more powerful over their poorer neighbours. Is that language which any noble Lords will adopt? If not, I cannot help thinking that in this House we should have had a disclaimer of such language with the indignation which it is calculated to provoke. I say such language is calculated to inflame the minds of ignorant men, and it ought not to proceed from the mouths of Members of the Liberal Party. The Act of 1882 was almost unexampled in its severity. Just let me read to your Lordships one or two of its provisions. I will not suggest that noble Lords were actuated by any such motives as are attributed to us, for I believe they were firmly resolved to do their duty as responsible Ministers; but they knew they were not able to govern without such powers. Among others there was this provision—that no man in a proclaimed district should be found out of his house after sunset; if he was, and did not give a satisfactory account of himself, he could be sent to prison by summary jurisdiction. Where was the burning indignation which is now felt about creating crimes new to the law? Not only was any man who could not give a satisfactory account of himself liable to be sent to prison; but there was a suspension of the jury laws. Under certain circumstances a person could be tried before three Judges appointed by the Crown. Where again, I ask, is the sort of tone which we hear with reference to this comparatively mild measure of repression? Is it right for those who brought forward the legislation of 1882 now not to tell us where our legislation is wrong, and not to give us that assistance which every political party gives to its opponents? As to the question of trade unions, your Lordships should remember that the Act of 1875, which is an Amendment of the Trade Union Act, and which is called the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act, contemplates summary jurisdiction and 18 months' imprisonment in the case of any person who, with the view to compel—not who actually compels, but who, with the view to compel—any other person to abstain from doing or to do any act which such person had a right to do or abstain from doing, watches and besets that person. Is there any violence there, or anything which necessarily inflicts suffering, except in the way one is familiar with in trade unions? And yet it is supposed that where the system undoubtedly exists in Ireland, not of "watching and besetting," but of outrages at night, of preventing people following their lawful avocations, and of refusing assistance to the sick and burial for the dead—that in such a state of things it is not necessary for the law to intervene. A noble Lord on the Opposition side asked the noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench to say if they had a policy, and if the Government are doing wrong how the Government can do right? I observe that the noble Earl says that they have a policy which, if adopted, would render the Government policy unnecessary. But why do they not tell us what it is. Taunt after taunt has been levelled against the noble Lords to induce them to tell us what this policy is, but we can get nothing from them. We are told in somewhat doubtful and hesitating phrases that if the two Bills are dead their policy is alive. But the policy represented by those two Bills is a case of "suspended animation" which I cannot comprehend. Do noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench really mean to say that there is or is not a state of crime in Ireland justifying a Bill of this sort? Will they tell us that they think there is no such thing as Boycotting, as the oppression of the subject, as persons not being able to follow their lawful avocations? If they admit that these things exist, then I would ask what is to become of the administration of the law in the meantime? Are the lawless to be allowed to trample on those who are unable to resist, and is the village ruffian to be the hero of the situation and do what he pleases? Let us know what their proposals are, and what is the degree of coercion which they will not denounce all over the country as an improper attempt to interfere with the liberty of the subject. What liberties of the subject will this Bill interfere with? Will the noble Earl on the

Front Bench opposite tell us what honest man who wishes to obey the law will find his liberty in the smallest degree controlled by any part of this Bill? I cannot help thinking that an effort has been made to smother debate on this Bill in your Lordships' House in order that it might be said that the House would not properly and fully consider any reasonable criticism that might be offered, and that your Lordships had not thought it right to discuss in a single debate a measure which deeply affects the liberties of the Irish people, whereas in the House of Commons months had been occupied in passing it through. If the debates on the Bill in your Lordships' House have been scant, it is because noble Lords on the Front Opposition Bench, who are the natural and just critics of the works of the Government, have designedly abstained from criticizing the measure here where they can be answered, and have allowed it to be criticized on public platforms where answers could not be given with effect, because the audiences could not understand them.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I have not risen to prolong the discussion, but merely to say a few words in reply to my noble Friend on the Front Opposition Bench (Earl Spencer). My noble Friend has certainly not heard me say one bitter word against him. I respect him too highly, and admire his character and his administration too much to allow me to do so. But I must say that he has no right whatever to complain of bitterness on the part of the Unionist Liberals. The Liberal Unionists have been the butt of the Leader of the so-called Liberal Party for many months. I point to the right hon. Gentleman as having used the most violent language towards all who have opposed him, and especially towards Liberal Unionists. In a speech delivered to some Nonconformists, he was asked why it was that this Bill had passed by such large majorities, and his answer was—"It is due to servile support." Could more violent or more offensive language be used? My right hon. Friend is perfectly sincere. I do not doubt that he believes every word he says; but his mind is passionately inflamed on the subject, and he thinks that everyone opposed to him must either be a high Tory or have corrupt motives, and he points to Liberal Unionists as the cause of the liberties of Ireland being taken away. This is utter nonsense. Can anything be more false? I will appeal to my noble Friend not to discourage adequate discussion on this measure. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has referred to the conspiracy of silence on the part of noble Lords on the Opposition side of the House. At all events, the object of those noble Lords is not to encourage adequate discussion. I wish to state to the House what has happened in my own case in reference to this point. I came down to the House on the second reading, and the first thing I heard was that it was the intention of the noble Earl who leads the Opposition that there should be as little discussion as possible on the subject, and that the debate was to be allowed to collapse. I confess I did not believe it. But the moment I heard my noble Friend's speech I saw the rumour was true. On the following evening, when the question was raised, my noble Friend, in a speech which seemed to be carefully prepared, said that when he came back from dinner he broke his nose against the door of the House coming in, expecting the debate was being continued. I, however, wish to direct your Lordships attention to what was said by my noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) when the debate was resumed. In the course of his speech, the noble Earl used these words—

> "We considered that the Bill had been sufficiently discussed in the other House, and when it came to this House we resolved, for more reasons than one, to confine ourselves to a simple protest delivered by our Leaders against the measure as it stands."

If I understand these words aright, the matter was clearly planned. I do not mean to say that there was anything dishonourable or unfair in the manœuvre; but it was a Party manœuvre for some Party purpose. The object was that noble Lords should not repeat in this House those claptrap assertions which can be made outside the House; but which, if made in this House, would meet immediate contradiction. Their object was that they should not be called upon to state what their policy was. They have no policy, except Irish autonomy, or Home Rule, whatever the phrase is. I say that for the Opposition not to give any indication of their policy is not to treat the country with fairness on the great Constitutional question. No wonder my noble Friends hesitate. Their policy varies from day to day. Their policy varies with each speech Mr. Gladstone makes. It has been announced that because we have dared to oppose the right hon. Gentleman's new-fangled Constitution, which, the moment it appeared, became the laughing-stock of the world, new questions will be raised upon us, and that Home Rule will be demanded not only for Ireland, but for Wales and for Scotland. Well, my Lords, these are inconvenient declarations to be made here. I suppose we are not worthy to have such arguments addressed to us. We belong not to the masses, but to the classes. We have some knowledge of history and of law, and are not likely to listen to proposals for upsetting a Constitution which has lasted more than 1,000 years for one devised by men sitting round a table for three weeks. Last year, when my right hon. Friend used this phrase of the masses and the classes, I did not deny that there were some questions on which the masses could be better trusted than the classes. I will mention slavery as an instance. The people of this country were adverse to slavery before the higher classes, and they were also in favour of the American Union. That also was a popular instinct, and at that time Mr. Gladstone belonged to the classes and not to the masses; but there are other questions on which the masses are not equally likely to be right. Pre-eminent among these must be the question of a new Constitution, the task of framing which can only be undertaken by men of the most matured judgment, of the highest attainments, by men who have not been Party Leaders, and statesmen in that sense of the word, but have been compelled, by the exigencies of their fate and the circumstances of the people over whom they have to rule, to think deeply about what powers can be given to the central government, and what can be distributed among the masses of the people. A more difficult duty can never be undertaken by the human mind. No doubt, men of the classes have their own temptations and their faults. Leaders of political Parties in this country are not free from their own special temptations. My right hon. Friend belongs to one of these classes. He belongs to the class of the Party Leader, and what is one of the temptations of the Party Leader? He hates, he dislikes independent truth. He discourages it. He denounces it. Have we not an example of this in my right hon. Friend? How comes he to denounce Judge O'Brien? Because Judge O'Brien is a man independent of Party, and speaks the truth, without regard to Party. Nothing can be more painful to the Party Leader who submits to the temptation of his class than to deal with such a man as that. I deny that Judge O'Brien's charge was a moral essay, or a philanthropic essay, or a sermon, or any other opprobrious term which my right hon. Friend may have chosen to apply to it. Judge O'Brien was talking of the state of crime in his own circuit, and was stating what everybody knew to be the truth—that men on that particular circuit are under such terrorism that they cannot go into the Courts of Justice. I say that my noble Friend (Earl Spencer) has no right to complain of any language which we have heard. He and his colleagues on this Bench may make any plan they like for procuring silence. Silence they will not be allowed to have. At every meeting, on every platform, and in every portion of the public Press we shall follow their example. We shall not allow the Constitution of this country to be destroyed and the Heptarchy to be restored in a moment of folly and confusion without a thorough defence of the old Constitution which we see in danger.

Earl GRANVILLE and Lord DENMAN rising together:—

Moved, "That the Earl Granville be now heard,"—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I was very glad when the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack got up and spoke. I was rather disposed to believe that it was intended that the debate should be carried on exclusively upon the Liberal side of the House. Noble Lords who though Liberal, disagree with us on this question, seemed to assume that it was the business of the two sections of the Liberal Party to undertake the whole debate—that it is my duty and the duty of the three or four noble Lords sitting near me to declare our own policy in every possible way and to attack the Government, and that it is the business of themselves to defend it. We have been told that I advised a system of silence in this House. I did no such thing. I defy the noble and learned Lord to show anything of the sort. What I did say was this. I thought it necessary to state very early that we meant to confine our action to a protest —that we did not mean to provide, and that we did not intend to propose, Amendments. The noble and learned Lord said—"You are very wrong in not proposing Amendments." This is a very extraordinary proceeding, that it should be only in the debate on the third reading that the Government should give the slightest intimation that they would be willing to accept any Amendment. I entirely agree with what fell from my noble Friend the late Viceroy of Ireland (Earl Spencer). As to the speech which the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) has made, I will ask the House to bear with me while I tell a story of between 30 and 40 years ago. At that time the noble Duke was supposed to be a great enemy of the Conservative Party, and a rumour was spread that he was going to make a crushing attack upon the late Earl of Derby. There was great excitement, and we all came down to this House and heard a magnificent speech from the noble Duke. We were equally curious to know what the Earl of Derby thought of it, but the noble Earl unfortunately condensed his reply into the answer which was given by a navvy who, when asked why he allowed his wife to beat him so, said—"Well, it amuses her and it does not hurt me." Although I have not the physical strength of a navvy, or the intellectual power of the late Lord Derby, I am much in the same position in reference to my noble Friend's speech, but whether it is attributable to my obtuseness of understanding or to the thickness of my skin I really do not feel it. Notwithstanding the vigour of a personal onslaught of which he does not appear to be aware, I am convinced that my noble Friend is one of the best of personal friends and one of the most tender-hearted of men. My noble and learned Friend (the Earl of Selborne) has been a little hard upon us. The noble Earl behind me (the Earl of Camperdown) has pointed out that we have only one lawyer in this House on our side. It is unfortunate that that lawyer (Lord Herschell) is unavoidably prevented from being here to-day. My noble and learned Friend (the Earl of Selborne) came down last Thursday to make a speech on the second reading of the Bill, but he was prevented from delivering it; and although there were discussions in Committee on Friday, he kept back his speech till to-night. With regard to some of his criticisms, I wish to ask him what he thinks his Leader (Lord Hartington) meant when he said that there were new offences created by the Bill? The noble Duke hardly ever delivers a speech without making some personal remark against Mr. Gladstone.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: Political.

EARL GRANVILLE: Some personal remark. Now, although Mr. Gladstone may sometimes think very strongly in regard to the measures and the policy of his adversaries, it appears to me that he has during the last year carefully abstained from making personal attacks on his opponents. In regard to what has been stated as to there being a settled plan on our part to have no debate on the second reading, as far as I am concerned I repudiate the charge. I honestly assure your Lordships that I was entirely taken by surprise when on coming back to the House I found the doors closed against my return. I utterly refuse to accept the proposition of the noble Marquess that we are bound to produce our policy. It is well-known that our policy is founded upon those general principles which were embodied in the Bill of last year, though as to the modification and details which may be necessary, my noble and learned friend (the Earl of Selborne) admitted that we are not bound to go into them. But because we cannot go into details and modifications of a possible policy we ought not to be accused of wishing to smother all debate on the Bill in this House.

The Marquess of SALISBURY and Lord DENMAN rising together, *Moved*, "That the Marquess of Salisbury be now heard."—(*The Earl Granville.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I rise with some anxiety to make a few observations, because I heard just now the sound of that bell which rings so pleasantly in the ears of noble Lords opposite and indicates to them that the dinner hour has approached. I can only hope that their digestion will not be impaired if I detain them for a few minutes while I venture to point out that noble Lords are not quite so unreasonable as the noble Earl thinks us in desiring to hear the opinions of noble Lords opposite in the course of this debate. I understood the other night that the noble Earl's Friends did not intend to take part in this debate. Had that intention been carried out, I confess that I should have regarded it as a great misfortune, and I think it would hardly have tended to the credit of this House. They have however, only partly repaired the evil. It would have been said that in the House where there was only one man with any Irish experience—namely, Mr. Morley—who could only speak with a fitful experience of a few months——

EARL GRANVILLE: Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Mr. Campbell-Bannerman had scarcely more. It would have been said that in that House the Bill was discussed with great volubility; but in this House, where we have several Irish Viceroys, it was passed in absolute silence. Then, there is a distinguished Liberal lawyer in this House (Lord Herschell), but we have had no repetition, no dissent from him of the positive legal assertions which have been made by the supporters of the late Government as to the effect and bearing of the Bill. Those assertions have been repeated outside the walls of Parliament before multitudes, and I should have liked to hear an answer from the most distinguished lawyer in the Liberal Party. I admit that under ordinary circumstances we have no right to call upon the Opposition for an alternative policy, but look at the unexampled position which the Opposition has occupied during the discussion of this Crimes Bill! I believe there is no precedent for an Opposition refusing increased powers to the Executive when the Executive declare that it is necessary that they should have them, save with this one exception—where the Opposition is prepared to challenge the tenure of Office by those who hold it, and sees its way to carry that challenge into effect. Undoubtedly in the well-known case of Lord George Bentinck powers were refused, but they were refused by the same action and the same vote which dismissed the Government from Office. When an Opposition, without seeing any probability of defeating a measure, yet continues a long, turbulent, rancorous, and obstructive oppisition to the demands for greater powers for the Executive, it at least invests us with a title to ask, "What is the alternative policy you would propose for this policy?" My Lords, so much has been said of the Bill and said by such distinguished men that there is very little left for me to say, and I shall not detain you long. I will only congratulate myself with the hope that the fiction of there being any new crime invented by this Bill has been laid at last and for ever, and I trust we shall not hear of it again from any speaker who wishes to retain his self-respect. We have now the highest legal authority for what I should have thought was absolutely clear to any reader, whether endowed with learning or not. But the attempt to raise a public opinion against this Bill has been conducted by methods of such extravagance that they have been rarely met with in our political history; and the extent to which the aid of imagination and invention have been invoked, and to which the charges brought against the Bill, though absolutely destitute of any plausible foundation in fact, have been repeated from one platform to another, has, I think, very rarely been equalled. I heard with some surprise the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Rosebery), who is not now in his place, tell us that we were trying to govern by a stage of siege. I wonder if the noble Earl had any idea, when he used the expression, what a stage of siege means.

EARL SPENCER: As my noble Friend is not here perhaps I may be allowed to speak for him. When he made use of that expression, he was quoting from Lord Carnarvon, the noble Marquess's own Viceroy.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: It does not follow that because Lord Carnarvon made use of it on another occasion, with a general application, that therefore the observation was a right one to apply to this particular Bill—this particular Bill in which six months' imprisonment is the highest penalty inflicted, and which creates no new crime, and which falls very far short in severity of the measure which Lord Rosebery's Party passed four years ago. I think, my Lords, that the effect of these debates will be to show the people and the country that this is not a coercive Bill; it is a liberating Bill. Of course, where there is an oppressor there must be a victim, and you cannot liberate the victim without coercing the oppressor; and in that sense the measure is a coercive measure. But this Bill is directed against crime, with which none can sympathize. It is directed to liberate people whose sufferings are increasing with each succeeding month. The people of Ireland are not free; they are not free to purchase, to let, to sell; they are not free to hire or to follow the ordinary avocations of life; but they live under a tyranny, and we have proposed this measure in order to strike that tyranny to the ground. And what does the noble Earl opposite, the late Viceroy, tell us? He tells us that we shall never in that way win the affections of the people of Ireland. Does he mean that we shall win the affections of the people of Ireland by allowing the oppressor to have his way? Will it win the affections of the people of Ireland to allow men to prevent them from pursuing their avocations in peace, and from exercising their natural liberty and following their own ways as they wish? The noble Earl did not give us a hint as to the mode in which the conciliation which he recommends is to relieve the Irish people from the evils under which they suffer. Conciliation can only take the form of new political institutions which, if they were set up, could not act except by enforcing the Criminal Law; and when the noble Earl asks us to win the affections of the people of Ireland by allowing law to be despised, and order to fall into confusion, and men's liberty to be trampled under foot, he asks us to apply methods which never in the history of mankind have attained the end he recommends. The noble Earl dwelt with great energy on the desperate position we are in, and he has several grounds of unequal force for the picture he drew. One was that we have promoted Sir Robert Hamilton, who was a Home Ruler. Another was that he traced certain inconsistency in the policy I have frequently advocated in this House; but I am rather surprised that the noble Earl is not afraid to fling the word "inconsistency" at his political opponents. My Lords, our chances of carrying out the task we have undertaken will depend on matters much more considerable than the merits of any particular officer or the consistency of any particular Minister. I have no doubt we have a difficult task before us; but, as I have always said, the difficulty is here. If England means this work to be done, it can be done, and done with ease. "If England to herself do prove but true," I have no doubt that the policy she has approved, and which has the approval of the majority of the Representatives of the people of this country, can be easily carried out. If they adhere with consistency to the views they have adopted, and determine that that policy shall succeed, it will succeed; and our duty, at all events, is steadily to take all the steps that are necessary to lead to that success—to ask Parliament to consent to all measures, whether of relief or of criminal provision, which are required for that great task, and, whether we succeed or fail, to trust to God for the issue.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he heartily supported the Bill. He should not have taken part in the debate were it not that his noble Friend (the Earl of Rosebery) had referred to him the other night in the course of his speech. He had said "the noble Earl on the Cross Benches tosses his head." Yes; the noble Earl in question did toss his head, and would tell his noble Friend the reason why. He tossed his head when the noble Earl favoured their Lordships with the alliteration which he had first used in the Provinces, and out of which he was endeavouring to make political capital. "I am for conciliation; you are for coercion." Now, what was this alliteration intended for but to cozen constituencies and set springes for the unwary electoral woodcock! But he (the Earl of Wemyss) hoped it would not be forgotten that the conciliation his noble Friend advocated was the conciliation of conspirators, and the coercion he deprecated was the coercion of criminals. He (the Earl of Wemyss) readily supported the Bill.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 3^a accordingly, and *passed.*

House adjourned at half-past Eight o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 18*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Navy Estimates, Votes 6 to 9.

Resolutions [July 15] *reported.*

Private Bill (*by Order*)—*Third Reading*—Potter's Patent,* and *passed.*

Public Bills—*Leave*—Technical Instruction, *debate adjourned.*

Ordered—*First Reading*—Labourers' Allotments [329]; Poor Law Settlement and Removal* [330].

Re-comm.—*Committee*—*Report*—*Considered as amended*—*Third Reading*—Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) [196], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Truck [299], and *passed.*

Withdrawn—Agricultural Tenants Relief* [133]; Vagrant Act Amendment* [192].

QUESTIONS.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE SHANNON; THE BROSNA.

Mr. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to lower the water level of the River Shannon by two feet, as recommended by the Royal Commission on Irish Public Works; and, whether, in connection with the projected drainage works on the Shannon, the Government propose to include the drainage of the Valley of the Brosna; and, if so, will the necessary alterations be made at the regulation weir at the southern extremity of Lough Ennell, on the Upper Brosna, and the river deepened between that point and Ballinagore, in order that the level of the lake may be lowered, and the drainage of an extensive district in the County of Westmeath provided for?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.) in reply, said, the water level of the River Shannon could not be lowered without legislation, and legislation on the subject was not intended. The Government did not propose to include the drainage of the Valley of the River Brosna in connection with the projected drainage works on the Shannon, the works in contemplation being of a more general character.

LICENSING LAWS—OCCASIONAL LICENCES—MINSTER BRANCH OF THE ISLE OF THANET CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION.

Mr. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) (for Mr. Summers) (Huddersfield) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, on the 29th of June, a meeting of the Minster branch of the Isle of Thanet Conservative Association was held in the Malt House, Minster; that a neighbouring innkeeper obtained an occasional licence for the Malt House, which licence, according to law, expired at 10 o'clock; that the "meeting" was what is called a "smoking concert," with drink; that, on a sergeant of police entering the meeting at half-past 10 and informing the chairman that no more drink could be sold, the chairman promptly left the chair, but that a local farmer invited those present to become his guests, and drink was then given away to the company, who remained to a very late hour; and, whether the police will be instructed to prosecute those concerned in such evasion of the law; and, if not, will he state on what grounds?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I have obtained a Report from the Chief Constable on this matter, from which it does not appear that after the sergeant entered the meeting a local farmer invited those present to become his guests, or that drink was given away to the company. The Superintendent of Police states that when he gave orders that no more drink should be sold a large number of gentlemen left the building; but about 30 remained till 12 o'clock. The Chief Constable informs me that a prosecution will be ordered by him as soon as he is in official possession of the facts of the case, and if he finds that an offence against the Licensing Acts has been committed.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS OF MODEL SCHOOLS—RESULTS FEES.

Sir CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the year 1875, the teachers of model schools in Ireland were allowed to participate in the sum placed by the Government at the disposal of the National Educational Commissioners for paying results fees to the teachers of National Schools, and in 1878 £4 per annum was added to the salary of each assistant; whether the results fees and this increase of salary were granted on the condition that one-third of the pupils' school fees should be paid into the Treasury, and that this proportion should never be less than £2,000; whether, in consequence of the amalgamation effected by the Commissioners of the different departments in some of the smaller model schools, and the reduction in the number of monitors and pupil teachers in others, the payment to the Treasury for the year ending 31st March, 1887, fell short of the £2,000 by only £160; whether the Commissioners have consequently deducted 20 per cent from the proportion of pupils' fees due to the teachers for the quarter ending 31st March, 1887, and £4 per annum from the salary of each assistant; and whether the Government will interfere to prevent so large an encroachment on the small emoluments of the teachers?

The CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the statements in the first paragraph of the Question were correct. The school fees payable at the present rate for the last financial year fell short of the £2,000 by £150. This deficiency was owing to the decrease in the number of pupils. The effect, however, financially was favourable instead of unfavourable to the teachers, as the fees were divided among a smaller number.

WAR OFFICE — GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS — OFFICIALS INTERESTED IN CONTRACTING FIRMS.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any, and what, negotiations have recently been drawn up with reference to the practice of officials holding shares, or being otherwise interested, in firms or Companies which contract with the Government; and, whether steps have been, or will be, taken to prevent officers or officials of high position connected with the Ordnance and other Departments from joining such firms or Companies upon their retirement from the service of the Department with which those firms have undertaken contracts?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): A regulation has lately been promulgated declaring that any official of the War Department who purchases or holds shares in a firm or Company which contracts with the Department thereby renders himself disqualified for the retention of his appointment. As regards retired officials, I have no control over their proceedings, and no power to interfere with them in any employment they may undertake.

Mr. HANBURY inquired, whether officials could not be made to undertake, on entering the service of the Government, not at any future time to connect themselves with firms which contracted with the Government?

Mr. E. STANHOPE: I think it would be unfair that a man who has acquired special knowledge should be debarred from making use of it on his leaving the Service.

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT) — THE "BOXER" MARTINI-HENRY CARTRIDGE.

Mr. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) (for Sir Edward Watkin) (Hythe) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, notwithstanding promises to the contrary, the War Department are having manufactured the "Boxer" Martini-Henry cartridge, and no other, at the present time; and, whether large quantities are under order?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter) (who replied) said: "Rolled" Martini-Henry cartridges are in course of manufacture for practice purposes. No undertaking was given not to manufacture these cartridges. On the contrary, I expressly stated, on the 24th of February last, that there was no reason to stop the making of these cartridges for other than field service, as they were efficient for practice, and their use was distinctly economical. Solid drawn cartridges are manufactured for service in the field.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE FRENCH FLAG IN BADIBOO, ON THE RIVER GAMBIA.

MR. HOULDSWORTH (Manchester, N.W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the French flag is still flying in Badiboo territory on the bank of the British River Gambia, and whether French officers are exercising any jurisdiction there; and, whether any reply has been received from the French Government to representations made by Her Majesty's Government on the subject; and if it can be communicated to the House without detriment to the Public Service?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government were informed that the French flag was hoisted in May last; but no information has been received whether it is still flying. It is believed that no attempt has been made by French officers to exercise jurisdiction. Friendly communications have passed with the French Government on this subject. Both Governments are inquiring as to the facts; and in the present stage of the affair no Papers can be laid on the Table.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. WILLIAM TYRRELL, OF BALLINDERRY, CO. KILDARE.

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state if Mr. William Tyrrell, J.P., of Ballinderry, County Kildare, served a summons on Mr. Thomas Killen, of Cardenstown, County Meath, for trespass of a horse on a farm from which Mr. Killen was evicted, and more recently, on Widow Monroe, of Colehill, for a similar trespass on the same farm; whether the cases were heard by Major Traill, R.M.; whether, notwithstanding the evidence that the farm is unprotected and unfenced, Major Traill imposed on Killen a fine of 1*s*. 6*d*. and 10*s*. costs, and on Widow Monroe a fine of 1*s*. 6*d*. and 20*s*. costs; whether he can state how the costs in each case were made up; whether Mr. Tyrrell received any of the costs as expenses for driving his own conveyance from his residence to the Court-house, which is only five miles from his dwelling; whether Mr. Tyrrell served both summonses himself; and, whether any person except the duly appointed summons server for the district can legally serve a Petty Sessions summons without an order from a magistrate?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, he was informed that both summonses were served by Mr. Tyrrell, agent for the plaintiff, there being no summons server for the district. Mr. Tyrrell was specially authorized in writing to do so by the magistrates. Killen was fined 1*s*., with 10*s*. 6*d*. costs, and Widow Monroe 1*s*. 6*d*. and 20*s*. costs. No solicitors were employed by either party in either case. He could not say how far Mr. Tyrrell resided from the Court-house, or whether he drove his own vehicle. The cases occupied three days in adjudication. The costs were awarded in each case in accordance with the facts proved.

EGYPT — SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION—COST OF THE ORDINARY DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN EGYPT AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked the Under Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, Whether he can state the total cost of the ordinary Diplomatic Service in Egypt and at Constantinople since the time when Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's extraordinary Mission commenced; whether he can further state the total cost of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission from the period of his appointment to the present date; and, why the ordinary Diplomatic Servants of the Crown were not employed to perform the services with which Sir Henry Drummond Wolff has been entrusted?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The salary of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople is at the rate of £8,000 a-year, and that of Her Majesty's Agent in Egypt £5,000 a-year. These rates have been paid during Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Special Mission—namely, from August 7,

1885. The ordinary Diplomatic Junior Staff at the Embassy at Constantinople numbered nine persons, whose salaries ranged from £1,000 to £100 a-year; and in Egypt Sir Evelyn Baring is assisted by four Junior Diplomatic officers, whose salaries range from £420 to £100 a-year. I have twice already stated, in reply to Questions, that the total cost of the Special Mission up to the 30th of June is £27,300 approximately. The reasons why the ordinary Diplomatic servants of the Crown were not employed to perform these services have been frequently stated. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on July 28, 1885, informed the House that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff was specially accredited to His Imperial Majesty the Sultan with reference to the affairs of Egypt. He was thus able, first, to confer with the Porte, with whom he arranged the Convention of October, 1885, then to act with the Turkish Imperial Commissioner in Egypt in examining upon the spot the measures necessary for reforms and future security in that country, and finally to negotiate with the Porte the ulterior Convention with a view to carry out those reforms. It appeared to Her Majesty's Government that advantage would attend the transaction of these affairs by the same individual rather than by Sir Edward Thornton and by Sir Evelyn Baring separately; and, although negotiations had not resulted in the ratification of the Convention, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the course pursued was judicious, and that the performance of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff of the duties which have been assigned to him in Egypt and at Constantinople will be found to have been beneficial to the interests of this country.

METROPOLITAN COMMONS—TOOTING BEC COMMON.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is aware that it is proposed to interfere with the right of the inhabitants of Balham and Tooting to the free use of Tooting Bec Common for the purposes of riding, as enjoyed from time immemorial; whether he is aware it is intended to expend a large amount of the ratepayers' money in making a fixed ride; and, whether he will take steps to prevent such interference with ancient public rights?

The SECRETARY of STATE for the HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.) (who replied) said: That no recommendation had yet been made for any alteration of the by-laws regarding the free use of Tooting Bec Common for the purpose of horse-riding; but he understood that the Metropolitan Board of Works had now under consideration the expediency of submitting for approval a bye-law to some extent limiting the now unrestricted privileges of riding on the commons. He could assure the hon. Member that he would carefully consider all that was to be said for or against any such proposition before it left his hands.

POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—THE TELEGRAPH TO THE BEN NEVIS OBSERVATORY.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the Postmaster General, What is the annual rent paid by the Ben Nevis Observatory for the telegraph wire to the top of the mountain; and, what is the annual amount received by the Post Office for telegraphic messages despatched from the Observatory?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the annual rent paid by the Ben Nevis Observatory for the telegraph wire to the top of the mountain is £130; that for the year ended the 30th of June last the number of telegrams despatched from the Observatory was 957, of the value of £31 18*s.*, and that the Society was paid a commission by the Post Office, for dealing with the messages, of £5 19*s.* 7½*d.*

Mr. BUCHANAN asked, whether the sum stated included the receipts for Press telegrams, or was only the amount received for private messages?

Mr. RAIKES said, he understood the sum he had stated covered all the telegrams sent; but if the hon. Gentleman wished it he would make further inquiry.

IRELAND—THE MARTELLO TOWER AT BRIGHTON VIEW, CO. DUBLIN — ADVERTISING PLACARDS.

Sir THOMAS EDMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he is aware that the Martello

Tower at Brighton View, County Dublin, is covered with advertisement placards, to the great annoyance of those living in the locality; whether he will have the advertisements removed; and, if not, if he will state who put up the placards, and with whose permission; what money, if any, was paid for the permission, and to whom; and, to what purpose the money paid will be applied?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I understand that the tenant of two Martello Towers in the neighbourhood of Dublin has placed on each one large and one small advertising placards; but I am advised that there is nothing in the terms of the agreement to restrain the tenant from so advertising. As apart from the rent, no money is paid for permission to advertise.

WATER SUPPLY (SCOTLAND)—VALUE OF WATERWORKS OF MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS — A SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the Lord Advocate, If the Government will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee this Session to consider the question of the valuation of waterworks belonging to Municipal Corporations in Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): Yes, Sir; Her Majesty's Government will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) (for Mr. J. C. BOLTON) (Stirling) also asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman, whether, in the event of a Select Committee being appointed to consider the question of the valuation of waterworks belonging to Municipal Corporations in Scotland, the Government will extend the inquiry to the valuation of all other descriptions of property which may be affected in their assessments by a change in the valuation of municipal waterworks?

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to extend the inquiry in the general manner suggested by the hon. Member's Question.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OLD NICHOL STREET, BETHNAL GREEN SCHOOL—A STARVING PUPIL.

MR. BOND (Dorset, E.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether it is correct that a boy named Alfred Middleton, aged eight years, was attending the Old Nichol Street, Bethnal Green, Board School, on Wednesday 13th July, without having had any breakfast, and without having had anything whatever to eat the whole of the preceding day; and, whether there is any agency by which such terrible destitution can be temporarily relieved?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The facts as stated by my hon. Friend are, I regret to say, correct; and from the inquiries I have been able to make it is not, I fear, by any means a solitary case in certain parts of London. The only thing that the officers of the School Board can do is to exercise great caution in enforcing compulsory attendance; and I think it would also be well for them to report all cases of this kind that come to their knowledge to the Poor Law Authorities. Of course, any other measure of relief, such as the extension of the excellent system of penny dinners, must come from voluntary sources.

LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS—SUB-LETTING TO COTTIERS.

SIR CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Whether the Chairman of Sub-Commissioners at Ballymoney, in deciding the case as to sub-letting to cottiers, on the 11th instant, made the following remarks:—

> "Following the decisions, we must yield to the landlord's objections. The law is now perfectly settled upon the subject, and it has been held, in the case of 'M'Kee *v.* Massereene,' that where the tenant sub-lets a cottier house and a small portion of land which is part of the holding, without the consent of the landlord, he is not in occupation of the holding within the meaning of Sections 8 and 57 of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.' Such a strict interpretation of the Statute may deprive many tenants in Ulster of the benefit of its remedial provisions, as there are few farms on which cottiers who work occasionally for their landlords were not to be found; but with the consequences that flow from the decision we have nothing whatever to do. I am bound to administer the law as it exists, and this application must be dismissed;"

and, whether the Government will assent to a proper Amendment being inserted in the Irish Land Law Bill, to obviate the injury to both tenants and labourers by this decision, as applied by the Courts?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): I believe the quotation in the Question is correct; but, as I have not the facts of the case before me, I am unable to express any opinion upon the remarks of the Sub-Commissioners. It is impossible to undertake to accept an Amendment without seeing its terms; but the Government will carefully consider any Amendment having for its object the removal of any hardship arising from judicial decisions, with regard to sub-letting to labourers, not covered by Section 18 of the Act of 1881, consistently, however, with the principle that the number of labourers and size of their holdings must be regulated by the size and character of the holding as in Section 18 of the Act of 1881, and that the Court should have power as in that section to prescribe the rent and terms of letting, so as to insure that the benefits should be enjoyed by and restricted to labourers *bonâ fide* employed and required for the cultivation of the holding.

SIR CHARLES LEWIS asked the right hon. and learned Gentleman, whether, having regard to the numerous decisions read and the suggested Amendments referred to, it would not be better for the Government themselves to draft a proper Amendment?

MR. GIBSON said, he thought not. It was impossible for the Government to give an undertaking in a matter of that kind. If an Amendment was brought forward it would be very fairly considered.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N) asked, if the Government approved of the principle laid down in the decision as to the effect of sub-letting, and intended to allow it to remain in force?

MR. GIBSON said, the proper way to deal with a decision of the Court was by an Amendment of the Bill now before the House.

THE BAHAMAS—MR. L. D. POWLES, A MAGISTRATE.

MR. ATKINSON (Boston) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, What has been the result of the inquiry into the conduct of Mr. L. D. Powles, magistrate at the Bahamas?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): Mr. Powles was called upon for an explanation of his conduct; but, having resigned his office, it became unnecessary further to pursue the inquiry.

ADMIRALTY—H.M.S. "CHERUB"—THE ROYAL NAVAL ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS—THE CLYDE BRIGADE.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether H.M.S. *Cherub*, which was sent to the Clyde for the use of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers, has been found in such a bad state that she has had to be docked for repairs to her machinery, and has not been available for the service for which she was intended; and, what steps the Admiralty propose to take to enable the Clyde Brigade to get the training and drill on board ship necessary to render that corps efficient?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): For a month past the *Cherub* has been drilling the Clyde Brigade of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers at Greenock and Glasgow. Some small repairs, occupying about a week, have recently been carried out, which, however, did not interfere with the harbour gun drill. She is now about to take the brigade on short cruises for their sea training, and enable them to obtain the necessary qualifications to become efficients.

WAR OFFICE—CHELSEA HOSPITAL—BURTON'S COURT.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the open space adjoining Chelsea Hospital, and known as Burton's Court, to which the public have hitherto had free access, has lately been leased by the Hospital Authorities to the General Commanding the Home District, and converted into a cricket ground by means of public monies; whether it is the fact that, whenever cricket is played on the ground, thus prepared at the public expense, the public are excluded, admission being granted only to persons who obtain tickets from the Hospital Authorities; and, whether there is any necessity for thus depriving the inhabitants of the thickly populated district of Chelsea of the free enjoyment of an open space of 10 acres?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF ORDNANCE (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter) (who replied) said, the open space in question had lately been leased by the Hospital Authorities to the General commanding the Home District, and converted into a cricket ground for the garrison. This had been partly done with public money; but it was usual in all large military garrisons to provide recreation grounds at the public expense. When cricket was being played admission was by ticket only. The public had no right to admission to the grounds; and as extensive grounds existed about the Hospital, the partial closing of Burton's Court was practically no loss to them.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—THE SUB-TROPICAL GARDEN IN BATTERSEA PARK.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE (Surrey, Reigate) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the intention of the Metropolitan Board of Works to maintain the ornamental gardening in the Parks proposed to be handed over to the Board, and especially whether it is their intention to continue the Sub-Tropical Garden in Battersea Park, which has been for years a striking ornament to the Park, and a source of pleasure and instruction to all who visited it?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Metropolitan Board of Works that, the Parks in question not having yet been handed over to the Board, the question of the way in which they should be maintained in future has not at present been considered. The hon. Member may, however, rely upon it that the Board will endeavour so to maintain the Parks that there may be no diminution of the pleasure and instruction which they have hitherto afforded to the public.

MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he has ascertained whether the return of Sir John Pope Hennessy as Governor of the Mauritius will, after what has passed, be grateful to the inhabitants of that Island?

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.), as a matter of Order, asked whether the Question did not raise a matter of opinion?

MR. SPEAKER said, the Question asked was whether the inhabitants of the Mauritius were favourable to his return, and he saw nothing out of Order in that.

MR. SEXTON asked if it were precluded by the Standing Orders?

MR. SPEAKER said, it might be a question of policy on the part of the Minister whether he had ascertained the feeling of the Colony.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether he had not received a Petition, signed by three-fourths of the inhabitants of Mauritius, in favour of Sir John Pope Hennessy's return?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The majority of the inhabitants of Mauritius are Indians, and they may, upon the whole, be said not to have taken much interest in the matter referred to; but there is good reason to believe that a large part of the rest of the population approve the policy of Sir John Pope Hennessy and desire his return. I have received a Petition to that effect signed by 4,267 persons, which was brought over here by a delegate specially appointed for that purpose; and I may add that a majority of the unofficial Members of the Council of Government are in favour of Sir John Pope Hennessy.

ADMIRALTY—H.M.S. "IMPERIEUSE."

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What is the complement of H.M.S *Impérieuse;* what number and description of boats does she carry at her davits; and, will any alteration be made in her fittings, so as to admit of her large boats being got into the water in less than half-an-hour, as at present?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The complement of the *Impérieuse* is 516 officers and men. The boats carried at davits are—one 30 feet steam cutter, two 30 feet cutters, one 27 feet whaler, one 25 feet whaler, one 30 feet galley, and one 32 feet galley. In the change of masts and rig, steam winches have been provided to facilitate the hoisting in and out of the heavy boats.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD— OVERCROWDING.

Admiral FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, the Board of Trade having stated that they have no authority under any Statute to appoint and pay officers to undertake the duty of counting passengers on board steamers at the forthcoming Naval Review, and further allege that it is entirely for the local police authorities to take such steps as they may deem necessary to prevent overcrowding, he will be pleased to call the attention of the various police authorities in Hampshire, Portsmouth, Southampton, and Isle of Wight to this important part of their duty, under Section 319 of "The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," as set forth by the Board of Trade, seeing that the said police authorities hold exactly an opposite opinion, and thus prevent serious risk and danger to life by such overcrowding; and, whether, if he should not share the opinion of the Board of Trade as to the responsibility of the "police authorities" for enforcement of the law against the overcrowding of steamers, he will be pleased to consult the Law Officers of the Crown upon the subject, and so ascertain who is responsible for thus safeguarding human life on such occasions, and take the necessary steps to guard against the danger?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that he was advised that the duty of enforcing the law as to the overcrowding of steamers devolved upon the Local Authority, and he had issued a Circular to that effect to the Portsmouth and Southampton officials.

Admiral FIELD asked that a similar Circular should be sent to all seaports.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—SEATS IN THE MALL.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it would be possible to provide at trivial cost additional seats during the summer months in the Mall, and other suitable places under the control of the Crown, for the convenience of the general public, and especially for the comfort of the unfortunate people who, having no home, pass the night in the open air, and for want of room on the crowded seats may be seen lying by dozens on the bare ground?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. Plunket) (Dublin University): We take a sum in the Estimates each year for additional seats for the Parks; and this year I hope to be able to put about 40 or 50 new ones in St. James's Park and Kensington Gardens. Some of these will be placed in the Mall.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) desired to know to whom the money went for the letting of the seats in the Parks; and whether the right of letting chairs was put up to public competition?

Mr. PLUNKET wished Notice to be given of the Question, and said he would ascertain the details.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS— THE ARCHITECT'S DEPARTMENT.

Mr. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the reports in the public Press of a discussion at the Metropolitan Board of Works on Friday last, with reference to certain charges made against an official of the architect's department; and, whether, as a Representative of the Metropolitan Board of Works in this House, he is able to promise that a full inquiry will be made into the grave allegations which have attained wide publicity?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have seen a report of the proceedings in question. I am informed by the Metropolitan Board of Works that the Board has, through a Committee, made full inquiry into the allegations made against an official of the Architect's Department, and that the Report presented by the Committee on Friday, the discussion of which was reported in the newspapers, contained the results of the inquiry. I must disclaim the position of Representative of the Metropolitan Board of Works. When Sir James

M'Garel-Hogg ceased to be a Member of this House, at his request, and as a matter of courtesy to him, I consented to answer Questions respecting the Board of Works on his behalf; but it will be matter for consideration whether that arrangement should be continued.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—PROMOTION TO SERGEANT.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether an Order has been issued by the Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, to the effect that no constable of more than 10 years' service, or over 35 years of age, is to be promoted to the rank of sergeant; and, if so, what is the date of the Order?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; such an Order was issued by the Chief Commissioner on the 21st of May, 1887; but the Order contains an exception in cases where an officer possesses very special qualifications, or where there are exceptional circumstances which may be taken into consideration.

MR. PICKERSGILL inquired, whether it was not a fact that in a case recently recommended for promotion several police constables who were specially recommended, and who had served a few months over the 10 years, and who had been specially recommended by their immediate superiors, were rejected by the Central Authority at Scotland Yard?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was not able to answer that.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—GOVERNMENT SUBVENTION OF £50,000.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What official decided on the proposed allocation of the £50,000 to Ireland; were any Irish Members consulted; if so, who were they; why are the Antrim and Derry Grand Juries to be consulted as to the Bann drainage; why are the recommendations of two Royal Commissions on the subject of the Bann to be disregarded; is he aware that the gravest dissatisfaction prevails as to the inadequacy of the proposed works on the Bann; and, can he hold out any hope that the recommendations of the two Royal Commissions will be followed, or that the local sufferers from flooding will be consulted on the proposed expenditure?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The allocation of the £50,000 has been the work of the Government, acting mainly on the advice of, and in frequent communication with, the Royal Commission. In allocating the money the Government have not disregarded the views of Irish Members, so far as these could be gathered from the Questions, mostly of a polemical character, addressed to them in this House. A direct invitation was given by the Chief Secretary and myself to the political friends of the hon. and learned Member to make any suggestions to the Government on the subject; but it never met with a response. The Grand Juries of Antrim and Derry were consulted because they were the Representative Bodies of the localities that would be affected by the abandonment of the navigation—[Mr. T. M. HEALY: Whom do they represent?]—and because they provide the cost of the maintenance of such navigation. The recommendations of two Royal Commissions have not been disregarded. On the contrary, in consulting the Grand Juries, the Government have precisely followed the recommendations of both Commissions. The works to be undertaken on the Bann this year are also in strict accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission. I am not aware of the dissatisfaction alleged by the hon. and learned Member; but I have every reason to believe that the scheme of the Royal Commission, when fully carried out, as it is the intention of the Government to carry it out, will completely relieve the flooded districts.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) asked if the Grand Juries of the County Tyrone and Armagh, who were large contributors to the scheme, had been consulted?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that, as he understood, the reason why the Grand Juries were consulted was because without their consent the works could not be carried out.

MR. T. M. HEALY gave Notice that when the Vote for the allocation of the money came on for discussion, he would call attention to the ridiculous and inadequate proposals of the right hon. Gentleman so far as the Bann was concerned, which would involve a complete and gross waste of public money without the smallest benefit to anybody.

WAR OFFICE—REGIMENTAL BANDS AT POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the published announcement that the Band of the 3rd Battalion Royal Leicestershire Militia will play at a "Grand Conservative Demonstration" at Husband's Bosworth, on 30th July, is a contravention of the Regulation forbidding military bands to take part in political demonstrations; and, if so, whether he will see that the Regulation is not violated?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Permission for the band of the 3rd Battalion Leicestershire Regiment to play at a Conservative demonstration at Husband's Bosworth was asked for and refused.

THE COLONIAL OFFICE—THE MARQUESS OF CARMARTHEN.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has observed the following words in the electoral address of the Marquess of Carmarthen:—

> "Immediately after (the last General Election) I took work in the Colonial Office, where I have been ever since, in order to gain an insight into political life;"

whether the Marquess of Carmarthen is paid for his work in the Colonial Office; whether he has passed any preliminary examination; and, whether, if not, it is open to other gentlemen to "take work" at the Colonial Office, in order to "gain an insight into political life?"

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, which, I must say, has somewhat of an electioneering stamp about it, I have to state that Lord Carmarthen has, in accordance with many numerous precedents, acted as unpaid Assistant Private Secretary to my Predecessor and myself. I may add, for the benefit of the hon. Member, he has done his work very well. There is, of course, as the hon. Member knows very well, no preliminary examination in such cases; and there is not at present room in the Colonial Office for the similar employment of other gentlemen.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS — OUTBREAKS OF PLEURO-PNEUMONIA IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Agriculture, How many outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia have occurred in England and Scotland during the present year; how many districts have been declared infected; in how many instances have the Privy Council declared a locality to be "an area infected with pleuro-pneumonia," and the extent in square miles of the largest "area" so declared; and, in how many instances have the Privy Council, in opposition to the wishes of the Local Authorities, ordered the compulsory slaughter of healthy cattle which had been in contact with infected cattle?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) (who replied) said, 153 outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia had been reported in England and 224 in Scotland up to July 16; 146 infected places had been declared in England and 226 in Scotland during the above period. The Privy Council had declared three infected areas in England and 12 in Scotland on account of pleuro-pneumonia. The largest area was in Scotland—namely, the County of Lanark, which contained 889 square miles. The Privy Council had not in any case ordered the compulsory slaughter of healthy cattle which had been in contact with infected cattle against the wishes of the Local Authorities.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE—BETRAYAL OF OFFICIAL AND CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce any measure this Session to secure the punishment more effectually than is at present possible of officials guilty of the betrayal of official and confidential information which may have come into their possession while engaged in the Public Service?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): There is no doubt that the hands of Her Majesty's Government would be strengthened by legislation such as that proposed by the hon. Member; but it is a question that is surrounded by many practical difficulties, and I am afraid that the time at our disposal is too fully occupied for it to be considered this Session.

"METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE EXPENSES BILL"—LEGISLATION.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will give any facilities for the discussion of a Bill relating to Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses, promoted by the Metropolitan Board of Works, and brought into Parliament in the Session of 1884, the first Session of 1886, and in the present Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he feared it would not be in the power of the Government to grant any facilities for discussing the Bill in question, looking at the other work they had to do.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) asked, whether, during the Recess, the Government would consider the desirability of appointing a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade; and, whether it could not be made efficient on its present income?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he could not give any undertaking; but the matter would receive the serious consideration of the Government.

LAND TRANSFER BILL — INHERITANCE, PRIMOGENITURE, AND REGISTRATION OF TITLES.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government is now prepared to assent to the suggestion that the Land Transfer Bill should be divided; that only that part of it relating to the inheritance of land and the abolition of primogeniture, to which there is no opposition from the Liberal side of the House, should be proceeded with this Session; and that the part relating to registration of titles, which will give rise to much discussion, should be deferred till next Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, the Government were exceedingly anxious to pass the Land Transfer Bill as a whole; and they had come to the conclusion that it would not be desirable to take one part out of it, even though that part would not receive any opposition on the other side of the House.

LICENCES (BELFAST) BILL AND BANKRUPTCY COURTS (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that, on the 11th of February last, the right hon. Baronet the Member for West Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), then Chief Secretary for Ireland, informed a deputation from Belfast that, if one of the Members for that town introduced a Bill for the reform of the local licensing system, under which two Courts exercise conflicting jurisdictions, the Government would give every assistance and facility towards the passing of such a measure; whether he is aware that the present Chief Secretary for Ireland declared the willingness of the Government to facilitate a Bill for the establishment of Local Courts of Bankruptcy in Ireland, if introduced by a private Member; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Government will aid the passing of the Licences (Belfast) Bill and the Bankruptcy Courts (Ireland) Bill, which stand for second reading?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was afraid that, under the circumstances of the present Session, it would not be practicable for the Government at this stage of the Session, and considering the present state of Business, to give any special facilities towards the passing of the measure referred to by the hon. Member. He hoped, however, that the hon. Member might find some opportunity of pressing them forward himself.

MR. SEXTON said, he would take the earliest opportunity of calling the attention of the House to the way the Government were dealing with their engagements in reference to these two Bills.

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I beg to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can inform the House if it is true, as reported in the newspapers, that Sir Henry Drummond Wolff has left Constantinople for England?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Yes, Sir. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff left Constantinople about midnight on Friday, and he left Tenedos for Marseilles on the following afternoon.

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), and the interest which he took in the measure, he would postpone the further consideration of the Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill, which was down on the Paper for to-night, to Thursday night?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, the House was aware that the Government were very anxious to proceed with this Bill as soon as possible; but, having regard to the position of the hon. Member for East Mayo with regard to it, he was not in a position to refuse the request of the hon. Member.

PRIVILEGE.

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—COMPLAINT (DR. TANNER).—RESOLUTION.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes): I very much regret that it is my duty to invite the attention of the House for a few minutes to a question of Privilege. I regret very much to observe, unless I am mistaken, that the House is not honoured to-day by the presence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner). But that is no fault of mine, for on Friday evening, when I determined to take the course I have now adopted, I intimated to the hon. Member by a letter, which I have reason to know the hon. Member received, that it was my intention to bring this matter on to-day at 4.30; and, consequently, I naturally anticipated the hon. Member would show to the letter and to the House the courtesy of attending. I will endeavour to state, in as few words as I possibly can, what happened, and to put the House in possession of the facts which have led to my complaint. The House will remember that, after the last Division at the end of the Morning Sitting on Friday, the hon. Member for Mid Cork complained, I believe, that his vote had not been taken in the Division. I myself was not in the House; I was in the "Aye" Lobby finishing a letter. After finishing my letters, I passed through the House with the intention of posting them. On my way through the House I heard reference to the incident that had taken place immediately before in the Lobby; but I had no knowledge, direct or indirect, of that incident, or of what its nature had been, or of what had fallen from the hon. Member for Mid Cork. I went on to the post office, and immediately opposite the post office I met the hon. Member face to face. Thoughtlessly as it may have been, I asked him what had taken place. Well, Sir, the hon. Member answered me in terms which, in my judgment, form ample and sufficient justification for the course which I have ventured to take on this occasion. In order that I might avoid any possible inaccuracy, and in order that my repetition to the Committee of what took place should be as correct as possible, I, very shortly after the occurrence, reduced to writing the words I heard the hon. Member use. I went further than that, in order that I should not trust solely to my own memory. I asked three people who were present, two of them being hon. Members of this House—namely the hon. Member for East Dorset (Mr. Bond) and the hon. Member for the Brentford Division of Middlesex (Mr. Bigwood)—to be good enough to look independently at what I had written down, and to tell me whether my account of the proceedings was accurate or not. They both assured me that it was absolutely accurate. Perhaps the House will agree with me that it is better that I should read the statement I wrote down within a comparatively short time of the occurrence itself rather than that I should trust to a repetition from my own memory. I met the hon. Member, as I have already told the House, opposite the post office. I had no intention whatever of offering the hon. Member any offence, or of wounding his feelings, or of saying anything that would in any way hurt him.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Why did you not leave him alone?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. LONG: I addressed him civilly, as I have said. My remark may have been a thoughtless one, but I submit it was hardly one to warrant the remarks of the hon. Member. This is what I wrote down at the time—I said—"Did not something go wrong with you in the Division, Dr. Tanner; what was it?" His answer was—"You are one of the Tories, ain't you?" My reply was, "Yes, certainly." To that he replied, "Then, I wish to God you would not speak to me." [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Hear, hear!] "I have told you d——d Tories before not to speak to me. You have your own d——d lot, talk to them." To which I replied, "I beg your pardon, I was not aware that you did not wish to be spoken to;" to which he replied, "Well, I wish you would keep your d——d tongue in your lips, and not make a d——d fool of yourself." He then went to the centre of the Lobby, where he shouted, "That's a d——d snub for you." It will be for the House to decide whether the hon. Member's description of his language to me is a correct one or not. I desire, Sir, to make no further comment upon what took place; but I beg to assure the House that I addressed the hon. Member solely with the desire to know what had happened. I had no wish to wound his feelings or to irritate him in any way whatever, and I would remind the House that at the time I spoke to the hon. Member I was in complete ignorance of what had taken place within these walls. I have only to add that in bringing this very painful and disagreeable subject before the House I am actuated by no personal motives whatever. My natural inclination was to treat the language of the hon. Member with the contempt which in my opinion such language deserves. [Mr. T. M. HEALY: Why did you not?]. But the incident took place in the presence not only of hon. Members of this House, but of very many strangers; and I felt—whether rightly or wrongly I do not pretend to say—that it was an offence against the House more than against a humble individual like myself. I have nothing else to do but to express my regret, and the great reluctance which I have felt in obtruding myself or these circumstances upon the attention of the House. I have only done so because I believe it to be my duty, and I have nothing to add but to submit the case as I have honestly, faithfully, and I believe truthfully, put it before the House for the consideration and arbitrament of the House.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Move, move!

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am sure the House has heard with infinite regret the statement made by the hon. Member——

MR. T. M. HEALY: Not at all.

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) proceeds with such interruptions, the next time I have to speak it will be to present his name to the House.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am sure, I repeat, the House has heard with infinite regret the statement made by the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long). Whatever may be our differences in this House, we are, at least, united in one desire to maintain the order and the decorum of its proceedings, and to visit with severe censure any hon. Member who at any time is guilty of an offence against the House or against any other hon. Member. On former occasions the House has visited with severe censure disorderly conduct on the part of its Members in the Lobby of this House; and whatever opinions may be entertained as to the conduct of hon. Members in the House which you, Sir, would immediately notice, it appears to me that similar conduct in the precincts of the House is, at least, deserving of as severe censure as an offence committed within the House itself. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Devizes has stated that this incident occurred in the presence of strangers and was noticed by strangers, and therefore we have the painful consciousness that strangers are made aware of the inability of hon. Members to restrain their conduct within those bounds which are consistent with the character of Members of Parliament and of gentlemen. It appears to me that my only course, under the circumstances of the case—the hon. Member for Mid Cork having had ample notice that complaint would be made of his conduct, and not having deemed it his duty to be in his place—is to move the Resolution which follows.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That in consequence of the disgraceful and insulting words addressed in the Lobby of the House on Friday evening last, by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, to an honourable Member of this House, Dr. Tanner be suspended from the Service of the House, and excluded from its precincts for a Month."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think, Sir, that from the point of view of chivalry and of fair play, the present proceedings, if carried through successfully, will be scarcely less disgraceful to the House than any conduct which can be imputed to any Member of the House. I will make one observation upon the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith). The right hon. Gentleman said it was necessary to maintain the order and decorum of the proceedings of the House. But, Sir, I think he indulged in rather an extension of the idea of Order in the proceedings of the House when he spoke of anything that may happen in the Lobby in the way of conversation between Members as being subject to an identical rule. It appears the incident related by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) occurred after you, Sir, had left the Chair on Friday evening and after the House had risen; and it also appears from the language of my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) that he had repeatedly requested hon. Gentlemen who are Members of the Party opposite not personally to address him. [*Laughter.*] Well, Sir, hon. Members of the House have different degrees of feeling and susceptibilities; and if my hon. Friend desires to be relieved from personal address by Members of the Conservative Party, I think it would be hardly contested he is entitled to that degree of seclusion. I submit that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long) would certainly have done more wisely if he had refrained from addressing my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork at such a moment. You, Sir, were not in the Chair at the moment my hon. Friend complained on Friday evening that his vote had not been recorded; the complaint was made to the Chairman of Committees. My hon. Friend was in the Lobby at the time of the Division, and through some mischance, the nature of which I do not distinctly understand, my hon. Friend was not allowed to record his vote in that important Division. From his tone it was evident he felt his exclusion from the Division very deeply, and it is also evident from what occurred afterwards that he was very much excited in consequence of his exclusion. I suppose the House will generously and fairly agree with me that the moment at which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long) addressed my hon. Friend was a moment at which my hon. Friend was labouring under some excitement of temper; but I do not believe the House will be inclined to take a strict or punitive view of any language which may have been used at that moment by my hon. Friend. Divested of certain expletives, which although they are in common use are not usual, I should hope, within this House or its precincts — divested of its expletives, which have no great weight or significance of their own, the language of my hon. Friend amounted simply to this—that he protested against the personal appeal made to him by the hon. Gentleman; that he informed the hon. Gentleman he had before requested Members of the Tory Party not to speak to him; that he reminded the hon. Gentleman he had friends to whom he could speak if he desired any information upon any of the proceedings of the House; and, finally, he regarded what he said as a snub to the hon. Gentleman. Now, taking out the adjective, the use of which I very much regret, I appeal to the House whether what happened concerned the order and decorum of the House, and whether the hon. Gentleman would not have consulted his own interests best by taking no notice of the matter? I think the House will serve its own interests and its relations with its Members most wisely by taking no notice of the affair. Upon the question of Notice to my hon. Friend, I think everyone will agree with me that a question of Privilege personally affecting an hon. Member ought not to be brought to the notice of the House unless practical and adequate measures have been taken to give the hon. Member an opportunity of attending. [*Laughter.*] The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gent-Davis), who smiles in such a superior manner, questions what I lay down. How would he like—the Member for Kennington is it—how would he like it if any hon. Member, in his absence, brought his conduct before the House? How would he like it if the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House, in his absence, moved that, in consequence of his disgraceful conduct, he ought to be expelled for a month. The hon. Gentleman, to the extent of his puny powers, would make the country ring about it. Now, what does the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long) say? But before I come to what he says, let me ask him if this is not true—that he had no desire whatever to take any notice of the matter if another hon. Member who heard what happened had not thought it beneath him to play the part of a spy between two hon. Members of the House.

MR. LONG: Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me a moment. I said nothing of the kind. I said that I had no desire to trouble the House with this as a personal matter, but that I brought it forward as one affecting the House. With reference to the hon. Gentleman's charge of eavesdropping, I do not know what it has relation to; but the Gentlemen who overheard the remark were the three hon. Members who were standing by my side at the time of the occurrence.

MR. SEXTON: I do not refer to anything said by the hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech. The speech of the hon. Gentleman was, I think, conceived in a spirit of good taste; but I think if he had been left to himself this matter would not have come under the notice of the House. Judging from what I have heard of him, either as a politician or as a Member of this House, I believe he would consider it beneath him to punish any Member in respect of such a business as this. What I was endeavouring to elicit is this—whether the hon. Gentleman has taken this action on his own initiative; whether the Motion which has been made to-day is due to the fact that the right hon. and gallant Member for the Isle of Thanet, and Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), happened to hear of this, and brought it to the notice of the authorities of the House in such a way as to force the hand of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long)?

MR. LONG: I have had no communication, direct or indirect, with my right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the Isle of Thanet Division of the County of Kent (Colonel King-Harman); and, so far as I know, he was not even aware, except through the ordinary channels open to all other Members of this House, of the action I proposed to take.

MR. SEXTON: The hon. Member can only speak of what he was aware of himself. It is impossible for him to say what other Members may be aware of. How does he know that the other two Members referred to—the hon. Member for the Brentford Division of Middlesex and the hon. Member for East Dorset—may not have brought the matter to the notice of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Isle of Thanet?

MR. BOND (Dorset, E.): I never said anything to the right hon. and gallant Member.

MR. SEXTON: There is a third hon. Member to be accounted for. I think it extremely unfortunate this matter has been brought on to-day. We heard the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) deprecate a Question on the Paper being asked, because he said it had an electioneering tendency, though he delivered a very electioneering reply himself. I say it is very unfair, upon the eve of important political contests in the country, that an attempt should be made to warp the minds and obscure the judgments of the electors of the country by a very petty and feeble attack upon an Irish Member. Now, has my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) received notice? The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long) has spoken very vaguely upon this point. He has informed the House that he addressed a letter to my hon. Friend on Friday evening. May I ask where that letter was addressed?

MR. LONG: The address of the letter is immaterial. The letter was personally delivered by a messenger of this House, who brought it back to me in an envelope. I presume it was returned by the hon. Member himself.

Mr. SEXTON: Well, Sir, the conduct of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite goes far to explain at any rate, if it does not justify, the language of my hon. Friend. I certainly think he was perrfectly right, judging from the manner of hon. Gentlemen opposite, in requesting that they should not address him. Now, my hon. Friend had a public engagement in Ireland which it was impossible for him to forego. A convention of the electors of County Cork is to be held in Cork in the course of a day or two. My hon. Friend thought it necessary to leave London for Ireland on Saturday morning in order to attend that convention; and I must say frankly I do not blame him, if, comparing the relative importance of the engagements, he thought it more requisite in him to attend the convention in Cork than to await the pop-gun charge of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Long). I maintain that my hon. Friend, having made a public engagement with his constituents, did what any other Member of this House would have done—he kept that engagement. I lay down the principle, which, I believe, will meet with universal assent—namely, that every Member of this House charged with a Breach of Privilege, and threatened with suspension for a month, is entitled to ask that his action shall not be considered in his absence. I am sure that if any intimation is made by your authority, Sir, to him—my hon. Friend—who, whatever else he is, is not a shirker or a coward, will attend here on whatever day it may suit the pleasure and convenience of the House. That no action may be taken in the absence of my hon. Friend I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. BIGGAR seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I do not wish to oppose the Motion for Adjournment without sufficient reason; but I am sure the hon. Gentleman will feel that he has not offered to the House a sufficient reason why the debate should be adjourned. I always regret when it appears necessary to make a charge against any individual. But the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) has made a statement on behalf of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), and I must remark, in regard to that statement, that no expression of regret or of apology has been made to the House, or to the hon. Gentleman to whom the words complained of were addressed. No apology was made by the hon. Member for Mid Cork himself to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devizes, and no request has been made by the hon. Member for Mid Cork for delay. No intimation has been conveyed to the hon. Member for Devizes, or to the House, that there was a desire to have this debate adjourned; but now, after a Motion is made, the hon. Member (Mr. Sexton), who has certainly done his best for his hon. Friend, has suggested that the debate should be adjourned. The facts are admitted. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] They are not denied. [Mr. T. M. Healy: They are.] Well, Sir, I contend that no denial whatever has been made to the House of the facts as stated by my hon. Friend the Member for Devizes.

Mr. SEXTON: I never heard of the affair until I came to the House this evening.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I am bound to say that whatever the position of any hon. Member of this House may be, if he has notice—ample notice, that his conduct will be brought up for the consideration of the House, and if he pays no regard whatever to that notice, but lets his private engagements, whatever they may be, however important they may be, carry him from the precincts of the House, and does not put into the mouth of any hon Friend an authorized statement of his case, the House would not be acting with proper regard for its own dignity, and with proper regard for the order of Business in this House, and for the decency which should be preserved in the House, if it failed to record its opinion of, and pronounce its judgment upon, such conduct.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): I believe there are few cases on record—in fact, I think there is only one case—in which a personal altercation between two Members of this House—which has taken place, as I may say, outside the cognizance of the House, and not in reference to any question of the proceedings before the House at the time—has been brought foward by the aggrieved Member. I do not think a charge against an hon. Member has been substantiated in his absence; and I hold that no charge can be substantiated against any person in his absence, even if he be the worst of criminals. We have not heard what my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) has to say, either in explanation, in palliation, or in defence. If it should be substantiated that my hon. Friend has addressed language of an improper character to any hon. Member, I should be among the first to deprecate any such language having been used, and, undoubtedly, to censure its user; and I should not think for a moment of attempting to defend such hon. Member in the use of any such language, or to stand between him and the judgment of the House. But the case is otherwise. We have had the statement of the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) and his Friends, and while I do not wish to throw any doubt upon these statements, I must point out that we have not had the statement of the hon. Member for Mid Cork. Now, Sir, I was going to say that there are few cases on record where formal complaint has been made of the conduct of a Member in speaking in the heat of a personal altercation to another Member, and I believe there is no case on record of the House having taken any action in reference to the matter. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) desires to suspend my hon. Friend for a month without giving him any opportunity whatever of saying anything in his defence. I humbly submit that the opportunity which was afforded to my hon. Friend of being heard to-day was not a sufficient one. My hon. Friend had signed a call for a convention of the seven Parliamentary Divisions of the County of Cork. He was joined in this solemn and responsible public act, having regard more especially to the circumstance of Ireland at the present time, by his six Colleagues in the representation of the County of Cork. It was necessary for him to proceed to Ireland in order that he might take counsel, and consult with the leading political personages in the County of Cork with reference to the conduct of the proceedings of this convention. I can only say that in my judgment the hon. Member would not have been justified in breaking this important engagement, or in doing anything which should prevent his action at that convention being effectual and responsible. If I had been in the place of the hon. Member, and had felt that it was necessary for the efficiency of my action at that convention that I should have been there, I should have felt myself compelled to go over to Ireland, and keep my prior engagement even in the face of such a Motion as that now made against him. But, Sir, I come to the question of fact—that no opportunity has been afforded by the House. I am not now speaking of the action of the hon. Member for Devizes, but of the action of the House—the House will bear in mind there is a distinction between the two points. The hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) wrote to my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) saying that he intended to bring his conduct before the House to-day; but my hon. Friend, by reference to precedents, might easily have supposed—I am not in a position to say whether he did so suppose or not—that the House would not be in haste to take hostile action against him and deprive him of his vote, or of his power to act as a Member of the House, because on all previous occasions when the conduct of Members has been impugned, even in their presence, the House has always asked such Members for an explanation, and has always given them an opportunity of making such explanation as might seem fit. Therefore, it is not a question now of the responsibility of the hon. Member (Mr. Long) who has brought forward this matter, because that ceases where the House takes it up; and I contend that my hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) has received no opportunity from this House of making that explanation to the House, which I certainly consider is called for from the hon. Gentleman, and possibly, or probably, of making that full apology to the House, which the House has always shown itself, in such circumstances, willing to accept from its Members. I urge upon the Government to consider whether they are acting in accordance with precedent, or in accordance with that generosity and forbearance which have always distinguished the House in its action in these matters, if they now proceed to pass judgment on my hon. Friend without having heard what he has to say in his own defence, or in palliation of his conduct, or without giving him an opportunity, if he admits the justice of the charge and the foundation for the charge, of making that full and ample apology to the House which will, undoubtedly, be required from him in such circumstances. I, therefore, beg to support the Motion for the adjournment of the debate which has been moved by my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I ought to apologize to the House for intruding myself upon its attention; but my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was not present during the early part of this debate, and, therefore, I who have heard it from the beginning may, perhaps, be permitted to offer a few observations. Let me say, in the first place, that in my opinion, nothing could be better or more appropriate than the manner in which the hon. Member for the Devizes Division of Wiltshire (Mr. Long) laid his case before the House. He stated it without heat of any kind, and he put the case not as a matter of insult to himself, but as of insult to the House; and, having given to the House the full particulars so far as he was aware of them, he submitted the case for the decision of the House itself. Now, Sir, I cannot but think that in a personal matter of this kind the House would be very reluctant to act, except with deliberation and with perfect certainty that the course proposed to be taken was the most appropriate one that could be taken. The House has not been in the habit of dealing with these questions in great haste. On the contrary, certainly since I have been in the House, the custom has been to decide a question of this kind very deliberately and in a judicial manner, and not to be carried away by the feeling which it cannot but have, that the language attributed to the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) was such language as ought not to be addressed to a Member of the House, either within the House itself or beyond the precincts of the House to which our Rules extend. The House ought also to consider this fact —namely, that when the hon. Member for Devizes spoke just now, he was not in possession of the reason why the hon. Member for Mid Cork was unable to be here to-day; but we have heard those reasons since from the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell). The hon. Gentleman explained very clearly that his hon. Friend had to be at Cork to-morrow in compliance with a public engagement of some standing, and that, therefore, it was not in his power to be present in his place to-day. Now, that being the case, and stated upon the responsibility of the hon. Member for Cork, I cannot but hope that in a personal matter of this kind the House will give the hon. Member an opportunity of explaining or apologizing for what he has said. No harm will be done to anyone by delay, and the honour of the House will not be violated. The House will stand just as well, whether it decides this question to-day or postpones it for a day or two. Let me remind the House what it is the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury proposes. The right hon. Gentleman proposes that for language which I can only say is language of a very grave character, and which ought not to be tolerated on the part of a Member of this House, this House should inflict on the hon. Member for Mid Cork a mere serious punishment than would be inflicted if the hon. Member were Named by you, Sir, from the Chair, and that his constituents should be deprived of his services in this House for a whole month. [*Laughter.*] I do not know why it should be considered a matter for laughter that an hon. Member's constituents should be deprived of his services for four times as long a period than if he were Named for improper language from the Chair. This is, therefore, a very serious proposal, and I appeal to the House, whose generous consideration of faults committed against itself has been so long recognized, not to rush suddenly to a decision on this matter, but to give the hon. Member the necessary time to return to his place in the House to make an explanation as to what he said. If that explanation should be unsatisfactory, I shall not have a word to say. It is perfectly impossible for the House to tolerate such language as that which has been described by the hon. Member, whether used in the House or outside of it within its precincts, where a Member is responsible to the House for having used it. But it must be remembered that the hon. Member for Devizes himself was obliged to say that he doubted—I forget the exact words—whether he had been wise in speaking to the hon. Member for Mid Cork, and in using the light sentence which he spoke to him in the Lobby. I need not say that this, to my mind, would afford no apology for the language alleged to have been uttered. On the other hand, I repeat that the House is generous in respect of faults committed against itself, and has not been in the habit of adopting violently and suddenly a decision in these cases. Above all, the House has always had an explanation from the hon. Member whose conduct in a matter of this kind is impugned before arriving at its decision. Therefore, before arriving at a decision, I would appeal to the House—I would appeal to the Government itself, and especially to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury—to allow this question to be adjourned, not for an unreasonably long time, but until the hon. Member is able to attend, and to offer an explanation and submit himself to the judgment of the House. When he does so, I have no doubt that right will be done; but, in the meantime, I would ask that he should have the indulgence of the House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I think that the House ought just to consider the position in which it is now placed—not only its position in reference to what happened last Friday, for it is impossible to shut one's eyes to what has gone on before in the present Session, and what stands upon the Records of this House. But it is not for that reason that I intrude upon the House. I will show the House, in one moment, that the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) knew, in the most distinct manner, that at half-past 4 o'clock today this matter would be brought before the notice of the House; and yet he has not made the slightest communication, either through a friendly Member, or by letter, or even by telegraph, asking that the matter may be adjourned, or giving the slightest explanation. The hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), who said everything he could in the painful circumstances in which he was placed, stated honestly and candidly that he had had no communication of any kind with the hon. Member for Mid Cork. In fact, as the matter stands, apparently no communication has been made to anyone who is authorized to represent the hon. Member for Mid Cork, or to state how the matter stands in reference to him. The hon. Member for Devizes has handed to me the letter which was addressed to the hon. Member for Mid Cork, and delivered to him by a messenger of this House. That was on Friday night, and the letter was in these terms—

> "Sir,—I beg to give you notice that I intend, at half-past 4 o'clock p.m. on Monday next, to call the attention of the House to your conduct in the Lobby this evening.
>
> "W. H. LONG.
>
> "C. K. Tanner, Esq., M.P."

That letter, which was signed by the hon. Member for Devizes, was put into an envelope, addressed to C. K. Tanner, Esq., M.P., and handed to a messenger of this House, and it was sent back by the messenger from the hon. Member for Mid Cork without a single word of acknowledgment, the letter simply having been opened, and put into an envelope, and returned. Now, I ask the House to consider the position in which it is placed. Nobody denies that language of this kind is likely to promote disorder. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) has not said anything to justify or palliate the language used; and I am sure that no Member in any part of the House would say anything in its defence. But it does seem somewhat strange that when a charge of this kind is made in a plain, straightforward statement as to time and place, and when the House is asked to deal with the matter, it should be expected to pass lightly over the fact that the hon. Member for Mid Cork is not only not in his place to meet it, but has not made any communication whatever on the subject to the hon. Member for Devizes, or to any of his own hon. Friends, in reference to an adjournment. It was only after this Motion was made that there was any suggestion that the hon. Member for Mid Cork could not be here. I speak with great deference; but I think it is due to the dignity of the House, if not due to my hon. Friend, that when a serious charge of this kind was—as the hon. Member for Mid Cork knew from the distinct notice that he had—about to be made, some explanation should have been given. The hon. Member for Mid

Cork knew very well, from what had passed, to what the letter referred. We have heard something about the cause of his absence, and I am quite sure that the hon. Member for West Belfast told us exactly what he knew as to the cause; but it is very unsatisfactory to the House that there should be no communication from the hon. Member for Mid Cork by letter, or telegraph, or by a friend asking for a postponement of the matter. I think the House should be very jealous indeed of such language used by an hon. Member within the precincts of the House. As has been pointed out, no distinction can be drawn between the House and the Lobby, except in regard to the way in which the language is brought to the notice of the House. If it be used in the House, you, Mr. Speaker, would take immediate notice of it; if it be used in the Lobby, you cannot take judicial notice of it, but your attention has to be drawn to it. Of course, the House will do what it thinks right in the matter. I have only put the facts before it, leaving it to form its own conclusion as to whether, under the circumstances, there ought to be an adjournment. Whether any explanation, apology, excuse, or withdrawal was intended to be made, at least it was due to the House that there should be some formal communication made to it on the authority of the hon. Member for Mid Cork, and that the hon. Member should not have left his friends—who have certainly done the best they could for him—to make, without instructions or authority, an explanation which may or may not be endorsed by him.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I can assure the House that if I agree with my right hon. Friend the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) that it would be wise to adjourn this debate, it is not through under-estimating the importance of the matter before us, but because I think it is one of a very grave character. But, before I go further, I wish to advert to the statement with which, somewhat to my surprise, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General commenced his speech. I have no wish to complain of the hon. and learned Gentleman; but we look on the Law Officers of the Crown to guide the House in acting judicially, and I understood the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that this transaction could not be properly considered without reference to former transactions—that is to say, that this very grave complaint was apparently to be the subject of some prejudice and adverse presumption on account of matters which had taken place on some former occasion, and that on that account—I do not say it was said, but it was inferred—the hon. Member for Mid Cork is to stand in the position of one who is to be presumed guilty before he is heard, and that this question is to be entered upon with some prejudice.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: Will the right hon. Gentleman pardon me if I say that I had not the smallest intention of prejudicing the case? What I meant was simply to say that from what has passed in this Session it could not be taken as an isolated case. I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will pardon me if I——

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Sir, I rise to Order. I ask you, in the first place, whether this interruption is in order; and, secondly, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman is addressing himself to the Question before the House—namely, that of adjournment?

Mr. SPEAKER: It is quite true that it is difficult to distinguish between reasons for the Motion and reasons against the adjournment; but, unquestionably, it is to the Motion for Adjournment that remarks ought to be strictly confined.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: The hon. and learned Gentleman is going, apparently, to commit a breach of the Rules of the House in regard to references to past debates in the present Session.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: No, no!

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Would it be in Order for him to make such a reference?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know what the hon. and learned Member is going to say, and therefore I cannot say whether he is out of Order or not.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: If I am at all out of Order one word from you, Sir, will induce me, of course, to refrain. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) asked me to explain or withdraw a statement I had made. I am simply going to read from the report in *Hansard* what has happened this Session in reference to the conduct of the hon. Member for Mid Cork.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must say that the question as between the hon. Member for Mid Cork and the hon. Member for Devizes is one which stands upon its own merits. Anything that has passed on any previous occasion in reference to the conduct of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Cork must entirely be kept out of the question, and should have no influence in guiding the action of the House.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I have not a word more to say on that point. My contention would have been to the effect that the question must stand by itself, and be judged upon its own merits. Looking at it from that point of view, I think that what has been said by my right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers) is quite true. I did not enter the House until the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Belfast was addressing the House; but I think I have fairly collected the merits of the question in regard to the issue now before us. What I would venture to put very strongly to the Government is this—that it is extremely unfortunate if in any given place—especially a case of a grave character, a personal character, and a judicial character—it is extremely unfortunate if when probably or possibly there is no difference of opinion on the merits of the case, and when a harmonious judgment may possibly be given by the majority of the House—it is extremely unfortunate if any course is taken which tends to produce out-of-doors, either on this side of the Channel or in Ireland, an impression that there has been anything unfair done. I am not at all inclined to take a lenient view of a complaint such as that which has been made by the hon. Member for Devizes. I entirely accede to what has been said as to the propriety of the matter being laid before the House by him; and the manner in which that painful office has been performed by him may well stand on the acknowledgments already made. But, for the present, I think it would be a mistake to assume in any respect the absolute culpability of the hon. Member for Mid Cork; but this I say, that if he cannot shake the base of the statement of an offence of that kind the offence is a very grave offence. With that very grave offence it is proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury at once to deal; and I own, though I think it a very grave offence, yet I could have wished for some little opportunity for consideration as to the measure of the punishment to be inflicted, because, Sir, we have means provided for judging of these matters in the punishment now inflicted by the House when there is distinct and contumacious resistance by a Member of the House to the judgment of the House, and to the authority of the Chair. I apprehend, Sir, I am right in saying that you never name a Member until, in your judgment, contumacious resistance has been offered to the authority of the Chair. I am also, I apprehend, right in saying that one week is the term during which for the first offence the Member is subjected to disability. That is the amount of punishment it is usual to give. I feel it difficult to decide at a moment's notice on a matter of this kind. I cannot tell whether there are palliating and excusatory circumstances as between one Member and another; but it is proposed for the first offence—[An hon. MEMBER: It is not a first offence.]—to give four times more punishment than is given for contumacious resistance to the authority of the Chair. I do not complain of the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. I am quite sure he has done no more than what he thought to be his duty. I wished to say these few words as to the amount and proportion of punishment. One word more upon the absence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork. I must say that, unless the circumstances stated by the hon. and learned Attorney General can be met by some adequate explanation, they distinctly form a very serious aggravation of the original offence, supposing the original offence to be established. About that I feel there can be no doubt whatever, and it is, therefore, that I say in all likelihood it may be found—and I have nothing more to say than what has fallen from the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell)—it may be found that we all take substantially the same view on this question. The original question has possibly been complicated and aggravated by the absence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork from the House; but all the more because it has been so complicated, and because there is an aggravation of the original offence, I hold it is most desirable on every ground that we should know the whole case before we decide, and have the hon. Member present before we arrive at our sentence. If there is any question of undue delay in his appearance here, and if it is thought that the authority of the House ought to be exercised in order to secure his speedy attendance, I cannot conceive the slightest objection. I do not enter upon that at the present moment. Probably we may hear from some Gentleman who is personally acquainted with the hon. Member for Mid Cork when the hon. Member is certain to be in his place. That is a question which ought to be considered, perhaps, after the adjournment, if the adjournment is conceded; but I do put it on every ground of policy, propriety, equity, and on every question connected with the dignity of this House—and it is most important that this House should act as a body—I do put it that the right hon. Gentleman would exercise a wise discretion if he consents to allow a reasonable time to elapse before calling on us to give judgment in this case?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: After the appeal which has been made to me by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), I think it would be fitting that I should agree to the Motion of the hon. Member for West Belfast for the adjournment of the debate. I have no desire, in a case of this kind at all events, to secure the triumph of a majority. I thoroughly reciprocate the feelings expressed by the right hon. Gentleman that the judgment of the House should, if possible, be as nearly unanimous as it can be. An offence has been charged against the hon. Member. The offence charged is an offence against the House, not against an individual Member, nor against a Party, but it is an offence against the House itself; therefore, it is most desirable on every ground that as nearly as possible the unanimous feeling of the House should be given in dealing with so grave and serious a question. I, therefore, consent to the adjournment of the debate, but I will follow with the Motion—"That Dr. Tanner do attend in his place at half-past 4 on Thursday next." I think that would afford ample time.

Mr. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I claim the indulgence of the House for a moment. I have not one word to say in defence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork; but it will be in your recollection, Mr. Speaker, that I brought under your notice some time ago a matter of a somewhat similar character, in so far as it affected the Privileges of this House, and one which I considered to be of considerable importance. Upon that occasion, Sir, you informed me that as the circumstances to which I desired to refer had not occurred within the House, it was not a matter of which the House could take cognizance. Under these circumstances I hope the House will refuse to entertain any Motion in regard to this matter. In my opinion a much more serious breach of the Privileges of this House occurred in the Lobby after I had brought forward a Motion some time ago relating to the Corporation of the City of London. You will probably remember, Sir, that on that occasion you asked me——

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Gentleman that the Motion before the House is a Motion for the adjournment of the debate; but the hon. Member is entering into another matter altogether.

Mr. HOWELL: Then I will only urge on the Government not to proceed with the matter further. After the manner in which the subject has been brought under the notice of the House, I feel persuaded that it would not be consulting the dignity of the House to pass a Resolution upon the matter. I think the House would consult its dignity very much more if it would pass away from the subject altogether.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday.*

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have now to move—

"That Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, do attend in his place on Thursday next at half-past Four o'clock."

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I see no reason for objecting to that Motion, which is only a just and reasonable one.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Ordered, That Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, do attend in his place on Thursday next, at half-past Four o'clock.

The following is the Entry in the Votes:—

Complaint made to the House by Mr. Long, Member for the Devizes Division of Wiltshire, of offensive expressions addressed to him in the Lobby by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid-Division of the County of Cork:—

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, in consequence of the disgraceful and insulting words addressed in the Lobby of the House on Friday evening last, by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid-Division of the County of Cork, to an honourable Member of this House, Dr. Tanner be suspended from the Service of the House, and excluded from its precincts for a Month:"—(*Mr. William Henry Smith*:)—Debate arising;

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton*,)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate adjourned till *Thursday.*

Ordered, That Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, do attend in his place on Thursday next, at half-past Four o'clock.—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £1,732,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Expenses of the Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888."

MR. DUFF (Banffshire): May I ask what is to be the course of Business to-night, and what Votes the Government propose to take in the event of disposing of this Vote at an early hour?

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): It was stated the other night that it was intended to take Vote 6, and then to proceed in regular order with Votes 9, 10, &c.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I propose to take Vote 6 first.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): May I be allowed to appeal to the Committee to separate, as far as possible, the discussion upon Votes 6 and 10, both of which deal with matters of vital importance; one in relation to our naval armaments, and the other to the manner in which the money given to the Admiralty for armaments is spent by them. Nothing would be more unfortunate in the discussion of Vote 6 than for the Committee to be led into a review of the questions involved in Vote 10. If we are to discuss Vote 6 to-night, we ought, as closely as possible, to confine ourselves to Vote 6. If we finish the discussion at an early hour to-night, then my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty might find it convenient to proceed with Vote 10; but if the discussion upon Vote 6 is continued until a late hour, then I trust that the First Lord of the Treasury will find it convenient to take Vote 10 as the first Vote upon some other evening. I would strongly press upon the Government the propriety of taking that course.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I am very anxious to make any arrangement that will meet with the convenience of the Committee; but any hon. Member who is anxious to raise any question as to the design of the ships will, of course, be able to do so if he chooses upon each of these Votes, and thus there would be a double discussion, or the same subject might be discussed twice over.

MR. DUFF: I understand that if Vote 6 is disposed of at a reasonable hour, the Government then propose to proceed with Vote 10.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): As a general rule there have been two separate discussions on Votes 6 and 10. It has never been the custom to take a general discussion upon both Votes at the same time.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I have to ask the indulgence of the Committee while I make a close analytical examination of Vote 6, which provides for Dockyard Establishments at Home and Abroad. I am anxious to make the examination as close as I can, and to analyze the details as fully as I can, because, owing to the very late period of the Session at which the Committee on the Army and Navy Estimates was appointed, it has been quite impossible for the Committee to devote an adequate amount of time to the examination of the Estimates; and, therefore, it is impossible for the Committee to assist the House, and the House must itself do the best it can to arrive at a decision upon the question whether this expenditure is rightly incurred or not. The first thing which strikes me about Vote 6 is its form. I am afraid that I am going to trouble the Committee with a great many figures, but I must ask their careful attention to them. As I have said, the first thing that strikes me about Vote 6 is the form of the Vote; and that is very important. If the Committee will look back to former Estimates, they will find that, until the present year, Vote 6 has always contained about 12 times as much information as it does this year. The detailed information in Vote 6 this year is all put in the form of Appendices. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton), in the Memorandum which he placed before the House, said—

> "The Vote for Dockyard labour is taken in the present Estimates as a whole, and is not allocated, as has been the practice in past years, to the several Yards. The object of this change is to afford the Controller of the Navy more latitude in the distribution of work and of the classes of labour, in a manner which may promote greater efficiency and economy in carrying out the varying requirements of the Navy."

That is very plausible as far as it goes; but it raises questions of the utmost possible importance. Now, the Controller and Auditor General, and the Committee on Public Accounts, have nothing whatever to do with any matters outside those which are not contained in the Vote itself. They are not concerned with any statement that may be made by the Admiralty in the appendices of the Vote. Such statements never come under the notice of the Controller and Auditor General, or of the Committee on Public Accounts; and, therefore, the more you limit the information in the Vote, and extend it in the Appendices, the more you withdraw matters from the knowledge of the Controller and Auditor General, and the greater are the opportunities of the Admiralty to expend money without the knowledge, and possibly without the consent and sanction, of Parliament. To show the Committee how excessively important this matter is, I now turn to Vote 6. Perhaps the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty will make a note of my objection to the form of the Vote. If you look back to the year 1872-3, you will find that £988,562 was thought sufficient in that year for the maintenance of the Dockyards at home and abroad. You will find that this year the Admiralty demand £1,732,600, so that the Vote has practically doubled. But you cannot consider Vote 6 without considering Vote 11, for New Works and Machinery in the Dockyards. Both must go together, and Vote 11, in this year, is £553,000. Combined, these two Votes amount to £2,285,000; and they have more than doubled since 1872. Then, Vote 10, for Machinery and Ships built by Contract, has increased by six times since 1872-3. In 1872 the expenditure under Vote 10 was estimated at £375,000; in 1881-2 it amounted to £1,911,000, so that if Vote 6 had doubled, Vote 10 had sextupled, or increased by six times as much. The Committee will, I think, allow that these are remarkable facts. I should now like to analyze Vote 6 as it stands in the present year. Vote 6 combines the Home Yards and the Yards abroad. I will take the Home Yards first. The Admiralty ask for £1,538,095 to carry on the work in the Home Yards. If we say to them—"What are you going to give us in return for that expenditure of £1,538,000?" they tell us —"We are going to spend £702,131 on new construction, £322,268 on refitting and repairing ships, and £106,569 on manufactures and materials, making a total of £1,131,968." This is what the country will get in direct return for its expenditure of £1,538,000 in the Home Yards. But a considerable balance, amounting to £406,000, is left; and this balance is entirely absorbed by salaries and incidental expenses. This is a point which I shall probably allude to more than once in the course of my remarks; and I hope the Committee will give their anxious attention to it. The incidental charges amount to £406,000, as compared with £1,100,000 in direct returns to the country—that is to say, your incidental charges, which do not come under the heads of labour and material, amount to no less than 34 per cent on the return of £1,130,000 which the Admiralty proposes to give you. That is an enormous percentage indeed; much larger than in any other country. But supposing we add to this expenditure Vote 11, which is for new works and machinery by contract. We then have to add to the incidental charges connected with the maintenance of the Dockyards no less a sum than £304,150, so that we have altogether about £700,000 spent in charges incidental to the maintenance of the Dockyards while turning out work valued at £1,100,000. Consequently, the 34 per cent becomes nearly doubled, and becomes nearly 60 per cent. I think the Committee will admit that that is a very startling statement indeed, and if it is worked out it will be seen that the expenditure is increasing rapidly, and that there is the utmost difficulty in defending it. If I turn to the expenditure upon foreign yards, I find that matters are still more serious, and I shall have a great deal to say in regard to it before I conclude. The total Estimate for Foreign Yards is £195,322. The direct or effective expenditure, on new construction, refitting, and manufactures, is put down at £87,659, and the incidental charges amount to £107,663. Therefore, comparing the incidental charges with the actual work done in the foreign yards, it will be found that the incidental charges amount to 130 per cent as compared with the direct returns you get from the Dockyards. If I add to the £107,000 incidental charges connected with these foreign yards to the charge of £139,000 equally incidental, which comes under Vote 11 for the extension of foreign yards, I get an item of £246,000 spent upon foreign yards, while your return in direct service amounts only to £87,000, amounting to something like 200 per cent for indirect charges as compared with the returns you get from direct charges. These figures disclose a state of things for which a most elaborate defence is demanded from the Admiralty. Let me go back to the Dockyards. Examining the details of Vote 6, I find that there were some curious facts as to the cost of building ships in the Dockyards. In 1869-70 the average cost was £55 per ton; in 1877-8 it was £80; and in 1884-5 it was £109 per ton. Therefore, the average cost of building ships in the Dockyards has increased since 1870 by more than 50 per cent, and since 1878 it has increased by £29 per ton. This increase is not accounted for by any increase in the cost of labour. On unarmoured ships the cost of labour since 1878 has only increased £4 per ton. On armoured ships the cost has only increased by £6. You thus only get a mean increase of £5 in the cost of labour, but you get a gross increase of £29 per ton in the cost of building. Will the price of material account for the increase? Again I say that it will not, for there has been an immense fall since 1874 in the prices of nearly all structural materials with hardly an exception. The price of the principal commodities used in the manufacture of ships has fallen largely, so that you cannot quote the price of materials in order to account for the increased charge per ton for the building of ships. Between 1874 and 1883, since which prices have not risen, iron plates fell in price from £19 3*s.* 4*d.* to £18 15*s.*; pig lead fell 36 per cent; zinc, 43 per cent; mill coals, 23 per cent; hemp, 15 per cent; copper, 24 per cent; and red pine as much as 50 per cent. Therefore, there has been a large fall in prices, yet, notwithstanding this fall in prices since the time when ships were built at £50 or £60 a ton there has been a large increase in the cost of shipbuilding. Therefore, you can neither go to the cost of labour nor the price of materials to account for the increase in expenditure—an increase of £50 per ton since the year 1885. That is a very remarkable fact, and it is a point on which I think the House is entitled to some explanation from the Admiralty. I desire, on this subject, to read an extract from an article in the May number of *The Westminster Review*, an article of great ability upon "the State in its manufacturing attitude" a more moderate and temperate and wise statement of the matter I do not think I have ever read. The article says—

> "If the period 1873-4 is compared with that of 1886-7, it will be found that the items in the Navy Estimates that are liable to be affected by prices were £2,750,000 more in the latter, or cheap, than they were in the former, or dear times. It would appear that there has been an increase in the latter year of nearly £2,000,000 in the item of 'machinery and ships built by private contract.' If this had been the only increase—in other words, if the work formerly largely done in the Dockyards had been transferred to private naval constructors—there would have been little reason to find fault, since there has been a large consensus of opinion in favour of such a transfer on the part of high authorities and responsible statesmen. But this increase has proceeded *pari passu* with one of £500,000 in the Dockyards and Naval Yards, and of nearly £300,000 in Naval Stores, for which there appears to be no adequate equivalent given."

This *Westminster Review*, after summing up the case, and after examining it carefully, says further—and this is what I wish to commend to the attention of the Admiralty, because it is not the statement of a heated politician or of a Party opponent, but the statement of a grave and moderate quarterly periodical—

> "It is, of course, customary to hear it said that this large increase of expenditure has been entailed by the more expensive and complex character of the appliances of modern naval warfare. On this point we do not care to venture any opinion. It is possible that there is force and truth in the argument. But after every possible allowance has been made that the most indulgent and reasonable of censors can allow, after all the difficulties that confront the Admiralty have been fully extenuated, after the necessarily more cautious and circumlocutionary processes common to governmental work have been taken into consideration, there still remains a formidable and apparently unanswerable indictment lying at the door of those who are responsible for our naval expenditure. The charges of wasteful, inefficient, and inadequate administration have been proved to the hilt, not by the impersonal or irresponsible criticisms of the public Press, of anonymous pamphleteers, or of foreign rivals, but by the evidence of Admiralty officials themselves, and by the well-considered and weighty deliberations of successive Committees appointed to inquire into the subject. Of such Committees there are two whose recent Reports are entitled to special consideration—the first being the Committee on the building and repair of ships; the second the Committees appointed to inquire into the Admiralty and Dockyard administration and expenditure. The first of these was presided over by Lord Ravensworth, and included such authorities as Mr. John Burns, Mr. Samuda, Mr. Ismay, Sir Charles Palmer, and Mr. Norwood. They examined authorities as competent as themselves, among others Sir Edward Reed, Sir N. Barnaby, Mr. F. K. Barnes, Admiral Sir W. H. Stewart, Mr. W. Laird, &c. That Committee reported in October, 1884; and the summary of their Report is this—'That the Admiralty system failed to show the entire cost of labour on a Dockyard-built ship; that the whole question of incidental charges was so obscure as to render unreliable any comparison between the cost of shipbuilding in public and in private yards; that the incomplete and meagre character of the specifications furnished by the Admiralty to contractors not only increased the time during which ships were under construction, but also materially enhanced the cost of the work; that the time occupied in building a ship under contract compared favourably with the period of construction in a Dockyard, the whole tendency of contract work being to avoid delay; that a heavy expenditure was incurred in refitting ships that have completed their commission when it was really not required; and that the Admiralty would do well to follow more largely the practice followed in the Merchant Navy of adding new ships to their fleet in preference to incurring a heavy expenditure on old ones.'"

These are all of them distinct charges made by the Committee on the Admiralty, who say that they were all proved before them. They did not even limit their condemnation by saying that the work of the Admiralty was well done. Not at all. They go on to say—

> "They found that alike in the general principles of management and in the merest matters of detail the system was inefficient; that in spite of enormous sums voted for machinery and works 'the tools employed were of an obsolete character, which must necessarily increase the cost of the work;' that large sums of money were wasted in patching up old ships when a very little more, or, perhaps, even less, would provide entirely new vessels; that ships were over and over again stripped and 'torn up' when about to be placed in a new commission, although no such expenditure was required; that there was a want of touch between the several heads of Departments coincidentally with too much centralization of detail, which caused 'delay and unnecessary correspondence.'"

That the whole administrative arrangements were, in fact, such as no private firm or individual would be likely, even if he could afford it, to tolerate for a moment. That is the Report of the Committee, although it has never been alluded to in Parliament, no doubt to the great enjoyment of the Admiralty. But that was not enough; more still remained behind. That Committee reported in 1884. Another Committee was appointed in 1885—namely, a Committee to inquire into the Dockyard expenditure, and it was presided over by a distinguished officer—Admiral Graham. That Committee presented their Report to the Admiralty last year.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: No.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: At any rate, they got it last year, and here is a summary of their Report. It was two years after the Committee on the building and repair of ships had presented their Report when this interesting, but it is to be feared absolutely unheeded, document was submitted to my Lords of the Admiralty, in which the Committee on Dockyard expenditure reported that—

> "'The supervision of labour is unsatisfactory, and that idleness and incompetence are practically unchecked;' that 'the want of co-operation between the superintendent and the officers acts unfavourably upon the cost of works in progress;' that 'we can imagine no more unsatisfactory state of affairs, nor one more calculated to subvert all effectual control over the men;' that 'very serious inconvenience and waste of labour are experienced both in procuring articles from contractors and in drawing

them from stores;' that 'the condition into which Dockyard business has been gradually drifting is, and has been for some years, entirely underrated in the Admiralty Department, and, we greatly regret to add, to the very serious detriment of the Service;' that there is 'no systematic or concurrent financial control over Dockyard expenditure;' that 'duplication of accounts, over-employment of clerks, preparation of voluminous, and, in some cases, useless Returns, and defective audit,' are 'defects common to all yards and to all branches of work therein;' and that, as regards management, 'the system is seriously defective, and does not secure a fair return for the vast outlay annually absorbed therein.'"

These are the Reports of two Committees within the last two years. Now, what I want to know is what answer the Admiralty have to make to these elaborate heads of condemnation fastened on them by these Committees? The Admiralty have told us that they cannot make any reduction in the gross amount of expenditure, and that any demand for a reduction is intolerable and unjustifiable. Both of these Committees condemn the system as rotten and inefficient, and what have the Admiralty done to meet the charges brought against them? Let me examine these things a little more in detail. I have given a summary of the Committees' Reports; and now, if I am allowed, I desire to lay before the Committee a few figures with a view of comparing the cost of Dockyard ships and ships built by contract. It is possible to examine the cost of ships built by contract in 1880-1, and to compare it with the cost of ships built by contract within a very recent period, and, by comparing that cost with the cost of Dockyard-built ships, the House will see what the Dockyard system costs the country. I propose to take, for the purpose of comparison, two ships—the *Constance* and the *Carysfort*, which are recent ships built in 1880-1, and it appears that the *Constance*, which was built in the Chatham Dockyard, cost £114,886 for her hull and £36,000 for her engines, making a total of £150,886, or £90 9*s*. 3*d*. per ton for her hull and £15 3*s*. 4*d*. for her engines. I will now go to the *Carysfort*, which was built by contract at Glasgow. The cost for her hull was £98,480, and for her engines £29,948, making a total of £128,428, or £77 10*s*. 10*d*. per ton for her hull and £13 5*s*. per ton for her engines, which shows a difference of £22,458 in favour of Glasgow upon the whole cost—of £13 per ton on the hull and of £1 18*s*. 4*d*. per ton on the engines. Notwithstanding these striking facts, the *Constance* and the *Carysfort* appear in the Estimates this year as each costing £123,000, thus making it appear to Parliament that contract ships and Dockyard ships cost the same price. I hope the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty will give us some explanation of this. I now proceed to the case of larger ships—the *Camperdown*, built in Portsmouth Dockyard, and the *Benbow*, built by contract on the Thames. The original estimate for the *Camperdown* was, direct charges, £668,947; indirect charges, £93,880; total, £762,827. The estimate for the *Benbow* was £665,718, and Dockyard work £43,831, making a total of £709,559, thus showing a difference of £53,000 in favour of the contract ship. After the *Benbow* was constructed a change was made in the designs as to armaments, and an extra expenditure of £50,000 was incurred; but even with this additional expenditure added to the cost of the *Benbow*, which was not fairly incurred, the latest estimate for the *Benbow* is only £762,000, as against £776,000 for the *Camperdown*, which is £14,000 in favour of the contract ship. Then, take the case of the *Immortalité*, built at Chatham Dockyard, and the *Australia*, built by contract. The direct estimate of the *Immortalité* was £278,720, and the indirect charges were £45,194, making a total of £323,914. In the case of the *Australia*, the contract ship, the direct estimate was £245,458, with £20,955 for Dockyard work, and indirect charges £5,966, making a total of £272,379, showing a difference in favour of the contract ship of £51,535. What has the Admiralty got to say to that? Why, in the case of three different classes of ships, should they be built at a higher percentage of cost than in private dockyards? I know that one reason why Dockyard building is so costly is that the Admiralty never know their own mind. They never have the smallest idea when they lay down a ship how much they are going to spend upon it. Now, I will give the Committee an example of this, which, I think, has never been brought before Parliament before. In the case of the *Dreadnought*, in 1871 the Admiralty of that day came to Parliament and asked it to vote £269,000, and on their statement Parliament voted that sum for the building of the ship. The final estimates, about five years afterwards, came to £445,000, and the actual cost of the ship was £491,000, or nearly double the sum of £269,000, which the Admiralty told Parliament when they induced Parliament to vote the money. Now, take the case of the *Téméraire* a little later, a ship of which the country is justly proud. The original estimate upon which Parliament consented to her being laid down—because these are not supposed to be mere phantom estimates; if you tell Parliament—"I intend to spend so much on this ship," and £500,000 is spent, then Parliament is deluded and deceived, and all Parliamentary control becomes an absolute farce. The original estimate of the *Téméraire* was £281,000, the final estimate £356,000, and the actual cost £375,000, showing an excess of £90,000 over the original estimate. In the case of the *Inflexible*, the total estimate was £396,000, the final estimate £607,000, and the actual cost £625,000, showing an excess over the estimates submitted to Parliament of no less a sum than £229,000. Now, take a smaller class of ships. The original estimate for the *Shannon* was £168,000, the final estimate £218,000, and the actual cost £250,000, or an excess of £82,000. Therefore, even in the case of a ship like the *Shannon* the Admiralty cannot estimate the cost of building her. Take again the *Bacchante*, a well-known vessel. The original estimate was £107,000, the final estimate £152,000, and the actual cost £164,000, making an excess of £57,000. Now, what I want to know is this—what would become of any private firm that made such mistakes as these in its calculations? What would become of them when they found that the cost of building a ship was exactly double their estimate? That firm would soon be in bankruptcy. But the Admiralty cannot go into bankruptcy, because they have a deluded Parliament and country to draw upon *ad libitum;* and these mistakes, which would ruin both the character and the credit of any private firm, are passed over by Parliament actually unnoticed, and with a light and cheerful heart the Admiralty submit estimates they know to be utterly delusive. Again, look at even the estimates of the amount they are going to spend in labour upon ships. The original estimate for labour upon the hull of the *Impérieuse* was £147,000, and the final cost £210,000, or an excess of £63,000; in the case of the *Warspite*, the figures were £147,000 and £202,000, in that of the *Mersey*, £62,000 and £98,000, in that of the *Severn*, £62,000 and £90,000, of the *Curlew*, £19,000 and £26,000, and of the *Melita*, £19,000 and £23,000. Therefore, the Committee will see that even in the case of very small ships, where you would think there was no difficulty in estimating the amount, it was not in the power of the Admiralty to ascertain what they ought to pay? Now I come back to the remark I made at the beginning. I want to show the Committee the utterly untrustworthy and deceptive character of the Admiralty statements contained in the Estimates submitted to Parliament. If you turn to the appendices, you will find a certain amount of labour promised by the Admiralty to be expended on certain classes of ships, some to be advanced, and others to be completed. But those statements contained in the appendices are not worth the paper they are written on. All you put in the appendices escapes the control of the Auditor General altogether. If it is in the Vote, the Controller and Auditor General has to report that certain sums put down in the Estimates have not been expended; but if it is in the appendices, the Controller and Auditor General has nothing to do with it, and never notices it, and the Committee on Public Accounts never notices it. The Committee will be surprised to hear this. You have a Committee on Public Accounts; but the only check on your Army and Navy expenditure is a Return called the Expense Account, which is never issued for the Navy until two years, and for the Army three years, after the expenditure has been incurred. Although you have a Committee on Public Accounts, that Committee knows nothing even of the existence of this Expense Account, notwithstanding the fact that that is the only possible check on the Departments, and the only means of finding out how the Departments spend the money. Is not that a disgraceful state of things for the country? The Expense Account is not audited by the Controller and Auditor General, and never comes under the notice of the Committee on Public Accounts. The Appropriation Account has nothing whatever to do with the details in connection with your manufacturing establishments. All the Admiralty do is to tell you that they are going to spend so many hundred thousand pounds on ships in the course of the present year. I have been enabled to furnish some details of your manufacturing establishments which show the utter absence of Parliamentary control. Take the case of the *Dreadnought*. She was commenced in 1870. Building was suspended for two years, and begun in earnest in 1872, and the Admiralty told Parliament in the appendices that they intended to spend for labour and material upon her £27,000—that is to say, that they proposed to build one-tenth of the *Dreadnought* so far as the original estimate was concerned. As a matter of fact, what do the Committee think they did spend? All they spent was only £11,000. Having got Parliament to vote them money to advance the *Dreadnought* by one-tenth of her total cost, they only advanced her by one-sixtieth. In 1878 they told Parliament that they were going to spend £12,000 in labour only; as a matter of fact, they spent £26,000. In 1873 the Admiralty informed Parliament they intended to spend £28,000 in labour upon the *Téméraire*—that is to say, to advance her by one-tenth of her total cost. As a matter of fact, they only spent £5,618, not even a fraction of her total cost. In 1874 they told Parliament they intended to spend £36,000 on the *Téméraire;* they only spent £24,000. Let me take another ship. In the case of the *Shannon*, in 1873, the estimate for labour was £15,000, the actual expenditure only £6,000. In 1874 the estimate for labour on the *Shannon* was £27,000, and the actual sum spent was £42,000; in 1875 the estimate was £26,000, and the actual sum spent was £35,000; and in 1876 the figures were £11,000 and £16,000. In 1877, apparently, the Admiralty did not propose to spend any money upon the *Shannon*, but they spent £5,500 upon her. Surely this ought not to have been done without the Controller and Auditor General taking a note of it. It shows the utter uselessness of the Admiralty telling Parliament —"We will advance a ship so much." The money is given to them for a certain purpose, and then it is spent for other purposes—money that is voted for repairs is spent upon building, and *vice versâ*. It may be right, but I contend that unless you are going to make the whole thing the commonest and most transparent farce the Estimates submitted to Parliament should be adhered to, and Parliament should know that the money it has voted for a certain purpose will be devoted to that purpose, and not spent at the whim and caprice of the Admiralty officials. Now, I should like to pass to another point. I wish the Committee to see how utterly useless is the Appropriation Act for all purposes of control. There is no control whatever in the hands of the Committee of Public Accounts, or of the Controller and Auditor General. Why, in the case of the £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 you spend under Vote 6, or the £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 you spend under Votes 11, 12, and 13 for the Army, you have absolutely no audit, no Parliamentary control or knowledge, until two or three years afterwards. The Committee, perhaps, has no idea of that, but it is so, and that is exactly what must be put a stop to. And now let me bring the Committee back to the important question of incidental charges. They are very remarkable—these incidental charges—and I want to direct the attention of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to the figures. I presume that he is well acquainted with them; that he has examined them; and that he is ready with his reply. I want to compare them with the labour charged direct to ships and other effective services. In 1880 the indirect charges for your Home Dockyards were £662,000, and your direct charges for labour in connection with ships were £884,000—that is to say, your indirect charges amounted to 70 per cent of your direct charges. I do not believe any country in the world can show such bloated charges as those. Your labour charges have gone up from £864,000 in 1880 to £1,152,000 in 1885, an increase of £288,000, still increasing at the same ratio of 70 per cent, in comparison with the money spent for labour. Seventy per cent this year, as in 1880, is the measure of the increase of your incidental charges. Now, what I want to ask the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty is this. In his Memorandum he contrived to hint—if he did not actually state—that he looked forward to a large reduction in the expenditure upon shipbuilding, because many contracts would fall in. Does the Admiralty intend to make a corresponding reduction in the indirect charges? Let us analyze some of those charges. I must tell the Committee that it is quite impossible to find the total cost of any Dockyard either at home or abroad. I hope the noble Lord will make a note of that. I do not believe any member of the Admiralty—the cleverest clerk in the Admiralty—will find out the total cost of any Dockyard within a good many thousands of pounds. At Portsmouth the direct Vote for labour, taking the expense account of 1885-6, was £374,000, while the incidental charges for the establishment amounted to £260,000, or 70 per cent; at Devonport the direct Vote for labour was £277,000; the incidental charges, £182,000, or 65 per cent; Chatham—direct Vote, £272,000; incidental charges, £164,000, or 59 per cent; Sheerness—direct Vote, £95,000; incidental charges, £75,000, or 78 per cent; Pembroke—direct Vote, £133,000; incidental charges, £56,500, or 42 per cent. Then I come to Haulbowline, where the direct Vote was £171, and incidental charges £4,500, or 2,572 per cent. The Admiralty have expended altogether £526,000 in the extension of Haulbowline, and the expenditure has not ceased. I have no hesitation in saying that the whole of that £500,000 has been absolute and total waste, and that if you had taken that money and expended it in real public works you would have done 50,000,000 times more good than you are likely to do as regards the naval expenditure at this yard. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON dissented.] I am not the least bit deterred by the dissent of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty from that statement; I assert that the Haulbowline Dockyard is a clear instance of profligate waste, and that the expenditure upon it ought to be stopped. I shall have more to say about the Dockyards presently, and especially about Sheerness. The First Lord takes up this position. He says—"We can make no economy; we must keep all our expenditure going on; it is all justifiable; and though the taxes are high and people crying out, every penny of these £13,000,000 we must have for the Navy," and yet here you find at Haulbowline expenditure which is the most utter waste. As regards the foreign yards, in the first place the Admiralty do not separate the incidental charges from the labour in detail. For some reason or other they conceal that from the Committee, and you can only get them in the total. They give the incidental charges, however, in connection with Hong Kong and Malta. Now, the Labour Vote at Hong Kong was £10,000, while the incidental charges were £29,000, or 300 per cent; at Malta the Labour Vote was £48,000, and the incidental charges £63,000, or 133 per cent. If we take all the foreign yards —Antigua, Bermuda, Cape of Good Hope, Esquimalt, Gibraltar, Halifax, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Malta, Sierra Leone, Sydney, and Trincomalee—we find a total Vote of £80,000 for labour, with incidental charges amounting to £213,000, or 266 per cent. Now, make any allowance you like as to keeping up certain expenditure, and still I defy you to say that that scale of incidental charges is not grossly extravagant. There is one remarkable feature in connection with Establishment charges in the Home Yards, and that is the item of salaries. I particularly invite the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to explain how it is that the salaries of superintendents, officers, and clerks, which were £101,000 in 1878-9, rose to £174,000 in 1885-6, an increase of £73,000? If he pleads that he cannot answer for those years, I will put another question—namely, how is it that the salaries of superintendents, officers, and clerks have increased from £140,000 in 1884-5 to £172,000 in 1887-8, or an increase of £32,000, that increase having only taken three years to bring about? And it is very curious that, whereas your £140,000 worth of salaries superintended £1,200,000 worth of wages for labour, you now require £172,000 in salaries to superintend £1,300,000 of wages — namely, an increase of £100,000 in wages to labour requires an increase of £30,000 a-year to superintendents, officers, and clerks. That is a remarkable state of things, and one that the noble First Lord will find difficulty in explaining satisfactorily. Now, let me take the Committee back to Sheerness Dockyard. An enormous sum of money has been expended on Chatham and Portsmouth.

In their extension there has been expended £4,245,000, and clearly it was intended by the Admiralty that when these extensions were completed Sheerness would be shut up. But is Sheerness, which shows 78 per cent for incidental charges, going to be shut up? Not for a moment. On Vote 11 there is taken for new works at Sheerness £8,000, for repairs £4,735, for new machinery £738, and for new machinery by contract £2,200—in all, £15,673 for new works and machinery this year, although you have spent an enormous sum on Chatham and Portsmouth on the express understanding that Sheerness was to be closed. The total cost of Sheerness this year, with these new works, amounts to £100,000, and the Admiralty might as easily save that £100,000 to-morrow as it would be now for the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to rise in his place. And this is the First Lord who said he could not make one single economy in the Navy Estimates. I also assert, without the smallest fear of contradiction, that you might, by mere application for three weeks, reduce the gross charge for incidental expenses by at least £100,000, and by careful and prolonged watching reduce it still more. There the charges remain continually increasing, and the noble First Lord seems to be under the impression that they are to be defended. I must point out that by the proposal to shut up Haulbowline and Sheerness you might not only save a great deal of money, but you might do a very good thing by getting rid of the buildings and land. Now, let me ask the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to explain some of these sources of waste. I learn that during 1885-6 in the Dockyards you thought it necessary to expend £14,000 on cable chains and moorings, £22,934 for hawsers and rope for guys, and £2,477 for yard boats. Now, I am told by those who know that this is a very large sum of money. I have been told that there are eight or nine lighters which are very rarely used, two men and a boy being kept for each lighter for the purpose of taking care of it. That is the kind of thing which goes on under the head of these incidental charges, and they are matters which the Admiralty cannot possibly defend in this House. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty will, perhaps, explain another matter connected with the incidental charges. You maintain a laboratory at Greenwich, costing £1,000 a-year for professors and teachers; but, for some inscrutable reason, the Admiralty thought it necessary to erect another laboratory of an expensive character at Portsmouth, costing £2,350, and maintained at a cost of £750 a-year. That is the way the money goes. Have the Admiralty ever considered the number of depôts on the South American Station and the North American Station comparatively? Is the Admiralty aware that for the last few years all the depôts on the South American Station have been done away with; that the depôt vessels which used to cost a great deal of money have been got rid of; and that the vessels on this station draw stores direct from England? For the North American Station, apparently, a different principle prevails. The Admiralty maintain at a very considerable cost three depôts on that station—Halifax, Bermuda, and Jamaica. I think the Admiralty will hardly differ on this point, that one depôt for the North American Station would be ample, and you might save the money expended on the others. These are economies which undoubtedly might be made if you were bent upon it. I turn now to another subject. An enormous amount of money is spent on chaplains and schools in the Dockyards. A most ridiculous amount is spent altogether on education in the Navy; £2,400 is spent every year for chaplains at Chatham, and £2,980 every year for schools. I cannot conceive that at the Dockyards of Portsmouth, Chatham, Devonport, and elsewhere there is not a large surplus of clergymen who would discharge the religious duties required at a very much lower figure; and, as far as the schools are concerned, there must be a large number of elementary schools to which the Dockyard children might go. But some of the Dockyard schools are for higher education—for engineers and students—and this raises an important question. The system of education pursued in the Navy is a very remarkable one. An enormous sum of money is spent on the education of shipwrights and others who may rise from the ranks in the Dockyards up to high positions in the Constructive Department. It is an extremely extravagant method. You maintain for that purpose Dockyard schools and Greenwich College, which receives £5,500 a-year. You make all kind of allowances to instructors for apprentices amounting to £5,000; and, having educated several hundred apprentices a-year in order to get a few good ones, you leave them at perfect liberty to seek service in foreign countries or in private yards. It happens, therefore, that after the country has spent a large sum of money in educating these students they instantly leave you and give all the benefit of their education to the enemy or to private enterprize. Is that not an absurd and extravagant system? If any one of us went to Sir William Armstrong's or to Whitworth's we should have to pay a large premium. This might be a source of profit to these firms, but the Navy pursues exactly the reverse method; it pays persons in order to teach them the science of shipbuilding. No doubt, that is a system which is susceptible of a very large reform indeed. The whole principle of your education in the Navy must be reconsidered, and if you do that you must save a very considerable sum of money. That, however, is perhaps a larger question than may properly be brought in to be examined on this Vote. But, speaking generally, besides Greenwich College you maintain the *Britannia* at £22,000 a-year *plus* £15,000 contribution; you maintain the *Marlborough* and the school at Devonport for engineer students at a cost of £13,393, and £3,000 contribution. You maintain, therefore, a most costly system of education in addition to the Dockyard schools. The whole question of Navy education, I think, ought to be carefully examined by the Admiralty, and is worthy of being examined by the House. I have only one more remark to make on this Dockyard Vote, and it is this—I want the explanation of the Admiralty as to the system of spending money on ships that have been completed. I think the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) brought before the House, the last time the Navy Estimates were discussed, the question of the ship *Archer*, which, after delivery at the Dockyard, had enormous sums of money spent on it. But I have found in the Estimates some of the oddest things in regard to sums spent on repairs up to March, 1886. I find, for instance, that in 1881-2 the *Constance* was built at a cost of £123,000, and up to March, 1886, you spent £8,000 on her. In 1879-80 the *Carysfort* was built at a cost of £123,000, and £12,556 was spent on her. In 1878-9 the *Comus* was built at a cost of £123,000, the sum of £49,595 being spent on her to keep her going. What is the meaning of such sums being spent on repairs? Let me take another ship. The *Shah*, built in 1876-7, cost originally £249,984, and no less than £40,000, for which the Admiralty is responsible, has been spent on repairs connected with a ship which you are not going to employ. The *Leander*, built in 1885-6, was completed for £191,000; but in the same year the Admiralty spent £8,947 on her. What is the reason? The ship is delivered to you built according to contract and fully completed; but you find it necessary, either with regard to ships built by contract, or ships built by yourselves, to be continually spending vast sums of money on them. I was told by a military gentleman who had just come back from Malta that the *Carysfort* just returned from a cruise was redocked, refitted, and taken to pieces from top to bottom at immense cost, although my informant said that the captain had declared that she did not require a penny to be spent upon her. Take some other ships, and see what you spent up to March 31, 1886. Take the *Agincourt*. She first cost £483,000, and you have spent £202,000 on her. The *Northumberland*—first cost £490,000; on her you have spent £201,000 in repairs—ships, I believe, perfectly useless for fighting purposes, and yet such enormous sums of money are spent upon them. The *Penelope*—another useless ship—first cost £196,000; £94,000 has been spent on repairs. The *Iron Duke* first cost £280,000; £186,000 spent on repairs. The *Swiftsure* first cost £267,000; £102,000 spent on repairs. The *Triumph* first cost £268,000; £147,000 spent on repairs. The *Briton*, £56,000; £50,000 spent on repairs; and so on with the smaller ships. These are the general matters connected with this Vote which I want the Committee to consider. Let me briefly summarize the points—the high proportion of the incidental charges for your labour; the form in which you bring your estimates before Parliament is not only perfectly inconvenient for

Parliament to get any knowledge as to what they are spending, but deliberately calculated and contrived to keep out the control of the Controller and Auditor General; the number of your Dockyards at home and abroad and the enormous amount of the incidental charges connected with them; the utter unreliability of your estimates as regards ships, whether as regards the original cost or the final estimate as compared with the original; the useless amount spent on repairs and in alterations; the amount of money which is spent in the maintenance of foreign yards which might perfectly well be closed; and other matters which I have brought forward as bearing out in every word the condemnation—the strong and deliberate condemnation—passed upon the system pursued by the Admiralty by the two Committees which I quoted at the beginning of my speech. I trust the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty will not put these remarks—thoroughly authenticated and well founded—aside by merely trusting to his official majority. If he does not attach importance to them, the country does. The country will not go on throwing millions of money into the hands of the First Lord of the Admiralty to have them expended in the way in which the official documents show they are expended. Let him show what he has done to produce improvement in these branches of the Service, or, if he does not, looking at the question as not one of Party in the least degree, I do earnestly implore the Committee to refuse absolutely to proceed with the Vote until the Admiralty have furnished the most ample and complete information.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: My noble Friend has made an attack, not only on the Board of Admiralty, but upon different Boards of Admiralty for years past. Well, I say at once that while I do not wish to make political capital by reflecting on the action of our official Predecessors, I cannot, on the other hand, hold myself in any way responsible for what occurred before the present Government came into Office. My noble Friend has not been quite just in his criticisms. I have never said that the Navy expenditure could not be reduced, and the Navy Estimates for this year show a reduction of £800,000 upon the Navy expenditure of last year.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What does it include?

Mr. DUFF: Does it include guns?

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: No. I say that the Navy Estimates this year show a reduction of £800,000 on the Navy expenditure of last year; and if there had not been sprung upon us, at the last moment, a liability which we had not expected to meet, and if we had not had to pay 53 weeks' wages instead of 52 weeks', the reduction shown would have been £900,000. I distinctly stated in my Memorandum that I was satisfied that for years to come there could be a steady reduction of expenditure and an increase of efficiency. My noble Friend has alluded to the Reports of two Committees. With regard to the first Report of the Committee, over which Lord Ravensworth presided, I believe that nearly all its recommendations had been acted upon. But the second Committee made a very strong Report upon the Dockyard expenditure, and especially dealt with a large proportion of incidental expenditure connected with the Dockyards. Let us understand what is meant by this incidental expenditure. It includes every conceivable item of expenditure except labour and materials. What is meant by a Royal Dockyard? It is not like an ordinary shipbuilding yard. It is a great naval arsenal. It has to perform every conceivable kind of work—not only to build and to repair ships, but there is an enormous expenditure in a Royal Dockyard which does not take place in a private shipbuilding yard. In addition to that, there are a multitude of duties which must be performed in a Royal Dockyard as long as you have a Navy at all. Now, what did I do in reference to this Report? As I have said, the Report of the second Committee was a very strong one. Admiral Graham was Chairman of that Committee. He had various conversations with me, and he satisfied me that a great many economies could be effected. What did I do? I took the first opportunity of making him Controller of the Admiralty, and he has effected immense economies. A great many of the criticisms of my noble Friend I admit to be perfectly just. Why do the Dockyards cost so much in the building of ships? I am sorry to say it is, to a great extent, because the idea has got into the heads of the localities that instead of the

Dockyards existing for the Navy, the Navy exists for the Dockyards. So long as the establishments were in excess of the work which they had to perform, the estimates sent in were not regulated by the work done by the number of men on the establishment. We have found that out over and over again. In one instance there were double the number of joiners who could possibly be employed. You could not get rid of them; they were on the Establishment, and entitled to continuous employment. I know that what we did was very unpopular. The result of bringing down the Establishment to its work is, that only the other day the Sheerness Yard competed with private contractors for some torpedo boats, and not only built them below the amount for which the contractors would have done it, but for more than £500 less than the estimates. That shows that if the Admiralty kept the work, and tried to infuse in the minds of all the officials in the Dockyards the sense that it is their business to save money in every possible way, it can be done. But what are the influences against which we have to contend in enforcing economy? We have every political and social pressure to contend against; and if any Government undertakes to cut down establishments, immediately Parliamentary pressure is brought to bear upon the Government so acting, and there is a social pressure brought to bear upon the local officials in the Dockyards, which, in human nature, they cannot resist unless they are strongly supported by the Admiralty, because one great peculiarity of the Dockyard establishments is this—that for generations past members of the same families have been employed, and multiplied, in them, and there is more consanguinity to be found among the Admiralty *employés* in the Dockyards than exists in any similar number of workpeople in the world.

An hon. MEMBER: In the Admiralty?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: No; in the Dockyards. Promotion is very properly given by merit; and the more persons you employ, and the larger the establishments in the Dockyards, the more the localities benefit. Undoubtedly there was a desire on the part of the local officials to run up the establishments. Well, we have stopped that, and I dare say that everybody else who might have been at the Admiralty would have done it. Without quarrelling with the elaborate analysis of my noble Friend, when I state what we have done, I think I shall be able, in a few sentences, to make good my words. For the first time for many years past there was no Supplementary Vote for the Dockyards last year; for the first time for many years past ships are being built within the estimates. In past years it was the practice to sanction an excess expenditure, and by not keeping proper control over it the localities benefited. But I shall be happy later on to lay on the Table information showing the ships which have been built within the estimates. My noble Friend pointed out that our Votes afforded much less information than previous Votes afforded. Now, if you allot a certain sum of money to every particular Service in every individual yard, you may rely upon it that every farthing of the money will be spent. But, on the other hand, if you keep control of that money, and do not let those in the localities know what they have to spend, the estimate will not be according to the sum which you put in the Vote, but according to the actual cost of the work to be done. I am quite satisfied that the exclusion of the minute information which we gave in past years has resulted in substantial economy this year. My noble Friend has pointed out the great growth of incidental charges; he has pointed out that the cost of labour has not grown, and that the cost of the material worked by that labour has, in many cases, absolutely diminished. But that is a misleading estimate to apply to the work which professional and naval officers have to perform in the Dockyards. Ships of war are now probably the most complicated machines that were ever constructed; and there is not the slightest analogy between the costs of the ships of war which were built a few years back and those which are now laid down. If the Committee will allow me, I will give a few figures to show how continual the changes have been. You say—"How marvellously the cost of ships of war has increased?" There has been more improvement and more development in shipbuilding and in naval ordnance during the last 30 years than has probably taken place during the 500 years preceding.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Say in the last 10 years.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Yes; but I will take 30 years. Guns have increased in weight from 4¾ tons to 110 tons, and the powder charge from 16 lbs. to 900 lbs., in weight of projectile from 68 lbs. to 1,800 lbs., in energy—measuring the force of blow struck on impact—from 450 foot-tons to more than 50,000 foot-tons at a range of 1,000 yards. You will see from this how much the ingenuity of the Naval Constructor is taxed to construct a ship which would be able to withstand so tremendous a blow. Of recent years it has been the practice largely to subdivide war ships into a number of minute watertight compartments. The *Sombruiel*, launched the other day, had 80 or 100 of these watertight compartments, together with a corresponding number of watertight doors, sluice valves, drain pipes, suctions, and a multiplicity of other complicated machinery. It is impossible to institute any fair comparison between the cost of such ships and that of ships built some time back, which had no such watertight compartments. My noble Friend has drawn a comparison between the cost of building ships in private yards and in the Dockyards. I confess I do not quite follow the figures of my noble Friend, because the figures which I have here show that the total cost of the *Benbow*, which was built in a private yard, is higher than the total cost of building the *Camperdown* in a Dockyard.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No, no! On page 110 the estimate of the *Benbow* is £709,000.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The figures I have here are £810,000, which includes everything.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I claim that the original estimate of the *Benbow* was £709,000, and that the estimate was brought to £762,000.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: It is not possible to make a perfect comparison.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It is, indeed. It is perfectly accurate.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The Admiralty of that day had not decided what sized guns would be put into the *Benbow*, consequently there were a number of alterations, and they made two separate calculations; but, as far as I can judge from these figures, the total cost of the *Benbow* exceeded the total cost of the *Camperdown*. But I am quite ready to admit that private yards ought to build more cheaply than the Dockyards. It is the practice in the latter to lay down a certain number of vessels, to put men on, and to take a certain number off for other work as it arises; but, in private yards, they have to ascertain the total number of men that can be economically employed. And, in reference to the ships that we are now laying down, I may say that the cost of the *Trafalgar*, as far as we have gone, is 50 per cent less than of the *Camperdown*, because we have put on a larger number of men and taken care that those men are not removed. There is no doubt that my noble Friend is perfectly just in saying that increased cost is the result of the changes that are constantly taking place in the design of vessels after they were laid down; but we are doing all in our power to prevent this. We have passed rules and regulations by which complete co-operation will take place between the various offices—between those responsible for guns, engines, and complement. They will thus find the weight for each ship, and I have every reason to hope that the arrangement will prevent the delay which has occurred through the Department not knowing their own mind as it is called, and also the increased weights which have occurred in the past. Then my noble Friend calls attention to the fact that the Controller and Auditor General has practically little control over the application of the sums included in these Estimates. [LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that he had none.] Well, it is the system which I discourage, and my hon. Friend and I are in consultation with the view of arriving at a form of estimate which would give the control which the Committee undoubtedly desires. But in managing a business like the Dockyards it is never possible to estimate with exactitude at the commencement of the year the precise proportion of money required. For instance, we have a considerable number of ships out on contract. We estimate a certain amount of labour required, and we provide it; but the contractors are frequently behind time, the engines possibly will not pass the trial, and thus we are not able at the time we intended to put on the men. In that case I say that a certain latitude must be given to the Controller and to the Admiralty, so that as these difficulties arise they may transfer the men which they have on their establishment, and which they cannot discharge, to some other work. My noble Friend has stated what I think is practically true—that it is very difficult to give the exact cost of any one of our Dockyards. The expenditure connected with the Dockyards is contained in the different Votes; but when my noble Friend says that it is impossible to give it fully——

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never said that it was impossible to give it; I said that it was impossible to get it. That is a totally different thing.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: It would be difficult certainly for the Estimate presented to Parliament to contain all the information which would show fully and completely the expenditure of each separate Dockyard. I think it could be done, but it would be difficult. My noble Friend has called attention to the very large proportion of incidental charges of the Dockyards carried to the account of labour. Now, the first part of Vote 10 is for all the stores which are required for ships. You must, of course, take cognizance of labour in this just as much as you must take cognizance of the labour which works with the material. But these comparisons are in many cases very misleading. My noble Friend pointed out that the salaries at the Dockyards in the last two years had increased by the sum of £72,000. Now, in 1883, the Board of Admiralty promoted a number of shipwrights to the position of sub-inspectors, whose wages had previously come under the head of labour. [Lord Randolph Churchill: The amount is £28,000.] But, their salaries being transferred, the labour Vote is diminished. That accounts, I think, to a considerable extent, for the very large proportion which the incidental expenditure bears to labour. In fact, the increase is only apparent.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I be permitted to say that the increase of £30,000 in the salaries of officers in charge took place in 1884-5, and that the change the noble Lord is referring to was made in 1883. It does not relate to my point at all.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I may be wrong as to the exact date, but it was done about that time. The noble Lord has referred to Haulbowline, and he has denounced the expenditure in connection with that place. I was not responsible for that. It was an expenditure advocated by Lord Spencer, who said that the work was an act of justice to all parties. I do not think it is a very profitable expenditure so far. But my noble Friend took the total cost of the Victualling Yards.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No, no! The labour I took was the labour expended on repairs. The incidental charges were exclusive of the Victualling Yard and Dockyard.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: Yes; but there is no Dockyard there; there is a graving dock, but it is in no sense a Dockyard. There is this to be said—that in time of war Haulbowline would be a most important post, because it is not accessible to shell fire. We have, besides, added a wall at low-water mark, and we hope that as these works are completed, and as the workshops are put up, the locality and the country will be able to get some little return for the very large expenditure which has been incurred. Then my noble Friend calls attention to the expenditure at Chatham and Portsmouth Dockyards. I am very much disposed to agree with the noble Lord as regards Chatham. The expenditure there appears to be enormous. I cannot believe that it will ever be utilized. But that brings us to a very difficult question—namely, that a great deal of the expenditure is forced on the Government because of the necessity of finding employment for our convicts. But, so far as the expenditure is concerned, we have stopped that of which the noble Lord complained; and I believe that next year there will be a considerable saving in building and works generally. My noble Friend has said that Sheerness might be shut up, and that the result would be the saving of £100,000 a-year. But that is not so, for there is at Sheerness a large establishment of men, who, by the terms of their contracts, are entitled to employment; and if you were to shut up that establishment you would have to put the men elsewhere. But there are reforms in many directions to be carried out, and although it generally happens that when reforms are made which carry with them reduction of expenditure, the unfortunate individual who makes them gets all the odium, and his Successors the credit; still, we are prepared to undertake the responsibility in this case. It has been pointed out that there are very expensive schools in connection with the Service, particularly the Engineering College, which the noble Lord says is too costly. That College was established about a year before I became First Lord of the Admiralty. I have not been satisfied with the result; I think it is far too costly, and I think we may provide other means than the College for obtaining an excellent supply of officers for the Navy. But a large number of boys have been entered at the College, and their parents have contracted with the Admiralty that they are to be kept for a certain time, and it is not in my power to shut up the College, or get rid of the teachers. I shall look into the matter as soon as I can, and try to reduce the cost of the education, and inquire whether other means cannot be devised by which to attract engineers into the Service. I can assure my noble Friend that we are trying to see whether something cannot be done to keep down the cost of Dockyard schools. But these schools, I would point out, are not in any way ordinary schools. They are rather schools in which the apprentices who entered have received instruction in shipbuilding and other matters, and many of whom have become Inspectors in the Navy. Our attention has been called to the number of apprentices in these schools; and, as we believe that they are more numerous than the needs of the Service warrant, we have largely reduced the number of entries this year—the reduction being something like 50 per cent. My noble Friend has alluded to the great cost of repairs, especially in connection with the *Shah.* The expenditure was stopped by me soon after we came into Office, and I notice that ships can be re-fitted at Malta much more cheaply than they can at the Dockyards here. My noble Friend also called attention to the fact that after ships are delivered by the contractors considerable expenditure is incurred upon them in the Dockyards. Well, as a rule, these ships are not delivered complete, and a certain number of additions have to be made to them. Upon this point, I may say that our attention was called to the fact that the specifications in certain contracts made by our Predecessors were not sufficiently precise, and also to the fact that when ships are delivered at the Dockyards a considerable amount of substantial work was not done. I think we have, to a large extent, stopped this waste of money. Our specifications are more exact; there is more communication between the contractors who are building and the Dockyards, and a closer system of supervision is adopted. I am, therefore, in hope that this expenditure, if not altogether got rid of, will in future be largely reduced. My noble Friend has referred to the cost of Naval Yards abroad. We have not had time to go into this matter; but the Inspector of Dockyards is about to make a tour of inspection if he can get away, the result of which I hope may be to enable us to effect gradual reductions. Whether we require so many Dockyards is a question upon which I cannot express a decided opinion. My impression is that some of the Naval Yards abroad might be closed. My noble Friend cannot, of course, expect me to follow all the details he has brought forward; they range over a large number of years, and many of them have little or no connection with the Estimate which we are now discussing. I think I have now answered all the questions which my noble Friend has put to me. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Oh, yes.] I think, at any rate, I have answered all the material points, and I can only say in conclusion what I have stated in my Memorandum. When I first came to the Admiralty, we had been on the verge of war, and our system had not been overhauled for years past; its defects had not been discovered. Undoubtedly, there had been a considerable waste of money; and, undoubtedly, money is still sometimes unwisely expended on the repair of ships which are almost useless for the purposes of war. Many duties, however, are imposed upon the Navy, in addition to those directly connected with war, which it is necessary to provide for; and, although I cannot help thinking that the noble Lord has somewhat over-estimated the extent of the reforms that can be made, I am still of opinion that improvement is possible, and that expenditure can be reduced. I have confidence that we can effect improvement, and reduce expenditure; and, although my noble Friend has to-night been a little hard upon us, I trust he will continue to give us effectual assistance in our attempt to obtain a better return for the money which the country expends upon its Navy.

MR. R. W. DUFF (Banffshire): The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) takes credit for having reduced the Navy Estimates by the sum of £800,000. I do not quite agree in the amount of reduction, the total of which appears to me, after deducting the amount taken in Army Estimates for additional naval guns, to be £685,000; but I am glad to find that the noble Lord has been enabled to reduce the Navy Estimates, and that he does not now insist on the enormous expenditure which he endeavoured to force upon the late Board of Admiralty. I have one or two remarks to make with regard to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), with whom I agree when he says that the Board of Admiralty have not paid much attention to the recommendations made by some of the Committees which have reported on Admiralty matters. The noble Lord spoke especially of Lord Ravensworth's Committee, with reference to the policy of repairing old ships rather than building new ones, which I am afraid still goes on at the Admiralty. The noble Lord complains that there is not so much information given in these Estimates as was formerly the case; but I think we must give the First Lord credit, in the case of obsolete ships, of furnishing a little more information than has been given before, because on page 242 I find there is an amount shown on account of obsolete ships which comes up to the very large total of £2,500,000. At the same time, I must say the information given here might lead anyone not conversant with Naval matters to come to an inaccurate conclusion, if he assumed that all the ships built after 1876 were efficient, because there are many vessels on the list which I am sure the noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford) would not deem efficient. I am afraid that a very large reduction must be made from the list of ships. I should say that the first half-dozen ships on the list are obsolete—the *Black Prince*, *Prince Albert*, *Bellerophon*, *Minotaur*, the *Agincourt*—all those vessels, I think, are obsolete. Then, further down the list, there are the *Iron Duke*, *Swiftsure*, and *Triumph*, which I do not think my noble Friend will consider efficient; and again, when we come to the smaller vessels there is a still larger number of obsolete ships left on the Navy List. I have said that anyone looking at the total in the Appendix would imagine that all the ships built after 1876-7 were efficient. But if you turn to page 250, there are a number ot vessels built in 1878 which ought not to be on the list; amongst them are the *Osprey*, the *Pelican*, and the *Penguin*, and there is also the *Dragon*, built in 1878-9, to which the same remark applies. Most, if not all, of these ships were condemned by the Naval Lord (Lord Charles Beresford) before he went to the Admiralty. Then there is the *Kingfisher*, on service at the East India Station; she was built in 1880, but I am afraid it would be a very doubtful policy to spend any more money on her. I come now to eight composite vessels, built in 1881-2; these were included in the list of the Naval Lord; they were not, in his opinion, fit to go to sea, but ought to be destroyed. These vessels cost £200,000 for building and repairs; and I hope the Committee investigating Naval matters upstairs will make close inquiry into the circumstances, and ascertain how these vessels came to be built. I am not charging this upon the present Board of Admiralty; they are no more responsible for it than the late Board; but when the Committee get the Controller of the Navy into the Chair, I hope it will be ascertained how it was that these ships of a speed of only nine knots came to be built. I say that, having regard to the qualities of vessels being built by other Powers at the time, we had no right whatever to build ships of only nine knots an hour. I have heard it suggested that we ought to have a Committee of the House to inquire into the designs of our ships. But I do not think Boards of Admiralty pay very much attention to the recommendations of Committees, and, therefore, I should like the Committee upstairs to make a minute inquiry into the system under which our ships are designed and built.

It might be advisable to appoint a Committee to consider the question of designs; but I think the subject should be first investigated by the Committee now sitting upstairs. I think the First Lord sufficiently answered the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) with regard to Haulbowline. Of course, Haulbowline is an entirely new work; there has been expenditure, but nothing has been got from it yet, but I do not suppose the noble Lord would seriously ask the Committee, when they have spent £500,000 upon the work, to give it up, and build a dock somewhere else in Ireland. The expenditure has been made; we were not responsible for it; but I believe we required a dock in Ireland, and I do not think that, having spent the money, it would be good policy to spend more money in building a dock somewhere else. The noble Lord says that we have no depôts in South America. If the noble Lord was alluding to the Brazils, it is perfectly true that we have no Dockyard there; but that is no reason why we should do away with the Dockyards at Bermuda, Halifax, and Jamaica, which are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of our communications and for coaling stations in that part of the world. I do not propose to raise any question on this Vote with regard to gun-mountings, as that will come under Vote 10, although, as I have said, I agree with a good deal which has fallen from the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and I think that a great many of his criticisms were very just. On the other hand, I consider that he has overlooked the enormous growth of cost of war material, and that he has also overlooked the fact that, although iron-plates have gone down in value, the value of steel-plates has greatly increased. Another point which has escaped the attention of the noble Lord is, that the overhead protection of our ships is now nearly double what it used to be. I think that will account for a good deal of the increased expenditure; but I can only say that the noble Lord will have an opportunity of examining all these subjects as Chairman of the Committee now sitting upstairs to inquire into the War Office and Admiralty administration. I will only add, in conclusion, that we on this side of the House shall all be glad if by any means the noble Lord can show us how we can arrive at increased efficiency with reduced expenditure.

MR. PULESTON (Devonport): There are but few observations which I desire to make upon this Vote. The First Lord (Lord George Hamilton) has spoken of a feeling entertained by some that the Navy exists for the Dockyards. I am not one of those who think in that way; but I certainly have the idea that the keeping of the Dockyards in a state of efficiency largely and directly contributes to the efficiency of the Navy; and if it has not done so, the cause, in my opinion, does not lie in the Dockyards themselves, as is implied by some of the speeches we have heard to-night, but in the controlling power of the Admiralty. I know that the Members representing Dockyard constituencies when the First Lord of the Admiralty took Office were brushed aside, and that any advice we were able to give was treated as coming from those who were rather interested in expenditure than economy. I must point out that the increased expenditure in connection with the Dockyards does not arise altogether from the increased amount of labour; and it has been shown that a portion of the increased charge is due to increased salaries, and he has referred to a transfer which has taken place of a part of the Vote. But that does not account for the whole of the increase. We have been told that it was necessary to give ships to private yards, in order to check prices —that is to say, to give away work that would have been of service in promoting the efficiency of the Dockyards. And it has been said on this and on previous occasions that we could not get rid of the people on the Establishment. That would certainly have been a very strong reason with business men for getting out of these servants the maximum amount of work, because it would not have entailed any additional cost for supervision. But we are told that is not so, and at the same time that, in order to check prices, we do away with one of the chief elements of Dockyard efficiency. I submit very respectfully that both these arguments cannot hold good. Reference has been made to Parliamentary and other forms of pressure put upon the Admiralty; but so far as Parliamentary pressure is concerned, I think the noble Lord has not altogether shown the amount of consideration that might have been extended to the suggestions of those of us who have endeavoured to discharge their duty in connection with these matters in this House, and who have objected rather to the way in which things have been done than to the things themselves. There is a right way and a wrong way in all cases; and, so with reference to the discharges that have taken place in the Dockyards, I say that this could have been done in a manner which would have obviated much of the difficulty which has been experienced. On that ground we still complain, notwithstanding what the noble Lord has said with regard to Parliamentary pressure; and on that point I venture to express the hope that Parliamentary pressure will always be brought to bear upon Ministers in the direction of having the best use of the money which is put into their hands to be spent for the service of the country. Then as to the local and social pressure spoken of, that is a very small matter. I have never heard of it before in these cases, and certainly any amount of local and social pressure ought not, in my opinion, to be sufficient to prevent a First Lord doing his duty; that sort of pressure, at any rate, will not entail any heavy burden on the Exchequer. When the noble Lord says that all increase is stopped, I take issue with him, and say, on the contrary, that having a considerable increase of high-salaried officers, while only the number of labourers and others at the Dockyards is decreased, is not the best way to promote efficiency or economy. With regard to the Engineering College, I think that the noble Lord has made a very disturbing statement with reference to that institution. I do not know what is in the mind of the noble Lord; but I hope he will give us a little more information on this subject, so that we may better understand the position which the College will occupy in future. The idea was that the College was of great advantage to the Navy, and that it was doing useful work, with every prospect of advantage resulting therefrom to the country. That being so, I say thati f there is to be any change with regard to the College, it is of importance that we should hear a little more on the subject. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), in speaking of the cost of our ships, has alluded to two Reports, which, he says, have not been referred to in this House. We have not always had the advantage of the noble Lord's presence on these occasions; but I am glad we have it this evening, for I can assure him that the Reports in question have been referred to in this House in many ways and at many times. The Committee presided over by Lord Ravensworth urged, and I have also many times urged in this House, that the additional expenditure in the case of ships in course of construction arose invariably from the changes which were constantly being made at the Admiralty. I am perfectly certain that it will be found, from beginning to end, that the apparent increase of expenditure in connection with shipbuilding in the Dockyards, as compared with private yards, has arisen from the changes in the construction of vessels which the Admiralty have, so to speak, in their own hands; whereas, in the case of a contract made with a private yard, the work is estimated, a certain number of men is put on, they are paid a certain price, the work is done, and the ship is delivered. It is beyond doubt, I think, that if we do not build ships in our Dockyards as cheaply, more cheaply, and better than they are built in private yards, it is not the fault of our Dockyards, but of the Admiralty, with whom the control rests. Having regard to the plant and labour at our Dockyards, we ought to be able to turn out ships cheaper than they can be delivered from private yards. When this subject has been brought up, it has been suggested that a great deal of the excess of expenditure arises from the idleness of the men in our Dockyards. I am again obliged to repudiate that statement. There is no class of men who desire to work more faithfully or at less extravagant wages than the men employed by us; but if, on the other hand, obstacles are put in the way of the men working on a ship, the fault, I say, does not lie with the men, but with the system, which I am afraid has not been improved, notwithstanding the large expenditure for the purpose of obtaining better control and supervision, which, after all, comes to nothing, for we have still to get ships, it seems, built in private yards in order to check prices. The question is, whether or no this new policy elaborated by the present Board of Admiralty has been successful. If it has, nothing is more likely to show an improvement in the figures which the noble Lord presents to the House in the direction of economy than to give as much work as possible to the Dockyards, without making it necessary to increase the staff and the supervising power. If, on the other hand, while you reduce the work done at the Dockyards, you cannot reduce the salaries and other expenditure there, you will by-and-bye have a charge for supervision far in excess of the expenditure on shipbuilding. Such a system would not be allowed to operate in private yards; and I believe it will be stated by a high authority before the Committee upstairs that the cost of our shipbuilding would be cheaper than in those yards if the same system followed in them were adopted in our Dockyards. When the noble Lord the Member for East Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford) sat on the opposite side of the House he gave us a list of ships which he said ought to be broken up. I do not think we have heard quite so much on that subject of late; but I believe the noble Lord to be one of those who would not allow a change of sides to alter his principles — we had from him the statement that it would be a great waste of money to attempt to repair a number of ships, because by the expenditure of a little more money we might build new ships of a more serviceable character. With that view of the noble Lord I entirely agree; and I hope that, as Naval Lord, he will be able to tell us that steps have been taken in the direction which he indicated. I wish, again, to express my disapointment that the idea should have been expressed that Parliamentary pressure has always been in the direction of a large expenditure, to the prevention of economy, in connection with the Dockyards. I absolutely and entirely repudiate that view, and in doing so I venture to express the hope that the First Lord and his Colleagues will be able to arrive at a really economical result by conferring with those who for many years have been acquainted with Dockyard work, and that, whatever we who represent Dockyard constituencies may say here, we may have credit not for desiring the expenditure of money for the benefit of our constituencies, but an efficient naval administration in the interest of the country at large.

ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest): There are one or two remarks I should like to make in reference to Dockyard shipbuilding. I think the Committee upstairs would have been the better place for a minute discussion of this question than the House; but inasmuch as the question has been raised here, I desire to offer a few observations, especially with reference to some of the figures given by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). I was rather surprised that the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) did not point out, if the Estimates are at all correct, the great mistake the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington made in his comparison between contract-built ships and Dockyard-built ships. I think the House of Commons ought to understand thoroughly that by no possibility can any ship be built by contract cheaper than it can be in Her Majesty's Dockyards, if the accounts are kept and the money is voted in the same way. But if you charge the salaries of the superintendents, and storekeepers, and police, and chaplains, and the expenses of schools, and various other items to ships, the outcome is that a larger price stands against the Dockyard-built ship than against the contract-built ship. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington quoted the case of the *Benbow* which cost £810,633. If we take the sister ships of the *Benbow* we find that the *Camperdown*, which was built at Portsmouth, cost £743,074, and that the *Anson*, built at Pembroke, cost £752,288. How, consequently, the noble Lord can make out that the *Benbow* was a cheaper ship than the *Camperdown* or the *Anson*, all three ships being of 10,000 tons, 10,600 horse power, and 17-knot speed, I am at a loss to see. Of course I am aware there is a difference in the armaments, but that does not account for a difference of over £60,000 in cost. I want to see the accounts for shipbuilding so kept that a fair comparison can be made. If an account were so kept—my opinion is, judging from the answers which were given before Lord Ravensworth's Committee which has been several times quoted, and especially from the answers given by Mr. Barnes—in which he told us that the incidental charges in the Dockyards are far in excess of what would be required regarding them simply as workshops—that Dockyard-built ships would be found to be quite as cheap as contract ships. Mr. Barnes told us that there was a good deal of difficulty in the comparison, from the mere fact that the charges were so different in the Dockyards and in private yards; and when he was asked by the hon. Member for the Jarrow Division of Durham (Sir Charles M. Palmer) if the incidentals were sent to the Accountant-General in London, he explained that items So-and-so gave the salaries of superintendents, professional officers and clerks at £38,000, and that of that £21,900 belonged to the "Ships and Services" and the remainder to "National charges." Consequently, I say no fair comparison can be made between Contract-built and Dockyard-built ships until the money is voted in the same way, and the accounts are kept in the same way. A good deal has been said in regard to the repairs of the ships, and the other night I asked my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford) a Question in regard to the repair of the *Garnet.* The First Lord of the Admiralty took credit for stopping some repairs of the *Shah*; but he did not mention the repairs of the *Northumberland,* which is an utterly obsolete vessel, simply kept going because there are still left, unhappily for the Navy, some officers to whom royal yards are essential; they cannot believe that any ship can be properly kept afloat unless it has royal yards across. I admit that when the band plays "God save the Queen" it is a very dignified proceeding to "sway across;" but it certainly is not war, and it is certainly not an object for which ships utterly useless for war should be repaired at the expense of some £40,000 or £50,000. Now, the *Garnet* is a ship which, I believe, never steamed more than seven or eight knots an hour. Perhaps in her most useful days she did eight or nine knots, but anyhow she cannot do more than seven or eight now, and I think that a sum of £30,000 has been, or will be expended upon her, because it is felt necessary to keep such vessels for the relief of foreign stations. Well, I cannot see by what argument the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary to the Admiralty, who, I know, are not favourable to unnecessary expenditure, were persuaded to propose this sum. I should have supposed that the East Coast of America or the Pacific generally would have done just as well, if not better, with a modern vessel if there had been one ready. There are no ports, or hardly any ports which a vessel of 1,000 tons more than the tonnage of the *Garnet* or of any of the *Gem* class could not enter. Now, as to the question of the expenses of the Dockyards, the noble Lord asks why ships cost so much more when built in the Dockyards; I think I can answer that question by saying, because you put on all those ships charges which are not put on ships built by private builders. Take the case of the Pembroke Yard with which I am most familiar. I find there has been an increase of £1,000 in the charge for police during the last 10 years; and in looking at that charge I regret to find it is not an increase of pay given to the police for services, but that it is charged on account of the increase in the number of the police employed. Now, to my certain knowledge, Pembroke Yard has not been in any way increased during that time, and I should like to know why this extra charge is made, because I may say about two-thirds of that charge, if not all, is put down to shipbuilding there. The First Lord of the Admiralty has mentioned another great flaw, one of the greatest flaws perhaps in the Dockyard administration —namely, that the officials cannot be discharged. I mean that although Dockyardsmen can be discharged an Overlooker cannot. The Admiralty, for some reason best known to themselves, have debarred themselves from the right of getting rid of any overseer in the Dockyards under 60 years of age, unless he commits himself in such a manner that he must be discharged. If they really mean to maintain the Dockyards efficiently at a reduced complement, I should think one of the first things to do would be to take to themselves power to maintain a right proportion between overlookers and ordinary labourers; and I hope that in any reductions they may make, they will take some such step as will enable them to maintain a proper proportion. I know that the First Lord of the Admiralty said the other day that the number of overlookers was fixed when the complements of the Dockyards were much lower than now. I think it is a patent fact that the overlooking is not what it might be, or else an ordinary Dockyardsman does not do the same amount of work as a man in a private yard. I am not able to say whether that is so; but that is the common belief, and that is one of the reasons why we are told the Dockyards will have to be reformed. It is argued that there are too many men, and that the work is inefficiently performed. My own impression is that if Dockyardsmen are set to their work properly, and are properly overlooked, they will do just as good work, if not better, than it is possible to turn out in a contract yard, and do it just as cheaply. There is another very important point, in my opinion, with regard to the Dockyards to which I wish to draw attention, and that is the appointment of Superintendents. I do not think I am mistaken in saying that the present First Lord of the Admiralty is of opinion that the continual changing of the Superintendents of the Dockyards by no means conduces to the efficiency of the Yards. Anyone who has studied the subject must be of opinion that if we wish to have efficiency the Superintendents of the Dockyards must be appointed for three, or, I should say, for five years at least, and that men should be selected on account of their fitness for Dockyard work. I have been given to understand that the First Lord perfectly agrees with that view, but that the Treasury will not grant the necessary money. If that be so, I can only say that this is only another instance of the Treasury standing in the way of efficiency in the Navy. Moreover, it is remarkable how these appointments are made. Instead of people being selected on account of their special fitness for the work, or on account of their having served in the Steam Reserve, we find the very opposite is the practice. Although I have nothing whatever to say against the able officer, personally, who was last appointed, he has never served in the Dockyards, has never been in the Steam Reserve, and knows nothing whatever of the duties he is called upon to perform. That, I submit, is not the way to get the most out of the Dockyards. I have stated several times that, while we cannot find fault with a certain number of the reductions in the Dockyards because we are bound to recognize the fact that whereas 10 years ago there were only 17,000 men employed in the Dockyards, there are now 22,000, the way the reductions have been made is most unsatisfactory, and the doubt as to the future in which men are kept is extremely trying, not only to the Dockyardsmen, but to the Members representing Dockyard constituencies, who are continually being asked for information as to how many men are going to be discharged, &c. We were told by the First Lord of the Admiralty, when he laid his Statement before the House, that the Admiralty had a plan. I have asked several times for that plan. If you have got a system, why do you not produce it? If you know what you are going to do, barring accidents—for which a Supplementary Vote can always be got—if you know what you are going to do in the next four or five years, you must know how many men you will want to do it. Why cannot you say, this Dockyard will be reduced to a certain number of men, and such work will be given to the Yard? I think it would be far better to concentrate all your building in certain Yards, and do all your fitting and repairing in other Yards. I will not detain the Committee further, because I look with hope—and I trust I shall not be disappointed—to the result of the labours of the Committee upstairs in unravelling some of the difficulties which are extremely puzzling to the uninitiated, or even to those who know something about them. The hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston) has spoken of Parliamentary pressure in favour of contractors, and the First Lord of the Admiralty has alluded to a similar pressure in favour of the Royal Dockyards. All I can say is, that considering the number of the Members of the House who are connected with shipbuilding, I should imagine the Parliamentary pressure in favour of the Contractors was every bit as strong, if not stronger, than that which those interested in the Dockyards are able to bring.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness): I will not detain the Committee more than two or three minutes. All I desire to do is to make a few observations upon the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord, in the course of his able speech, dealt with two main principles, and in other respects with details. He made considerable impression on the Committee, I thought, by the comparison he drew between the present cost of labour per ton of shipbuilding and the cost some years ago. It struck me that the noble Lord had left out some factor in his calculation; and I think that if the Committee considers for a moment, it will observe that the noble Lord left out the factor of the amount of labour required per ton. There are two factors to be considered upon the labour question—one is the cost of the labour, and the other is the amount of labour which is expended on a ton. The more complex is a ship, the greater is the amount of labour which has to be put into a vessel for each ton, consequently the price of the labour per ton must rise. The noble Lord left that factor completely out of his calculations; and, therefore, I do not think he presented a perfectly fair issue to the Committee in this respect. Then the noble Lord drew a comparison between direct and indirect charges. It appears to me that there, again, he did not quite present a fair issue to the Committee, and for two reasons. He altogether forgot to give us any comparison by which we might be able to appreciate whether the ratio of the indirect to the direct charges in the Dockyards was greater than the ratio in other large undertakings. He pointed out that in the English Dockyards it is about 70 per cent. That may or may not be; the fact I do not pretend to say; but certain it is that until we know what the indirect charges are made up of, and what are the circumstances which render these charges necessary, it is a useless issue to offer to the House to say that the indirect charges are the cost of looking after the direct charges, *i.e.*, of labour. Morever, it struck me that in the figures the noble Lord gave to the House from the constant quantity of 70 per cent, which he said was the ratio of the indirect charges to the direct charges in the English Dockyards, the inference rather was that the indirect charges were not unreasonable, because we find that figure of 70 per cent the constant charge of all English Dockyards, whereas abroad we find that the ratio is very much greater, in some instances 300 per cent. That is not to a certain extent, so difficult to account for, when we remember that the cost of labour in places like Hong Kong and Malta is lower than in England. I venture these two criticisms upon these portions of the noble Lord's speech, because I feel that those hon. Members who were present when the noble Lord spoke were very much struck with the way in which he placed his case before the Committee. I do not think he placed it quite fairly before the Committee, having, as I say, in one instance, left out the most important factor in the case, and having in the other instance not given us sufficient ground to form a judgment. In the remaining part of his speech, the noble Lord simply repeated other charges which had been made on previous occasions, and which, I think, have been at different times admitted by the First Lord of the Admiralty. The noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) admitted on a previous occasion that many of these charges were perfectly true, and that he and his Colleagues were doing their best to meet them. No doubt the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) has made some charges which have not been made before. I do not complain of the noble Lord pointing out where there is extravagance, I am quite with him in wishing to see economy introduced into the Navy and extravagance put down where possible, and I certainly hope that the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty and his Colleagues will be successful in carrying out the undertakings in the direction of economy which have been so frequently given to the House

SIR EDWARD REED (Cardiff): The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty commenced his remarks this evening by strongly disclaiming any responsibility for what had been done before he took Office. I wish I could believe that that disclaimer will be thoroughly carried out. I confess that when the present Government, or rather the present Government in its 1885 form took Office, they made such a decided, and as I think such a correct and worthy stand upon the matter of construction that I hoped for better things from them, and was myself anxious as far as I could to give them support. I felt that the course that the right hon. Gentleman now the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) took was a course of a very peculiar character, because it was a fearless and independent one, within the walls of the Admiralty. I happen to be one of those who think that the curse of the Navy and of the country in its administrative Departments is the servility of Ministers to their subordinates. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) by the course he has taken has revived, or perhaps I ought to say, has begotten the hope in his mind that some great changes in the spending and administrative Departments will be made, and whatever may be thought by others, I can only say I could not fail to contrast the speech delivered by the noble Lord to-night with the speech of the First Lord of the Admiralty which followed it. The First Lord of the Admiralty gave certain reasons for keeping up what he admits to be improper and extravagant expenditure, and dwelt largely upon the difficulties of making changes. Well, I do not think that that is the particular spirit which the country now desires to see men bring to the management of the public Departments. I think it is a totally different spirit we want; we want to see men in Office now who will take these difficulties by the throat and overcome them, and who will relieve the country and the public purse from the incubus under which we have been suffering for so many long years past. Now, strange to say, the course which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington took in his speech to-night proceeded very much upon the same lines as I had myself intended to take in any observations which I might myself make to-night, but I am happy to say that the noble Lord took a broader view than I had intended to take. I am glad to say that in order to make clear to the Committee my views on this Vote I shall not have to repeat many of the figures the noble Lord gave us, though I shall, from a different point of view, be able to support the noble Lord's argument, that argument being that under this Vote the country is burdened with enormous charges, the nature of which is certainly not made clear, and the causes of which probably are, to a very large extent, unnecessary and extravagant. There was one part of the speech of the noble Lord which I really thought would have elicited from the First Lord of the Admiralty a totally different treatment from that which it received. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington made it absolutely certain in the Committee that one of two things existed, either that the most lavish waste and extravagance exists in the Dockyards, or else that the Estimates presented to the House are entirely untrustworthy. Now, it is known to the Committee, and to everyone who has acquaintance with this subject at all, that we have been receiving from the Ministerial Bench, for very many years past, the very same answer, a very unsatisfactory one, which occupied a prominent place in the speech of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to-night—namely, that those who complain of the extravagance in the Dockyards forget that our Dockyards are great naval establishments as well as establishments for shipbuilding. The question arises, why do you not make that clear to us in the Estimates which you present to Parliament? Why do you contend that the Dockyards have other purposes than the building of ships, but so confuse your figures for shipbuilding operations that under that confusion the extravagance and waste of which we complain takes place? The answer which I must respectfully submit ought to have been given to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington to-night was, we will not henceforth confuse these charges which arise on account of the national character of the Royal Dockyards with the charges for shipbuilding, but we will give the House a fair opportunity hereafter of distinguishing between the two, and of deciding which of them is correct and ought to be allowed to remain. Now, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington has, as I have said, dealt very broadly with this Vote. He included in his purview the whole of the Royal Dockyards at home and abroad, and the items both for labour and material, and the cost under Vote 11, of buildings and machinery which are employed in the production of shipbuilding work. Now, I will take a different line; and I think I shall be able to show that the result is quite as unsatisfactory as that shown by the noble Lord. I find, on looking through these Estimates, that when you take out the actual result of shipbuilding, ship-repairing, and refitting of ships, the amount expended on labour in the whole of the five Dockyard Establishments amounts to £1,132,000. That is the sum paid for labour in the Royal Dockyards at home, which, I believe, includes Malta—I know it does in regard to some figures; but whether with regard to all the figues I do not know. The charges for "Salaries and Allowances" in the five Royal Dockyards — the charges for administering this expenditure of £1,132,000—is £172,000, and to that I am obliged to add a few other items. Now, Mr. Courtney, it may tend to make my arguments clear if I, at this moment, take note of what has fallen from several hon. Members—and two hon. and gallant Members—in reference to the figures which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington gave, and to the general question of incidental charges. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the Holderness Division of Yorkshire (Commander Bethell) stated that the noble Lord failed to make clear how his charge of 70 per cent for establishment charges in Her Majesty's Dockyards compared with similar charges in private establishments. Well, now, I can give the Committee some little guidance on this question. It has fallen to my lot repeatedly to have shipbuilding, and shipfitting, and ship-repairing done in private establishments upon this principle, that the builders were to be paid the nett cost of the labour and materials, and so much in addition for establishment charges and for profits. I only deal here with the Establishment charges. In the figures which I just gave to the Committee, and in most of the figures the noble Lord gave, we deal only with one item of Establishment charges —namely, the item that takes the form or salaries of supervisors, storekeepers and the like. But in the Establishment charges of a private yard the charges paid for include all the expenses of the establishment, all the coal consumed in the furnaces and boilers, in fact, all the stores consumed in the performance of the work in respect to which the contract is made. And now, I make this statement without any fear of contradiction, that when you include every item of Establishment charges, builders are very glad indeed to receive 12½ per cent upon the cost of labour and materials, as Establishment charges, and in no case have we ever allowed a builder, or has any builder asked for more than 14 per cent upon the actual outlay upon labour and material. And I may add that 14 per cent was only sanctioned in a case which was exceptional in its way, when the whole of the armour bolts of the ship had to be renewed, and that involved a large amount of Establishment expenditure. Now, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for the Holderness Division asked how this 70 per cent in Government Dockyards compared with the expense in private establishments. My answer is that it is pretty nearly six times as much. I wish to make it quite clear, indeed it is quite clear from the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, that the mischief, the worthlessness of the figures which are placed before us in these Estimates arises from the mixing up of matters which should be kept totally separate. Now, sometimes an illustration is valuable in discussions of this kind, and I would point out to the Committee that if they turn to the book of Appendices and Index, page 170, they will find this item under the heading of "Dockyard Work,"—"Steam, Coal, Sea Stores, &c.," £560,000. Now, any ordinary Member of the House, indeed anyone looking at this heading "Dockyard Work," is entitled to infer that the Admiralty actually spent £560,000 for coal for dockyard purposes. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: No.] Then why is £560,000 taken under the heading "Dockyard Work?" There is no answer to that question. The only answer is that there is a total and absolute confusion of the figures. [Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: Look at the margin.] The noble Lord points to the margin. I admit that it is perfectly true that there you get a contradiction of the heading. But I ask the Committee whether it is a reasonable thing to put, with any explanation at all, under the Estimate for Dockyard work, Vote 10, Section I, an item for coal for the Royal Navy? The fact that the note needs to be pointed out shows that these Estimates are not such as should have been put before the House, and I sincerely hope the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, who has great influence in this matter, perhaps more influence than any other person in this House, will insist upon the total separation of these items. If these items of Fleet Expenditure and Dockyard Expenditure are separated I am sure that not only a great cause of difficulty will be removed, but a great cause of extravagance and waste. Now, I go on with the labour charge. The salaries and allowances as I have said for spending £1,132,000 amount to £172,000. The storekeeping, a part of which, I admit, goes to these coals and for stores, but still here it is, is £63,592; and there is an actual charge of £35,000 for police in the Dockyards. Then again, the charge for the Controller's Department ought to be attached to this Dockyard Vote as a part of the charge for expending the £1,132,000. In any private establishment all the services rendered to the Royal Navy in the Controller's Department, so far as the Dockyards are concerned, have to be rendered by the staff of the private firms within the private firms, and to be taken into account in making out any Estimate for the building of a ship, so I think the expenses of the Controller's Department ought to be added to the expenses of the Dockyards. And then we come to an item of which the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) took no account. I am rather surprised that he did not, because it really needs a little explanation. He said nothing whatever either about the £90,000 which goes in pensions to civil officers, or the £150,000 which goes in pensions to artificers of Her Majesty's Dockyards. Now, I do not wish this evening to be understood as expressing any opinion for or against the pensions, but I maintain that this Committee is always informed by the Government of the day that the justifications for these pensions is the fact that we get our labour for a very much lower price than we could get it in the open market. Well, Sir, the consequence of that must be of course that as you get labour so cheaply, you must add the pensions for labour to the actual charge for labour in order to make such an account as any private firm would insist upon receiving; although I cannot imagine that any private firm would ever dream of spending £150,000 a-year in pensions to artificers, and the number of men on the Establishment is actually not larger than is employed in a single private firm in this country. I believe I am correct in saying that the hon. Baronet the Member for the Govan Division of Lanarkshire (Sir William Pearce), whom, if he were present, I would congratulate on his new honours, employed 7,000 men at a time when the wages of engine fitters ranged to nearly £5 per week, and when the wages of fitters were nearly £4 per week. I have not the smallest doubt that the hon. Baronet's weekly expenditure on labour was then equal to that in the whole of Her Majesty's Dockyards put together, and I should like to know how the hon. Baronet would have got on if he had had to find £150,000 per annum for pensions to artificers who had been formerly in his employ. Why the thing will not bear a thought. I am not speaking, as I say, against pensions, but I am arguing that as you have got to pay pensions on account of Dockyard labour, and as you imagine that you get the value of these pensions in the reduced cost of Dockyard labour it is a perfectly correct and proper thing, as a matter of account, to add these charges to the annual charge for labour. Now, I admit at once that I am exposing myself to a charge of a serious character, but one for which I believe I have a perfect answer. It may be said that this charge should be added to the labour item, and not to the accumulated charges I am dealing with. Well, I would add it to the labour charge, and not to the other charges if we got the value for it. [Captain PRICE (Devonport): It is added.] Now, let me deal with that case. We have heard here to-night speeches from the Representatives of Dockyard constituencies, and I entirely sympathize with the spirit of those speeches. I am glad I have ceased to be a Dockyard Representative, because as such a Representative I found certain invidiousness in speaking upon naval matters. I sympathize with hon. Gentlemen in all the comparisons they institute between the cost of ships built by contract and the cost of ships built in Her Majesty's Dockyards; but I must point out that hon. Gentlemen simply take the labour and material expended in the Dockyards, and leave out altogether these other matters. [Admiral MAYNE: No, no!] I know my hon. and gallant Friend (Admiral Mayne) is of opinion that that is not so. He said to-night, most distinctly, that we only find Dockyard-built ships dear in comparison with contract-built ships because of the accumulated charges upon them. Now, I want to speak upon that point, and to show that he is entirely mistaken. There are some figures given by the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) which have been disputed. I do not know whether they are disputed rightly or wrongly, because they are not figures I am now prepared to deal with; but so far as I was able to follow the figures of the noble Lord, they appeared to me perfectly correct, even when they went the length of overthrowing the figures placed in our hands in the Estimates of the year. I believe that they will be found to be so, and that is why I am so anxious that the Lords of the Admiralty should not become the mere tools and servants of their servants. We ought to have their assistance in bringing these things to light, and in arriving at a sound conclusion in regard to them. I should like incidentally to complain of a statement which the First Lord of the Admiralty made the other day in reply to a question put to him by me as to the tonnage of the *Impérieuse.* A tabular statement has been put forward on the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine), and by the courtesy of the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) I have been allowed to see an early copy of it, and I quote from it, in order to show what the permanent officials will induce the Board of Admiralty to do if they lend themselves to their purposes. This is the authoritative statement on which the First Lord of the Admiralty contradicted me as to the tonnage of the *Impérieuse.* The tonnage is given here, the displacement is said to be 7,600 tons, and then a star is put to it, and there is a note under—

> "Beam was increased by one foot by the addition of the thickness of wood sheating between the date of preliminary design as detailed to Parliament in March, 1881, and the finished design."

That is the explanation given by the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to the House; but what will the noble Lord say when I tell him that in every Estimate presented to the House since the *Impérieuse* was begun, the original tonnage has been given? The tonnage which I gave—7,309 tons—is the tonnage which has been presented to this House every year from that time forth. Then, why does not the noble Lord come forward and justify my statement? Why does he seek to discredit me by making statements which we have no means of verifying, and which I do not in the least believe?

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I had not the slightest notion that I was attacking the hon. Gentleman. It has never been the practice of the Admiralty where tonnage is taken by displacement and not by measurement, to take notice of any alteration which may occur during construction. That is the invariable practice, and the Question put to me the other day was what was the extra weight which was added to the *Impérieuse* during construction.

Sir EDWARD REED: The explanation of the noble Lord is this that when a Member of this House gets up and speaks with care and confidence upon the figures which have been year after year presented to this House, he is to be subjected to contradiction, and the explanation for the contradiction is to be found in the fact that an alteration was made in a ship five years ago, and that the Admiralty never took the trouble to acquaint the House with it. That is no explanation at all; or, at any rate, it is an explanation which I myself would be ashamed to be made the organ of in any assembly of gentlemen, and I am surprised, nay, more, I am alarmed, at the conduct of the noble Lord, because it proves that in future we shall not be able to depend upon communications that are made to us through the noble Lord. What we have a right to expect from Ministers is personal examination of all points in which Members of this House require information, and a Minister ought to be able to depend absolutely upon what he says. Now, in the noble Lord's own Minute there is a rigmarole—I hope it is not un-Parliamentary for me to use such a word—about compound engines having a different quantity of fuel supplied to them. I had to deal with compound engines when I was at the Admiralty, and nothing of the kind existed. It is a fiction palmed off upon the noble Lord, and it appears in his Minute as though it were truth. There is another thing. We are actually told that certain ships of a most important character, and costing £2,000,000 sterling, are safe because of their armour having been sunk below the water-line, and have got a lot of coal on the top of the armour to help to sink them. I expected better things of the noble Lord, and even yet I expect better things from him.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I did not say that.

SIR EDWARD REED: It is in your Minute.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: No; it is not.

SIR EDWARD REED: I am sorry to detain the Committee, but it is said in the noble Lord's Minute—

> "Thus, although the position of the belt may have been correctly calculated for the weight of coals it was at the time decided to carry, and which were adopted as their deliberate policy by the then Board of Admiralty, the same is undesirably low if coals to the full stowage—which is the policy of the present Board—are put on board."

Then the noble Lord goes on to say—

> "There would be above the armour belt——

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: No; read the preceding paragraph.

SIR EDWARD REED: I am going to read your words.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Read the preceding sentence.

SIR EDWARD REED: I am going to give one of the reasons why we are to be satisfied.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: You must read the next sentence.

SIR EDWARD REED: I have not the slightest reason to object to read the next sentence, and I will do so. The noble Lord says—

> "Though the policy which placed the position of the belt so low does not commend itself to the present Board, it is right to say that some claim for it certain compensating advantages, their contention being—(1) That there would be above the armour belts running along 140 feet of its length, when the full fuel supply is on board, a coal protection of 6½ feet in height, and of 11 to 17 feet in depth."

I quite admit that the noble Lord put it in the form that "some say" this, but he did not give it a contradiction. If he meant to contradict it or to put it forward as something very absurd it is a great pity he did not add a few words to that effect. But, to return, I want to make myself perfectly clear to the Committee upon the question of the relative costs of ships built in private yards and of ships built in the Royal Dockyards. In order to do so, I will take what I think is a perfectly legitimate and convincing case. I will not take the case of the disputed ships; but I will take the case of the figures presented to us as the estimated cost of certain vessels to be built all alike, to be built, some by contract and some in the Royal Dockyards. Now, I take the case of those belted cruisers which I so fondly hoped were going to be belted cruisers, but which have turned out to be belted cruisers with their belts below the water line, and in which the noble Lord seems content to be satisfied, for he has made no proposal for redeeming them from that condition. In the Appendices we get the estimated cost of shipbuilding in the private yards and in the Royal Dockyards, and amongst those building in the Royal Dockyard are two vessels of the belted-cruiser class —namely, the *Immortalité* and the *Aurora*, and there are given the five vessels of the same class which are building in the private yards. Now, Sir, I hope the Committee will kindly attend to this, because it is perfectly conclusive. The estimated cost of the ships to be built by the private trade are as follows—namely, £266,000, £245,000, £245,000, £275,000, and £275,000 respectively. Now, the two ships, precisely the same, to be built in the Dockyard are the *Immortalité*, £278,000 — £3,000 more than the highest contract-built ship—and the *Aurora*, £284,000. These latter figures are for labour and material alone. So that when you take the labour and material alone, when you do not add to the labour and material of the Dockyard ships a single penny of the many charges for salaries and other expenditure which fall upon the builders of contract ships —when you take labour and material alone, the cost of the two Dockyard ships is estimated to be in excess of any of the five ships precisely of the same kind to be built in private yards. That being so what we have to look to is this — that the argument of my hon. and gallant Friend (Admiral Mayne) to the effect that the Dockyard-built ships become so expensive because of these charges incidental to a great Naval Service falls to the ground. I maintain I am justified in imposing upon the cost of labour in Her Majesty's Dockyards all these extra charges which are numerous for storekeepers, police control, and pensions to officers, which I take to be about £90,000 a-year, and pensions to artificers which I take to be £150,000 a-year. Then I add to that the £111,000 for incidental charges, which gives this result that we have an aggregate amount of £672,000 piled up upon an expenditure of £1,132,000 for work upon ships in the Royal Dockyard. I say there is no way out of this except one. I must challenge the Government upon that point, and elicit from them at least a promise that in the future we shall have a clear distinction made between the charges that are given for the general Naval Service, and the charges for shipbuilding. That is desirable in the interests of the Dockyards. I agree with hon. Members as to the capability of the Dockyards to do work as cheaply as any private yard. I believe they can do it more cheaply when they are properly looked after. The reason is that these figures are one mass of confusion, and the services are mixed up in such a ridiculous manner that no one can tell what ships cost or what they are likely to cost. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington said to-night that under the existing form of the Estimates you cannot tell what is going on in any Royal Dockyard. I confess that when I began to study this book of Appendices, I made search for Her Majesty's Dockyards. I knew that we were to be called upon to vote this large sum for Dockyards, and I thought I should like to see what progress was being made with certain vessels. To my amazement not the name of a single Dockyard occurs in the Index to the Estimates. Not even the name of a Dockyard is given, and I do not hesitate to say that it will take anyone half-a-dozen hours to extract from the Estimates a notion of what is being done in the Royal Dockyards. The First Lord of the Admiralty made a very curious statement. He said that this system had been adopted advisedly, that it had been adopted because he did not want the Dockyards to know how much they were to be allowed during the year, because if they did, they are induced to spend what they are allowed. But will the noble Lord allow me to say that all the fault found with regard to Dockyard management lies in the fact, not that the Dockyards have spent what has been allowed them in the Estimates, but that they have spent monstrous sums in excess of what the House granted? We are deliberately told now by the First Lord responsible for the administration of the Dockyards that he cannot be responsible for the Dockyards being managed satisfactorily unless they are kept in the dark as to what they are to be allowed to spend. In order that the Dockyards may be kept in the dark, we are to be kept in the dark. All I say is that if we submit to that, our last state will be worse than our first has been for some time. I hope the noble Lord will reconsider this point and give us hereafter an authentic statement of what has been done in the several Dockyards. I agree with what fell from the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Admiral Mayne) upon one point. I think the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) deserves our thanks and praise for having given us a good deal of information which exists in these Estimates, and which we have never heard before. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington made very good use, I thought, to-night, of some of the novel information. I was rather sorry to hear him produce it, because I have taken pains to pick out figures bearing on the relation to the original cost of ships, to the expenditure which has been incurred upon them since. I could not help remarking with what scorn my hon. Friend here (Mr. Duff) spoke of a great many of the Jubilee ships which we are to see at Spithead this week. I do not wish to say one word that would seem ungracious, or would mar the pleasure of any hon. Member in looking at that great array of ships, but I must say it does seem rather a strange proceeding to assemble at Spithead, as a manifestation of the naval power of this country, a lot of old craft which the Admiralty have not known what to do with for many years past. I could not help thinking of it, when my hon. Friend (Mr. Duff) mentioned the *Black Prince*, a ship which dates from the earliest days of iron shipbuilding. The Admiralty have really not known for years what to do with half-a-dozen or more of these obsolete ships, which we are to look at on Saturday next, and admire, and feel proud of. I am very glad, however, that we find some opportunity of putting them to some service in a National spectacle, but I hope no Members of this House will come away so impressed with what they see at Spithead as to suppose that they have been looking at more than seven or eight vessels which the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) can pronounce as suitable to go into battle. I was rather shocked to hear some facts stated by my hon. Friend, because he mentioned certain vessels as condemned which were built not long ago. That is an appalling state of things for the Committee to be acquainted with. I thought it was bad enough; but what do I find as regards Her Majesty's yachts? The *Victoria and Albert* cost £136,000 a great many years ago; but it has cost £300,000 since. The *Osborne*, which was built fifteen years ago at a cost of £105,000, has cost £111,000 since. The *Enchantress*, which cost £39,000 originally, has cost £73,000, and the *Helicon* cost originally £46,000, and has had £46,000 spent upon it since. There are five other vessels—very old craft—and I am afraid they are kept going for no better reason than that the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty and his Colleagues opposite have not the courage of their opinions, and to come down to the House and propose that a new yacht should be built. The consequence is that these yachts, some of which were built before many of us were born, are kept going, with the nett result that they originally cost £162,000, but have since had spent upon them £193,000. This state of things when it relates to ships that are 20 years old or more, is bad enough, but what is to be said of a state of things in which an hon. and gallant Gentleman who was formerly Civil Lord of the Admiralty, comes down to the House and tells us that ships that we built so late as 1880, 1881, and 1882 are condemned as unfit for the Public Service? Well, that being so, I say the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) ought to have a totally different reply from the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) than that which he has had.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Why?

SIR EDWARD REED: Because we ought to receive from the First Lord of the Admiralty when such a ghastly array of facts has been put before us, some better assurances of reforms than have been given. That, at any rate, is an important view of the case. I confess I should not feel very much hope in the matter if it were not for the tremendous accession of force which the friends of economy and reform in finance have received in the person of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. I for one thank the noble Lord for the very gallant manner in which he has devoted himself to the task of bringing about a change. As regards Sheerness, which is my native place, I do not wish to see it shut up; but I must say I was surprised at the reply the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty gave to the noble Lord on that subject. The noble Lord said that Sheerness Dockyard cannot be shut up, because you have a number of officers there who will be entitled to pensions, and some men also. I know something about that question, because it fell to my lot to shut up two Dockyards; and I would call the noble Lord's attention to the fact that, however true his answer may be with regard to some officers, he himself explained in an earlier period of his speech that which it is necessary to do on certain occasions. It is possible to transfer these officers from a yard at which they are not wanted to a yard in which you do want them. It cannot be said—"Oh, but we do not want them any more," because it happens to be a fact that you have only about 6,000 men on the establishment to be provided for, whilst you have 11,000 others in the Dockyards to whom the authorities are under no such obligation. I was very glad, indeed to hear the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty say that he would consider the whole question of naval education—to give something of the nature of a promise that he would have the whole matter considered.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I referred to the question of Engineers Schools in the Dockyards.

SIR EDWARD REED: I should like to say a few words upon that subject, because, having been educated myself in some degree in the Dockyard schools, I know what those schools once were, although I do not know what they are now. They were schools established for the purpose—if the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) will allow me to say so in contradiction to his statement—for the purpose of providing elementary education. There was not, at any rate in my day, a single particle of professional education imparted in those schools. When I say elementary education, I mean elementary, mathematics, and so on. It was necessary to sustain these schools for a number of years, because in the Dockyard towns there existed no educational appliances worth mentioning. But that state of things has passed away; and now in the common Board schools of the country the children of the working classes are receiving in very many cases an education which it is oftentimes very difficult for a wealthy father to secure for his son, so good is it. Therefore, I contend that the maintenance of schools in the Dockyards for the purpose of teaching elementary and somewhat advanced scientific education —apart from professional education—is an anachronism. It is not necessary; but I am sorry to say that, if my information is correct, either the noble Lord or one of his Predecessors is responsible for having recently elevated the class of masters in the Dockyards. I should be sorry to see faith broken with anybody; but I really think we ought to have an undertaking, not only from the First Lord of the Admiralty, but from every branch and Department of the State, to the effect that the face of the Government will be as much as possible set against increasing the number of persons entitled to pensions. The probability seems to be that we have here a case in which three or four men are brought away from the Universities and fixed upon us for the rest of their natural lives, whether they are wanted or whether they are not. If some remedy is not brought about to remedy that state of things we shall get into such a condition that the country will demand that faith shall be broken with these people rather than that these burdens should be any longer borne. Will the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty allow me to ask him to spare us those statements with regard to additional expenses which some ingenious person in his Department is continually furnishing him with, especially with regard to a comparison of the guns of the past with the guns of the present? It is all very well to use these arguments at the Mansion House and other places; but to use them in the House of Commons is nothing more than to raise a side issue which has little or no connection with the main question. I will tell the noble Lord that he must be upon his guard, as he is surrounded by people who will "fool us to the top of our bent." The result of my calculations as to the proportion that the incidental expenses in the Dockyards bear to the working expenses I will now state. The noble Lord showed a charge of 70 per cent on the cost of working. Well, what I show is that you put £672,000 of expenditure on top of £1,100,000. As I understand the statement of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty, we are expected to go on in this way without any serious effort being made to remedy this state of things, and the noble Lord's speech is to amount to nothing more than an assurance that he will make little economies where he can. I do not want to challenge the Government now, because it is late in the season—I do not want to be hard upon them; I do not want to put difficulties in their way which would not be to the advantage of the public—but I do think that we ought to have some indication from them that the affairs of these Dockyards will be dealt with in a different spirit. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington was right in what he said as to the chaplains and medical officers in the Dockyards. There is a charge of £10,000 a year for chaplains, medical men, and schools. I should like to ask hon. Members who are connected with large private yards how much they spend in chaplains for their workmen? Do they expend money in this way? I apprehend that they do nothing of the kind. Let us have some explanation of this matter. If these chaplains are not for this purpose; if this money is not devoted to this purpose; if it is devoted to any other object, let us know it, and do not go on palming these people off upon the Dockyards in connection with shipbuilding. The great complaint against the Estimates in their present form is that we have no means of checking what is done, not only in the Dockyards, but in individual ships. I have looked over the details of several ships to find how the money has been got rid of upon them, and I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information. We are told how much has been spent; but we are not told how the amount quoted to us in this way has been got rid of, and this is the case particularly in connection with those vessels on which the most extravagance has been displayed, that is to say, those vessels built by contract and brought into the Navy Establishments for completion. On that point I wish to make a brief reference. The noble Lord has told the Committee that he has it from the Chief Constructor that there are as many as 5,000 new drawings going out of his office every year. Very well; but I should like to know how many of these are prepared by other people and merely submitted to him for approval? When we come to Vote 3 I shall move a considerable reduction if I am in the same mind as at present, and I shall do it on this ground, that a year or two ago a change was introduced—I do not know who brought it about, but, whoever did, it put upon us a salary of £1,500 a-year for a Director of Dockyards, and three others of £1,000 a-year for Assistant Superintendents of Dockyards, the object being to give us better Dockyard administration. The management and inspection of Dockyards was in this way taken out of the hands of the Chief Constructor of the Navy and handed over to these new officials. When I was at the Admiralty it used to take myself and my principal assistants almost an entire day to do this Dockyard work; and if we were able to get into the drawing office by 3 or 4 o'clock in the afternoon, we were very glad to be able to do so. Well, when this enormous labour was taken from the shoulders of the Chief Constructor, the Chief Constructor becoming simply a designer of ships, there ought to have been, as a consequence, a large reduction in the staff devoted to that official. I maintain that at least three large salaries ought to have been saved when the control of the Dockyards was taken away from the Chief Constructor. Instead of that, however, the Chief Constructor at the present time has the same staff to do very little work—for, after all, it is comparatively very little work that has to be done. We ought to have had a great reduction. If the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty can tell me that these gentlemen, who were formerly under the Chief Constructor, have been transferred to the Director of Dockyards for the same duties, then I can understand there being no reduction in the Vote, because if we are to look to the Director of Dockyards for economies in Dockyard working, it is only natural that his staff should be strengthened. Unless we get some satisfactory explanation of this matter, I shall move the reduction of the Vote, and leave the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to deal with those gentlemen as best he can. It appears to me that no question of Party sentiment ought to induce us to lose the great benefit of the advocacy of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. We ought to avail ourselves of every advantage that flows from having such a supporter of economy. I congratulate him on his onslaught on the existing extravagance. When the country arouses itself to the fact that every year whilst you are spending £1,100,000 on Dockyard labour you are spending £670,000 on people to look after that Dockyard labour and its produce, I do not think it will much longer submit to these charges, and will insist upon having enormous changes brought about. If I might venture to give advice to the Government, it would be this—that they should be wise in time, and give us a promise of great amendment in the future, which, while ensuring efficiency, will, at the same time, bring about great economy.

THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): Whilst listening to the able speeches that the Committee have heard this evening, I could not help thinking that those speeches would have been much more appropriate if addressed to the Boards of Admiralty which have been in charge of the Department in years past, instead of to a Board that only came in in August last, and whose Estimates had to be prepared within a very few weeks of their coming into Office. At the same time, I feel that the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, and those who have spoken to-night, have done good service to the Admiralty in bringing these matters forward, although—as in the present case—they deal with what is passed. I think that to keep on pegging away is one of the best means of strengthening and assisting those who are in charge of the administration of the affairs of the Admiralty. I believe that the essence of economy is to have our accounts stated in a simple, straightforward, and intelligible manner; and I perfectly agree with the criticisms that have been levelled against the accounts which the Admiralty have presented to Parliament for the present year. I feel that they are not sufficiently clear—that they do not bring under one head all the charges that are properly applicable to that head. But I wish to call the attention of the Committee to the fact that when the present Board came into Office it was so late on in the year, and the Estimates had to be got into shape so very soon afterwards, that it was utterly impossible for the Board to take into consideration the very serious and important duty of re-casting the form of the Estimates. I believe that the true mode of securing economy is not to start at the top and say—"You are spending £11,000,000 or £12,000,000, whilst you ought not to spend more than £10,000,000 or £11,000,000." That is not the true way to secure economy. The best way is to start at the bottom, and see where the sixpences are spent. Seeing that it was impossible to make any change in the form of the Estimates, having regard to the books and the form in which they were kept at the Admiralty, the next thing that could be done was to place before the House the utmost information, in the shape of Appendices, which could be given. My Colleagues, as well as myself, feel that we cannot be too explicit in our statement to the House; and, therefore, we have laid a great deal of information before it in these Appendices, information which has never been laid before the House of Commons in any former Estimates. I assure the House that we did all we possibly could in the time at our disposal to give the fullest and most complete information in our power. In reference to shipbuilding, for instance, we have endeavoured to give the character and description of the vessels, the cost of each vessel, and the total expenditure upon each ship since its construction. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington commented very strongly—and I sympathize with him in every word he uttered—upon the irregular and unsatisfactory manner in which money has been expended in past years, and as to the unsatisfactory statements which were given out with reference to the cost of vessels compared with the Estimates which were laid before the House. Well, Sir, I just claim, for one moment, the attention of the Committee with regard to one of the Appendices which have been laid before the House in the present Estimates. We have there set out particulars of the amounts voted last year for specific ships, compared with the actual performance or the actual expenditure on these ships, in order that the House may keep a check on the course of proceeding. Although we only came into Office late in the year, I venture to claim that our performance at the Dockyards, the expenditure upon materials, and work done, have kept up very near to the promises which were made in the Estimates. Where the performance has fallen short of the promises, it will be found due to guns not having been brought up in time to enable the construction of the ships to be proceeded with. It is perfectly absurd to go on with the construction of the other parts of a ship that depend upon the placing of the guns until the guns have arrived; otherwise we should have to pull down work already completed, and spend large sums of money in alterations. I have alluded to the form of keeping accounts. The best way to keep accounts is to have an accurate expense account. We have heard to-night from the hon. and gallant Member for Pembroke (Admiral Mayne) and the hon. Member for Devonport (Mr. Puleston), that we do not keep correct accounts of the expenditure on the ships built in the Dockyards. They believe that if we kept our accounts close up to date we should show the cost of vessels built at the Dockyards to be very moderate as compared with the cost of those built by contract. Allusion was also made to Admiral Graham's Committee. As one of the outcomes of that Committee—as one of the recommendations which we have adopted—we have organized an expense account at the Dockyards. For the future the time of every man employed upon a certain job will be charged to that specific job on the books of the Dockyards. Every atom of material that is worked into a certain ship or work at the Dockyards will be forthwith calculated and brought to account in the debit of the ship in the expense books of the Dockyards. In this way we shall be able to carefully ascertain the amount of labour and the amount of expenditure. We shall be able to find out at once what the expenditure upon a certain ship is, and not be obliged as hitherto to wait, perhaps, a year before we are able to ascertain the particulars. I hold that it is important that when the Dockyards bring forward an estimate and declare that they are prepared to do work which will cost a certain sum of money, and the Admiralty give them that sum of money, we should have the accounts brought up so closely to date that it would be impossible to exceed that amount without the attention of the Admiralty being brought to that excess. Having organized the expense accounts of the Dockyards upon this basis, I think we shall be able to prepare a much more satisfactory estimate in the future than we have been able to in the past. My feeling is that, instead of scattering the cost of different Services over a dozen different Votes, we ought to bring all the Services of one character into one Vote, so as to show the total amount of those Services. Take an example. We have the *Britannia* training ship at Dartmouth. A considerable amount is spent on repairing that vessel, and that appears in the account of the Fleet generally. I maintain that it ought to appear as part of the educational charge, seeing that this ship *Britannia* forms a portion of the educational branch of the Service. Then take the Vote for labour. I feel that the Vote ought to show the amount spent on building vessels, the amount spent upon repairing, and the amount spent upon other Dockyard and manufacturing services, and that we should attach to each Vote such an appropriation of the amounts, that the Auditor and Accountant General may see that we have dealt with the sum the House has voted in the manner that was intended when it was voted. These are matters which have engaged the attention of the Department for some months past, with a view of originating reforms. The object in view, as I have said, is to enable the House to know exactly, or as closely as possible, for what purpose money is going, and how the money is spent, in order that the Parliamentary Auditor may afterwards see that the Board of Admiralty have applied the money in the way the House wishes to see it applied. No doubt, there will be some little difficulty in carrying out this system with precision. It must be obvious that the estimated cost of repairs to a ship made in August, September, or October, when the ship will not arrive home from her commission for, perhaps, 12 months, must be, to a large extent, speculative. Some margin must be left to the Admiralty. Ships on foreign stations, for the repair of which sums are put down in the Estimates, have not been surveyed; and it is more or less guess-work what the repairing will cost. As regards shipbuilding, however, the House can have a precise and definite account of what is to be spent; but we shall require to have some margin at the Admiralty in order to deal with unforeseen contingencies—and there are a great many unforeseen contingencies, so far as the repairing of vessels is concerned. The object of the Admiralty, as enunciated by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, is to bring each account under its proper head—to show every item of expenditure on work done by the Admiralty, so that the House shall vote as nearly as possible the amount actually required to be spent during a specified time. As regards the incidental charges, it is pointed out that they bear a very high proportion to the Labour Vote of the Admiralty; but I beg hon. Members to remember that our Dockyards are not simply constructive departments. They are not merely shipbuilding yards. As I take it, they are kept open as great national institutions—as a sort of provisional insurance ready, in case of emergency, to undertake repairs and any work which it might be necessary for them to perform were a war to break out. Therefore, we have to keep these establishments upon a very different basis to what would be necessary if they were private concerns, carried on simply for the purpose of making money for the owners, and in connection with which there was nothing else to consider but the question of money making. At the same time, whilst I am making this explanation, I am bound to admit that there are many questions in connection with incidental charges at the Admiralty which I hope to see very seriously reduced in the future. Until we get an exact account of the labour of each individual man, and an account of each individual item in the expenditure, we cannot put our finger upon those items where it will be possible to save money. Only by that means should we be able to grapple with this great charge for incidental expenses. The Committee must not run away with the idea that these charges for incidental expenses are all more or less shipbuilding charges. I should be glad if hon. Members would allow me to call attention to the fact that we have no less than five shipbuilding ports, that each of these five ports have dry docks and floating docks, and that the incidental charges cover not only the building expenses of vessels, but include the manipulation of these docks, and the passing in and out of the vessels that use them. In other words, great expenses such as those which have to be borne at St. Katherine's Docks, the London Docks, and elsewhere, have to be met in our Dockyards under this head of incidental expenses. There is another item in the incidental charges — all the expenses of constructors, salaries of inspectors, of working, and superintendence. These items ought not to go down to incidental charges. They are as much part and parcel of the expenditure of the shipbuilding as the labour of the men; and, therefore, it is an improper mode of stating accounts to include these things in the item for incidental expenses, when they are strictly applicable to the cost either of constructing or repairing vessels. I will not trouble the Committee by going through the list of these incidental charges, item by item; my eye catches one, however—namely, the dredging of harbours, which costs £28,000 a-year. That large charge is made in order to enable our Dockyards to be kept open for the ingress and egress of vessels. That is put down as an incidental charge. Then, again, we have enormous stocks of stores to keep in our Dockyards — a great reserve of stores which it is necessary for the Admiralty to keep, in order to provide against contingencies. We have the stores, and the cost of the labour attendant on the keeping of these stores, and the cost of receiving them, examining them, and delivering them. This involves an item of £33,000, and that again is included in the incidental charges. There are one or two of the other large items which do not belong to the Shipbuilding Vote, and ought not to be added to the cost of construction. When hon. Members say that the cost of a ship amounts to so much, and the incidental charges amount to so much more, a large portion of the incidental charges ought to be distributed over the ships. Clearly the mode of making out the account requires revision, so that we may see what is the cost of incidentals as applicable to the vessels, and what is the cost of keeping up the Dockyards as a great National undertaking. An allusion has been made to the cost of ships in years gone by, and the cost of building modern ships. With all respect for the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, I submit that it is improper to draw a comparison between the cost of modern vessels and that of the vessels of 13, or 14, or 15 years ago. It is quite a misleading comparison. It is a misleading comparison to say that steel in 1874 was £13 a-ton, whereas now the same steel can be bought for £8, and that, therefore, the cost of the vessel ought to be less. Bear in mind such vessels as the *Nile* and *Trafalgar*. These ships carry a steel-faced plating which costs £100 a-ton, and when you look at the enormous quantity they carry, it is obvious that an enormous amount of expenditure has to be incurred in connection with those modern vessels which had not to be contemplated in connection with the older vessels. Such plating as this was not known 14 or 15 years ago. Such comparisons as those I describe cannot be made. Then, again, there is the question of power in which there has been a great increase. The indicated horse-power, as applied to the hulls of the ships, has within the last two or three years increased five-fold from what it was 14 or 15 years ago. It is true the cost has decreased from about £13 per indicated horse-power to £9, yet when we take the enormous powers which are now used—10,000 or 12,000 horses in place of 2,000 or 3,000 horses in the old days—we see that the saving in the price of power is very much more than absorbed by its increase in the case of each ship. Then, as regards the Dockyards and their work, there is no one more anxious to keep them employed than the present Board of Admiralty. But there are matters besides the Dockyards to be considered. There is, no doubt, an advantage in going outside to private yards, as they form a guide and a test of what the cost of our own Dockyards ought to be. That is one reason why we ought to go outside. Another reason is, that it is an advantage to have other places in which we can build our ships besides our own Dockyards. I feel that we ought to bring our Dockyard work down to a normal condition—to such a position that year by year we may be able to put down a given quantity of tonnage, and thereby find employment for a certain number of men; and if then we required any additional vessels to be built, by reason of serious contingencies arising, we could put them in the hands of private firms to build. This brings me to another matter which will in some way indicate why the expenses of the Admiralty have increased, and will show the difficulties that the present Board have to face. The normal number of men employed at the Dockyards between 1877 and 1881 was about 17,000; but when the present Government came into Office, they found no fewer than 22,800 men employed, or 5,800 more than was considered the normal number of men necessary to keep the Navy in an effective state up to 1880 or 1881. I am not prepared to say 17,500 are sufficient. I believe that one reason why we have had to increase the number of men so largely during recent years has been the prevalence of a starvation system prior to 1881, and that the increase of the number since then has been to restore that fair balance of power which we ought to have maintained. Probably there may be a means as to the number of men necessary to be employed between the numbers employed prior to 1881 and the numbers now employed. The adoption of such a standard will involve the reduction of a number of hands in the Dockyards, and it is obviously a most anxious time for the Board to contemplate such a step in these troublous times of depression. We regard it as a serious thing to have to say to these men—"We have no further employment to give you;" but if we are to dispose of the taxes of the people in a satisfactory manner, it is necessary for us to be hard-hearted, and we must be prepared, I am afraid, to hear a great deal said to our disparagement. But these disagreeable conditions have to be faced, and I can assure those hon. Members representing Dockyard constituencies who have spoken this evening that the Board of Admiralty will endeavour to make these discharges in as reasonable and easy a manner as they possibly can so as to enable the men they discharge to obtain fresh employment elsewhere. Now, Sir, some remarks were made by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) as to pensions, and I wish to tell the hon. Member that the present Board have stopped putting men on the establishment. This is not a time to discuss that matter; there is much to be said upon it *pro* and *con;* and, at any rate, until the matter is decided, the Board have determined not to increase the number on the Establishment, which is now 6,130. Then, Sir, I will not go into the question as to the difference in the cost of vessels built by contract alluded to by the hon. Member for Cardiff and the estimated cost of vessels built in the Dockyards, because the present Board had nothing whatever to do with the question of the Estimates that were prepared for ships built in the Dockyards, nor with the comparison between those vessels and the vessels built under contract. As regards fitting ships, the present Board is not responsible for the estimates of fitting in the Dockyards ships built at private yards. The Board's policy has been to put a stop to this as much as possible, and whenever they have put out vessels to contract they have required the Chief Constructor to call upon the contractor to finish the vessel so far as he could. It cannot be denied that hitherto it has been rather the custom to require contractors to do as little work as possible under contract in order to allow as large an amount of work as possible to be finished in the Dockyards. We have come to the conclusion that this is an extravagant system, and we are determined to alter it, and to have our specifications drawn, so as to provide that the ships shall not be taken from the contractor's yard into the Dockyard until there is little else to be done to them than to put in the guns. Then allusion has been made to expenditure upon ships that are worn out. Well, no one has set their faces more strenuously against expenditure of this kind than the present Board of Admiralty; but we have had to deal with the necessity of providing reliefs for foreign stations, and to do so satisfactorily we have been obliged to use vessels of an obsolete pattern in the absence of any suitable new vessel. It has only been when the necessity for relief has been urgently pressed upon us that we have consented to spend large sums on the refitting of vessels that are obsolete. We have selected in those cases ships that we considered of sufficient speed, only regarding as absolutely obsolete vessels which cannot steam 13 knots.

When it has been necessary to find relief we have examined the vessels at our disposal, and in making our selection we have had regard to speed and capacity for fighting under modern circumstances, and endeavoured to avoid spending money in trying to modernize them. The hon. Member for Cardiff has alluded to the Return which was placed upon the Table of the House on Friday, and has only just been put into the hands of Members to-day. As regards the *Impérieuse,* the hon. Member did an injustice to the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) in reference to those matters. I am one of those who do not hesitate to state the facts as they are. The facts as to the displacement of the *Impérieuse* will show how correct was the noble Lord at the head of the Admiralty in his statement with regard to the vessel. She was originally laid down, and in the Estimate originally presented to Parliament she was intended to have a displacement of 7,390 tons. Now, as my noble Friend has explained, it has not been the custom to have detailed particulars of alterations presented to Parliament until a ship is completed. Until a ship is completed you cannot have the actual displacement accurately known. With regard to the *Impérieuse,* let me remark that when the then Secretary to the Admiralty announced that the Admiralty were going to lay down a number of ships of which the *Impérieuse* was one, the actual designs for the vessel were not completed, having once stated in the House that it was proposed to build such a ship immediately, the Dockyards were greedy for the work of building in order to find employment for the men, they pushed on the work of construction, really before the plans and calculations had been properly made out. They started with a figure — 7,390 tons displacement; but, as the hon. Member for Cardiff well knows, constructors when they do lay down ships rather increase upon the lines, and put a fraction of an inch more here, and a fraction of an inch more there, so as to guard against their calculation being increased. The result was in the case of the *Impérieuse* that instead of the displacement being as stated in the original estimates it amounted to 7,470 tons. That does not seem to me at all an unreasonable margin for the constructors to take. As I have stated, it is to be explained by the fact that the constructors were in a hurry to get the ships on to the stocks. By the time the ship had progressed so far that no alteration could be made in her internal dimensions a determination was come to as to her armament, a doubt then arose in the minds of the Admiralty as to the stability of the ship, and six inches of planking were added to the outside of the vessel on each side, which had the effect of increasing the stability, but affected her displacement very little. The ship only gained 15 tons displacement instead of 80, had they put the extra beam into the interior of the ship. This additional planking brought the vessel up to the displacement of 7,600 tons.

Mr. PULESTON: Who is responsible for this?

Mr. FORWOOD: The matter is one of the dim and distant past. I have stated the facts simply as they were, and as we found them, and I wish only to take that case as it has been alluded to by the hon. Member for Cardiff. I can assure the Committee that we have endeavoured, by our new regulations which we have laid down, to put a stop to any mistakes of this kind in the future. One of the earliest decisions taken up by the present Board was that the contractors and designers shall have an accurate knowledge of the weight of the ship to be constructed, of the weight of the engines, and of the armaments, and an accurate knowledge also of the number of men to be carried; and we require the officers responsible for the engines, the armaments, and the men to say whether the weights put down in the ledger are correct, so that when a ship is partly constructed, and it is said we want more of this, and more of that, there shall be someone to whom responsibility can be attached for having advised the Board. I have endeavoured to set before the Committee the policy of the Board of Admiralty, which is governed by common sense and by business principles such as would influence any private manufacturing firm; and I hope that that policy will be judged, not by work which the present Board has merely had to complete, but by work which it may itself originate.

MR. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness): Mr. Courtney, I should like, in the first place, to point out what is the obvious lesson of this evening's discussion. The debate only confirms the impression I have formed, after successive debates in this House, that a Committee of the Whole House is not altogether a competent tribunal to deal with the details of these Estimates, and I hope that every hon. Member of the House will feel grateful to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) for having moved for the Committee on the Estimates, now sitting upstairs. I think that the existence of that Committee should make us comparatively careless of the result of this debate. Already it has justified its existence by a good deal of work on the Army Estimates, and when it comes to deal with the Navy Estimates I think it will be shown that there is a good deal of foundation for the speech of the noble Lord. I think the noble Lord has a little overdone his case, but I have not much fault to find with him for that. He has endeavoured to make abuses visible to the naked eye; and, in the main, I think it will be found that his speech is justified by the facts. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) stated at the close of his speech that he thought he had answered nearly all the points brought forward by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty made a very able speech, and one which I listened to with very great attention; but I venture to think that not even he, as he is, would be capable of dealing with one-tenth part of the questions brought forward by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington in the hour which he gave to them. Many of the points brought forward by the noble Lord and other hon. Members it is impossible to discuss in Committee of the Whole House. There is the point raised by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed), and which has often been raised before, as to the belts of the *Impérieuse* and other ships. I do not think it is possible for any layman, or for anybody who is not an expert like the hon. Member himself, to properly discuss that question. We ought to have that distinguished engineer, Mr. White—Chief Constructor—in the House; we ought to have diagrams hung all over the walls of the House, and Mr. White walking up and down with a fishing rod explaining important points, and illustrating his explanations by the diagrams. It is quite easy, however, to bring experts before a Committee, and to examine them as witnesses. I must say that to my mind, at any rate, a Committee of the Whole House is not a competent tribunal to deal with the various questions which arise upon the Army and Navy Estimates, seeing that Members are not able to examine witnesses or to talk to the experts face to face. We have had a reference made to-night to a custom which has prevailed in past times at the Admiralty, and which I rather gathered from the speech of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty is to be done away with. We have already had a Parliamentary Paper containing some statements which encourage us to think that the habit of altering the details of a ship during construction will not be continued.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: It refers to the adding of weight.

MR. CAINE: A Paper has just been laid on the Table in accordance with a Motion made by myself, and it gives a very simple record of the way in which the *Impérieuse* has been altered during construction. It was decided to build her, I think—I am not sure of the date —in January or February, 1882. There have been six important changes made in the ship during her construction, and the increased cost has amounted to £90,000. Now, the question that has to be asked in deciding whether or not consecutive Boards of Admiralty, who have had charge of the building of the ship, have been justified in their increased expenditure was whether the improvements have been worth the increased cost. I find that of these six important changes the earliest was made in February, 1882, and the last on the 13th of November, 1886. The *Impérieuse* was a good ship as designed, but the differen inventions and improvements brought out whilst she was in course of construction induced admirals, constructors, and other experts to press the Board of Admiralty to make various changes in her. The first improvement was an increase of three-quarters of a knot in speed—to my mind a very important improvement.

Then she had 3,000 additional miles given to her by means of increased coal-carrying capacity. Then her heavy armament was increased, and the number of torpedoes carried by her was increased from three to 18. Subsequently, some very small improvements were made in her many small engines; and, lastly, a torpedo-net was provided. But the result of these various improvements was to put the ship lower down in the water. As far as I can make out, that is the only deterioration which has resulted from the improvements—that is to say, that the height of the armour above water has been decreased by 1 foot 10 inches out of a total of 3 feet 3 inches. I am told that the report of the trial trip of the *Impérieuse* has been laid on the Table. I have not yet seen it; but I understand that the effect of it is to justify, or that it professes to justify, the changes which have been made.

SIR EDWARD REED: On the contrary, the Report says that great changes are necessary.

MR. CAINE: Well, that may be so; but what hon. Members who are experts in these matters have to determine for us is whether or not the net improvement—if there be a net improvement—in consequence of these changes is worth £90,000. I do not myself think they are. I am strongly opposed to altering ships during the time of construction, and I think it would be wise, when once a design is adopted, to adhere to it until the ship is completed. If it be necessary to lay down fresh ships to compete with the new ships of rival Powers, by all means do it; but I think the story of the *Impérieuse* is a very fair instance of the way in which the cost of a ship is increased by altering it during the time of construction. There is, however, an impression among hon. Members who are not experts on naval questions that the increased cost of the *Impérieuse* was not necessary, and that the whole of it has gone for nothing. I wish to point out that that is not the case. As to the question of engineer students, the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty very justly pointed out, in reply to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, that it would be quite possible for an engineer student, after having had six years' instruction in engineering, to escape entering the Admiralty, and so gain all the advantage of the Government instruction for nothing by wilfully refusing to answer questions at the examination. Now, I would suggest that this difficulty might be got over by providing that every parent or guardian of a boy entering the Naval School should be called upon to give a bond that if the lad does not enter the Navy, or if he fails in the examination, they will pay a sum of £500 for the education given to him at the cost of the nation. There is another point on which I should like to say a few words—namely, the rival advantages of private firms and dockyards. It must not be forgotten that the men who are employed in our Dockyards constitute a standing army of artificers in case of war. The question we have to ask ourselves is whether or not we are to maintain such a standing army. If we are—and certainly if we have a war with a first-class Power that standing army will have to be largely increased—it becomes necessary to drill the men composing it, and the only way to do this is to keep them employed. The thing to do in your Dockyards is to find out how much shipbuilding is necessary, to give sufficient work to the Dockyards to keep the men employed, and to have the rest done by contract. On the general question of economy I do not wish to say much. A Committee has been appointed; I think that Committee is fit for its work, and when it reports I think the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington will find in it great justification for the attack he has made on the economy and the efficiency of the Admiralty.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN COMMERELL (Southampton): The hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine) has challenged the Admirals in the House to answer a question as to the efficiency of the *Impérieuse.* I have no hesitation in saying that the so-called improvements in that ship, with the single exception of the one which enables her to carry more coal, sink into utter insignificance when compared with the great detriment she has sustained by reason of the partial submersion of her armour plating. I myself have been always opposed to constant changes of front in the construction of ships. I think that when a ship is once laid down she ought to be completed and launched as soon as possible. It is a perfect impossibility that any ship can be made quite perfect.

You must go the nearest way to work, and in order to do that you must complete your ships as soon as possible. There is another question which the hon. Member (Mr. Caine) touched upon, and one which the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) dealt with in a way which caused me considerable regret—I refer to the subject of the engineer students. I would remind the Committee that a Committee sat on this subject, and that they expressed a unanimous opinion that the time had arrived when we should educate our engineer officers for ourselves. There are other points to be considered besides the main question of getting a sufficient number of engineer officers. There are social questions, for instance, which ought not to be lost sight of. It is desirable that engineer officers should take their place on the quarter-deck with the other officers. It is a necessity that these men should be brought up from an early age in habits of discipline like other officers, and I have no hesitation in saying that it would be the greatest mistake in the world if we did away with the Colleges for engineer students. I am perfectly aware of the fact that sometimes there may be a young man who does not desire to go on with the profession for which he had been intended, but wishes to adopt some other walk of life. I believe, however, that this is not very often the case, and I think that such a case would be met by exacting from the parents or guardians a fine of, not £500, as suggested by the hon. Member for Barrow—because I think that is a great deal too much, and that it would prevent a great many youths being entered in the Colleges—but of £100. This amount might be exacted if a boy did not pass the examination when it was perfectly well known that he could if he chose. There are one or two other questions that I must touch upon. I agree, in the main, with what has been said by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill); but I also concur with the hon. Member for Barrow in thinking that, as far as the present Board of Admiralty is concerned, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington has been, perhaps, a little bit inclined to overstate his case. I am perfectly certain, however, that there has been any amount of extravagance in the Dockyards and any amount of want of supervision. I will give the Committee an instance of what certainly occurred some years ago, but of what is, I am sorry to say, pretty nearly the same at the present day. It was determined to fit a certain class of corvette with an auxiliary rudder. Surely, in making an experiment of that kind, it would have been wise to have fitted one vessel first to see whether the thing answered. But the Admiralty insisted on fitting eight, or nearly the whole of the vessels, with the new invention. The whole thing turned out to be a signal failure, and the consequence was that the expense of fitting the eight vessels was thrown away. Well, what did the Admiralty do next? They fitted the *Canada* with a most ridiculous rudder, which weighed 10 tons and took up a large portion of that part of the ship's space which was most wanted. The consequence was that it was not only an element of the greatest danger, because it interfered very much with the ram, but it was of no good. The fitting of the rudder cost, I suppose, £2,000 or £3,000, and the thing is at the present moment lying in Bermuda Yard perfectly useless. It was found that it only altered the course of the ship a couple of degrees in a quarter of an hour. A similar thing occurred with regard to the *Sultan* two years ago. Two rudders which were fitted to the ship at great expense were found, when tried, to be utterly and entirely useless. There is another silly thing that the Admiralty do. They build vessels by the half-dozen, instead of building one at a time, so as to find out where the faults lie and what improvements can be made. I have no hesitation in saying that you would be able, on trial, to see the necessity for improvement in any vessel. On Saturday hon. Members who go to the Naval Review will see 10 gun-boats; but I would rather not call them gun-boats, for they are something between a clock case and a bathing machine. They are all perfectly useless. One of them is employed as a tender in Portsmouth Harbour, and when it is under weigh all the other vessels sheer off, because those on board are perfectly certain that she will run into something. If one of these 10 boats had been tried first, the other nine would never have been built.

As to the question of the Dockyards, I am not going to deal with it as the Representative of a port in which there are shipbuilding yards, but from a naval point of view. I am not desirous of taking away any work from the Dockyards; but, at the same time, I do think that there is plenty of room for contract work outside the Dockyards. But what I complain of is—and this is the general complaint throughout England—that the contracts are not only not served out fairly, but nobody knows what the contract prices are. I myself think, and I believe it is the general opinion, that kissing goes by favour. I think that if the tenders were issued to a very much larger number of firms the work done would be more satisfactory. We are told—"Oh, such and such a firm is not on the list;" or, "Such and such a firm is on the list." But if a firm is on the list, and is not in the inner ring, it gets no work to do. [Mr. Forwood: No, no!] The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty says "No, no!"——

Mr. FORWOOD: I beg pardon. What I said was that that was not in this Vote.

Admiral Sir JOHN COMMERELL: I shall be happy to discuss this matter on Vote 10; but I understood that we might do so on this Vote. Well, what I wish to say is, that if there were more firms employed the contract work would be very much better done. I know myself of one or two instances in which really excellent work could have been done by firms which have never had the opportunity of tendering. And why have they not had that opportunity? They have built large merchant ships which have given satisfaction in every way to large Companies, and I have no hesitation in saying that they could give satisfaction to the Government in the same way. At the same time, I affirm that during times of peace we ought to educate all the shipbuilding yards of the country as much as we can, so that in time of war they may be able to do the work required of them. Government work is a speciality, and people must know how to do it. Then there is the question of torpedo boats. If instead of only three or four firms being favoured with the orders for torpedo boats there were dozens of such firms, the work would be done just as well, and for a great deal less money. I hope that what I have said in this respect may have a little influence on the First Lord of the Admiralty. I should myself be very averse for one moment to set up the Dockyard system and the contract system one against the other, because I do not think it is at all necessary to do so.

Captain PRICE (Devonport): The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) has brought charges against various Admiralty Administrations, and has formulated his charges under five distinct heads, three of which I will name. The first related to direct charges for shipbuilding; the second was the insufficiency of the audit of accounts; and the third was the useless expense in connection with repairs. As regards the question of the audit of accounts, I fully agree with the noble Lord. All I can gather is that the audit of accounts is as inefficient as it can possibly be. But with regard to the question of incidental charges, as compared with direct charges, I am distinctly at issue with the noble Lord. The noble Lord came down with a mass of figures. I do not know where he obtained them from——

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: From the Estimates.

Captain PRICE: I cannot find them in the Estimates, and I do not find that they tally with the Estimates now before the Committee. I will give an instance. The noble Lord compared the cost of the *Camperdown*, which was built in a Government Dockyard, with the *Benbow*, which was built by contract. He said that the cost of the *Camperdown* was something like £60,000 more than that of the *Benbow*.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No. Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will allow me to explain. It is as well to be accurate in these matters. What I stated was that in the original Estimates respecting the *Camperdown* and the *Benbow* there was a difference in favour of the *Benbow*, and that after the contract had been altered there was still a difference in her favour of £14,000.

Captain PRICE: I think the impression given to the Committee by the noble Lord was that the total cost of the *Camperdown* was much greater than that of the *Benbow*. I dispute that. I find that, on the contrary, the total cost of the *Benbow* was £60,000 greater than that of the *Camperdown*. The noble

Lord has told us this evening what incidental expenses are. I submit that his description of what he calls incidental charges is totally inaccurate and misleading, and I think that if the noble Lord could explain to the Committee what incidental charges really are, he would be a much abler man than I take him to be. I would point out that this question of incidental charges was considered by a Committee of this House in 1884. Part of the duty of that Committee was to ascertain whether the ships made in the Dockyards were dearer or cheaper than those made in private yards. What was the composition of that Committee? Was it composed of men who were likely to tell us that it was cheaper to build in the Royal Dockyards? Not at all. No less than five out of the seven Members were either shipbuilders, or men connected with private shipbuilding yards. You might almost as well take seven Members of the extreme Nationalist Party and ask them to consider whether it was better that Ireland should or should not have a Parliament in Dublin. Well, what was the evidence given before that Committee as to the question of incidental charges? Take the evidence of the Accountant General, Mr. Willis. He says, practically, that it is impossible to state what incidental charges really are in regard to the cost of building ships. At the end, the same witness said it was difficult to ascertain and determine with preciseness the proportion of incidental charges which are applicable to shipbuilding alone; and the Committee themselves, composed, as they were, of private shipbuilders, actually say in their Report—

> "The evidence given by the Accountant General of the Navy is sufficient to show that the whole expenditure on incidental charges is so obscure as to render unreliable any comparison between shipbuilding in public and private yards."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I quoted that.

CAPTAIN PRICE: I hope that the noble Lord, if he presides over a Committee upon the Navy Estimates, will call before the Committee witnesses who are really accustomed to deal with this matter, and who by experience know exactly what the incidental charges of the Dockyards amount to. Now, on this point the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) went so far as to tell us that no less than 70 per cent of the whole charges on shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards ought to be put to incidental charges. He said that the labour and material expended on the ships this year amounted to £1,100,000, and that the indirect charges were no less than £774,000, which, as he told us, was 70 per cent of the whole. But what are these incidental charges? He takes the whole of the sums voted for our Dockyards, and cuts them up into two parts; he says that the £1,100,000 is due to labour and material, and that the whole of the rest is due to incidental charges which we must heap upon the ships to ascertain what their real cost is. This ought not to be so. It has been shown to-night by others that our Royal Dockyards are not Dockyards only for shipbuilding—they are quite different to private yards. In private yards a ship is built so that she may go to sea; she may go to the bottom for anything the builder cares; at any rate, she is never seen in the private yard again. The duty of a private yard is simply to turn out the ships; that is not so with the Royal Dockyards. The Royal Dockyards are great store-houses. The whole of the labour which is expended in accumulating these vast stores, not only for shipbuilding, but for the whole purposes of the Fleet—stores of coal and material of all kinds—comes under the heading of incidental charges; so that actually when the noble Lord tells us what the cost of certain ships is, he absolutely includes the charges for chaplains, for dredging the harbours, for laying down of moorings, and for 500 other things which have nothing to do with shipbuilding, and which are not chargeable to shipbuilding in private yards. Let me add one or two items. There is a very large charge for the police force in the Royal Dockyards; it amounts to £45,000. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: £35,000.] I think it is more than that. There is no expenditure for police in private yards; the police are paid for by the locality out of local rates. Then there is a sum of £230,000 for salaries in the Dockyards; these salaries are not all for shipbuilding, but only a small part of them. A very large proportion of the salaries are for work done in the Navy afloat, and not building. My hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) said something about pensions; he said that in addition to all this you ought to add to the cost of your ships the cost of the pensions which you are giving to the men on your establishments, and the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) cheered my hon. Friend (Sir Edward Reed) when he made that statement. Is my hon. Friend aware, and is the Committee aware, that this sum due for pensions is added to the cost of the ships? The evidence given by the Accountant General upon this point was very clear. He was asked how, when dealing with the question of labour, they dealt with the expectation of pensions; and he said it was decided in 1868 that a charge should be added to the salaries of officers and clerks, and to the pay of the workmen to represent the eventual charge for pensions, and he actually gave the opinion that 70 per cent would fairly represent the eventual charge. Just one word as regards pensions. Does the Committee know that the established men receive from 2*s*. to 4*s*. per week less than the hired men, and that this compensates for the pensions we are to pay hereafter? It is absurd, therefore, to try and bring the Committee to imagine that these pensions are perfectly unnecessary. If they are done away with, you must add to the wages of the men to compensate them for the loss they would suffer, and to bring their wages up to the wages of the hired men. You would not give a man who has worked for 30 years continuously a lower wage than a man who has been in the yard for a few months at a time—at least, I think it would be very unwise to do so. Now, again, as to the question of incidental charges. I really think that the noble Lord's own argument shows how absurd it is to charge everything not actually labour or material to incidental charges on the ships. He mentioned the case of Hong Kong, which is a very extreme case. He said that the labour at Hong Kong amounted to about £10,000 a-year, and that the incidental charges amounted to £29,000. But what does the Establishment at Hong Kong exist for? It exists so that in time of war we may have a Dockyard to which our men-of-war may run for repairs. There is no building done there and there is only a very small amount of repairing; and, therefore, what the noble Lord calls incidental charge is very much in comparison with the amount spent on labour. I think that is sufficient to show that these Dockyards really do not exist for shipbuilding alone, but for great State or National reasons. Now, I come to a further head of the noble Lord's charges, and my hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff dwelt a very great deal upon it also—the question of the useless expenditure on repairs. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington said that the *Agincourt* and *Minotaur* were perfectly useless. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: For fighting purposes.] Is the noble Lord aware that in Foreign Navies there are a good many ships which these ships would be fully competent to fight; and, if that is the case, why should you do away with them? My hon. Friend the Member for Cardiff talked about the *Black Prince*, and said what an absurdity it was to trot her out at the Naval Review we are all going to on Saturday. I do not altogether disagree with my hon. Friend; but I want to know what the economists will say to this argument? What will the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), who generally comes down and preaches to us upon economy in naval matters, say, and what will the other economists in this House say upon this subject? What have we been accustomed to hear in these debates? I and the other hon. Members who are always preaching efficiency in the Navy have been from time to time accustomed on these occasions to make comparisons between the Fleet of England and the Fleets of foreign countries, very much to the disgust of the official Members on both sides of the House, and how are we met? Those who represent the Navy for the time being give us a description, from their point of view, of the French Fleet and other Foreign Navies, which they always very carefully minimize; and then they drag out a long list of the ships in the British Fleet, and invariably in that list figure such ships as the *Black Prince*, the *Minotaur*, and the *Agincourt*, and so on, and they are cheered to the echo by the economists, when they say—"Look at the splendid Fleet we have got! If these ships are worthy of appearing in our Naval Lists, they are fit to be sent down to the Review at Spithead." If economists consider that these ships should be done away with, something better should be put in their place. I wish something like that could be done, but it is absurd to use both arguments; either we should have them or we should not. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty said that from time to time he had to submit to a good deal of pressure from Members representing Dockyard constituencies, and I was very glad to hear that he does sometimes submit to pressure from local officers not to too largely decrease the numbers of the workmen in the Yards. I am quite certain my constituents do not wish for men to be kept on in such numbers as cannot be employed. My constituents are patriotic enough to know that efficiency is, of course, the first thing to look after, but that economy must be also considered; and all I have ever done and shall continue to do is to ask the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty and the House to take care that these discharges, if they must be made, shall be made at a time of the year when the men can get employment, and that the Admiralty should even go so far as to try and get employment for them. I myself remember that 25 years ago there was a serious reduction made in the number of the men engaged in the Dockyards. The men did not know where to go; they emigrated to America in thousands. What was done then has never been forgotten in the Dockyard constituencies. I hope the noble Lord will bear this in mind, and will be careful how reductions are made, and will do all he can to get the men other employment.

SIR CHARLES PALMER (Durham, Jarrow): I rise with considerable diffidence to speak on this question. As my name is so much associated with a large shipbuilding company, I naturally abstain as much as possible from taking part in these debates; but so much reference has been made to-night to a Committee which was presided over by Lord Ravensworth that I feel it to be my duty to say a few words. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) referred in complimentary terms to the benefits derived by the Admiralty from the Report that the Committee of which I was a Member submitted. But the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price) has questioned the constitution of that Committee. In the first place, I may take the blame or the credit, whichever it may be, of the constitution of the Committee. It was originated by myself by impressing upon Lord Northbrook, who was then the First Lord of the Admiralty, the necessity for a Committee of experts to be formed in order to investigate the management of the Dockyards, and a system of the repairing of ships. The noble Lord acceded to my request, and all the Members of the Committee, with the exception of two, I recommended—the two exceptions being the Gentleman who represented the Admiralty and the Gentleman appointed by the Treasury. Entering upon our investigations, we naturally desired to know how we could accomplish the building of ships within a reasonable time. If the hon. and gallant Member (Captain Price) has read the evidence given before that Committee, he will have discovered that our great object was to bring about that the shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards, as well as in private yards, should be done in a reasonable time—namely, that specifications and plans should be put forward in such a perfect state that shipbuilders might be able to give their complete estimates, and to turn out the ships in a given time. Of course, our desire extended to the Dockyards as well as to private yards. It was, in the first place, stated to us that it was almost a matter of impossibility to accomplish this, and the reason given before the Committee was that our armaments changed so materially from day to day that we could scarcely know what the fittings of a ship would be before she was complete. In the end, we came to the conclusion that we must throw aside the question of armaments, and when the work was put out no deviation from the design should be allowed until the completion of the vessel. That was the first recommendation of the Committee, and that very fact really explains away a good deal of what the noble Lord has said as to the extra cost over and above the estimates in shipbuilding. Unless you know what work you are about to undertake and to finish, and when you can finish it, it is impossible to know what extra expense will be incurred. Hitherto, the building of ships has been left to the discretion of the overseers, so that it has been quite impossible for contractors to know what the ultimate cost would be. The result of all this has been that our ships have far exceeded in cost the estimates, and that altogether the building of ships has been most unsatisfactory. Now, what has been the effect of the Report of Lord Ravensworth's Committee? All the difficulties have been overcome. The Report was followed up, because I took care that it should be followed up by the Admiralty by the appointment of a Departmental Committee to see that the Report was carried out. Specifications are now put forward of such a character that contractors and our Dockyard Authorities know precisely the work they are to proceed with. The result has been beneficial, as proved in the case of two ships which have been built in the private yards connected with my name, the *Orlando* and the *Undaunted*. These ships were completed three or four months before the contracted time, and that shows that great progress is being made in that Department of the Admiralty, and that improvements may be made in Dockyard administration. But the House must remember that the administration of such great establishments as the Dockyards of this country cannot be changed in a day. There are great faults, no doubt, in the administration of the Dockyards; but it requires time and great care before you entirely change it. In pursuing my investigations in regard to these Dockyards I went down to Chatham, and went through the shipbuilding departments; and I must confess that I was not surprised that the shipbuilding at Chatham should far exceed in cost the shipbuilding in private yards. They have not the proper machinery at Chatham for building ships; and I myself suggested the clause in the Committee's Report which has been read, I think, by the noble Lord, to the effect that the machinery in our Dockyards was very imperfect. Another point has been raised by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Captain Price)—namely, the pensions of the men. Now, I venture to say that if our men were not under better control than the men in the Dockyards, we should not be able to work at the price we do. The pension question is a very serious one, and one which must undoubtedly be abolished. What is the result of the pension system? Men have a claim upon the Dockyards. The Chief Comptroller or Director of Shipbuilding in the Dockyards has no control over his own men. He may see a man loitering, or not doing his work properly, and he may report him to the Admiral Superintendent. Considering that the man has a pension to look forward to, the Admiral Superintendent merely gives him a little lecture, and sends him back to his work. We would not do that in a private yard; and, therefore, the time has come when the pension system will have to be reconsidered. If our Dockyards are to compete with private yards, they must be placed on the same footing—namely, the footing of perfect independence on both sides—on the part of the workmen as well as of the authorities. I will not trespass on the time of the House by entering on the question of the system pursued in our Dockyards; but I venture to say that the time must come when you will have to separate the constructive departments in the Dockyards from the naval element. Let the constructive departments take the responsibility of building ships up to the period at which they can hand the ships over to the naval department. Let our naval officers give their advice as to what the armaments should be, but not interfere when the building is going on. Interference with construction by naval officers is one of the most serious difficulties experienced in our Dockyards. Now, I think I have explained away some of the attacks which have been made on the Dockyard system—at any rate, I am quite sure of this, that great improvements are being made in the system, and if the lines which were laid down by Lord Ravensworth's Committee are followed throughout, I am satisfied that we shall find in future that our ships are not only built at a less cost, but are built in the time specified and at the cost estimated. There is no doubt whatever that, as a general principle — and possibly the Committee may think I speak somewhat interestedly, and that is the reason why I speak with some diffidence—it has become almost a necessity that the large shipbuilding establishments in the country should be entrusted with the building of the ships which the Admiralty require, that the minds of the great shipbuilding establishments should be directed towards naval construction, and that the

Dockyards should confine themselves largely to repairs.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (A LORD of the ADMIRALTY) (Marylebone, E.): I should like to make a few remarks in reference to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). From his remarks it will probably appear to some hon. Members possibly that the whole of the bad administration of which he complains is due to the present Board of Admiralty. I should like to point out that though, as a rule, the noble Lord's remarks are founded on facts, he exaggerates. The people who communicate with him tell him what is not actually the fact. Many people, like myself, who really wish to reform the Navy, and who really wish to get money's worth, are put in a false position. By having to come down and contradict certain statements of the noble Lord, it appears as if we defend the entire system, whereas we do not approve of it. I shall endeavour to make my remarks without the pomposity about which the noble Lord has spoken. Many points the noble Lord referred to as requiring reform have been found out, as far as the Admiralty is concerned, by Committees which my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) has started. The deficiency, the maladministration, the want of organization generally have really been found out by the Committee appointed by my noble Friend. It has been remarked in reference to the Admiralty that they do not know their own mind; but I deny that that is so in the case of the present Board of Admiralty. I do not blame the former Boards of Admiralty, but I do blame the system under which they worked, and that system we are now trying to alter. Some remarks have been made as to the *Téméraire* and *Inflexible*, but the noble Lord is right about that. They took some years to build, and their armament was altered, and so circumstances connected with their draught were altered also. The present Board have arranged, when we lay down a ship, that it shall be built, and turned out, and commanded as she was originally planned, and all within a third or a quarter of the time which was formerly occupied. The *Nile* and *Trafalgar* will be turned out, and will have their pennants up, in three years from the time they were laid down, or perhaps four years.

MR. R. W. DUFF: From the time they were laid down, or from now?

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD: From the time they were laid down. They will be launched in the year and nine months from the day they were laid down, and they will take two and a-half years to finish, whereas the *Inflexible* took nearly eight years, which is a considerable difference. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) touched upon some important points, and spoke about the education of the Navy. Well, I consider that a most important point. You may do what you like; you may undertake what plan of campaign you like; you may build what vessels you like; but all your work is useless unless your officers and men are taught how to use the ships and vessels you put them in. I consider that the most important point for the safety of the country we can imagine. I hold strong opinions on this subject, and am of opinion that our system of naval education must henceforth be changed altogether, just as our seamanship has changed. The art of seamanship has entirely changed, canvas has given place to steam, and the sooner we grasp this fact that the man or boy who can work a torpedo about for three months is more valuable to the Admiral who is about to enter into action than the man who has been in a brig for three years the better for the British Navy. In the olden days the best man in the ship was the captain, and so he ought to be in the present day. In the olden days it was looked upon as a point of honour that an officer should never tell a man to undertake a duty when not prepared to tell or show him how to do it himself. Officers were in the habit of telling their men to do a certain thing, and did not rely upon the men to do it in their own fashion, but told them to do it in a certain way, and insisted upon their instructions being carried out. I do not say that a captain should be able to do an engineer's work; but he, at any rate, should know what work an engineer has to do, and should be able to give proper instructions with regard to the engineering of his vessel. As to the *Marlborough*, I think she was a very expensive experiment. We should take things as they are, and should not find fault with a plan which is, after all, merely an experiment. With regard to the question of repairing ships, a point having been raised on that matter by hon. Members, I have to say that the Admiralty have taken it up quite recently. We have given orders that the artificers on the ships shall be employed as much as possible in doing substantial repairs, and shall not be engaged merely in making the ships look pretty with gear and polish and other things. For the future they will be engaged in carrying out such repairs as it is possible for them to carry out without sending the vessels to the Dockyards. Then there was a remark made with regard to Haulbowline. I must say that I think a great deal of money has been wasted there. But as the money has been expended the Committee must look to what might happen; and of all the places on the West Coast, Haulbowline would be one of the most useful to us in the time of war. I believe that the Committee recently appointed will do a great deal to strengthen the hands of the Admiralty and to put matters right. The line the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington takes puts many on the defensive when they do not want to be, because many of his statements are rather more exaggerated than they should be. My experience is that, if you want to get things done, you must put them in the very worst view before the country. [*Laughter.*] Well, that is my experience. An hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Price) made some remark to me about obsolete ships, and referred to what he called the list of my dummies which was presented to Parliament. I think there are altogether 69 on the list of dummies to which he referred; but I would point out to him that of that number 49 have been already got rid of; and though the remainder are ships which are in the same category, they are those which, he will remember, I asked the House not to sanction the repair of when they came home. We have not yet been able to get them home, as there are no reliefs for them; but when they do come home they will not be repaired. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) made a remark about ships of the *Admiral* class, which have caused some excitement throughout the country. I perfectly agree with the hon. Member that those who have the administration of our naval affairs at the present moment will not lay down such ships. We have laid down a totally different class of ships, and I may say that, so far as the present Board goes, the ships that we will sink or swim by, or even, if necessary, be hung by, are the ships which we have ourselves laid down. At the same time, it is only fair to the country that the Admiralty should not take a violent line with regard to those ships we found in the Service when we took Office. We found certain ships there, and we must do the best we can with them. I must say, looking at the ships from an officer's or a seaman's point of view, that I do not think they are quite so bad for fighting purposes as they have been represented to be. Compromises have been made in them, and though it is quite true that their draught has been increased, that has been compensated for by their increased speed and their increased armament. Their speed has been increased by 1¾ knots, and their armament has been increased from 43 to 45 ton guns; their number of machine guns has been increased from four to seven, and instead of having no quick-firing guns they now have 12 such weapons. Their increase of speed has been from 15 to 16¾ knots. The armaments and other improvements have, as I say, brought down the ships in draught; but as fighting ships, and for the money they have cost, they are by no means so bad as some might wish to make out. However, notwithstanding this increase in their efficiency, I quite agree with the hon. and gallant Member that it is not desirable that we should have any more of such ships built. There is another thing with regard to those ships; they have an all-round fire, and everyone who knows anything about ships of war knows what an important thing that is. We know that rapidity of fire in war is an excellent thing to have in your favour in action, seeing that now-a-days an action may be won by a single shot. There is no doubt that I go so far as to say that were one of our ships like the *Inflexible* in action to burst a single one-pound shell in the neighbourhood of a charge of powder it might, owing to the confined state of the citadel, have the effect of firing the magazine and destroying the ship. I think hon. Members have been very hard upon my Colleague the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) because they inferred that the present Board of Admiralty approved of the building of ships of the *Admiral* class, whose draft is said to be too great. If hon. Members will read the Admiralty Memorial they will see that my noble Friend, the First Lord, has with great honesty protested to his Predecessors against these ships. It will be seen of course from the Memorial that he took the ships as they were. Complaint has been made with regard to the form in which the Estimates have been presented to the House. I would ask any hon. Member who has been in this House any little time, and I would ask every individual Member who has studied the question for years, whether the Estimates now submitted are not as a matter of fact in a much better form than any which have ever been laid before the House on previous occasions. This I will say, that they are not nearly good enough yet, but so far as the present Board is concerned, they hope that the next time they have to present Estimates they will be much more explicit, and that many of the points which have been referred to by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington will be cleared up so that all hon. Members may be able to understand the Estimates. The Estimates are infinitely better than they were before; but I acknowledge that there is still great room for improvement. As to the question of the ships at Spithead, there is no doubt that there will be a curious lot there, and there is no doubt that some of these ships would not, under any circumstances, be very useful. Still we have got the men to man them; and we have other ships coming home in the course of a year or two into which these men can change. We are in possession of those old ships, and they have been found of some use for the purpose of training, and for the purposes of the review they have been fitted as they would be in a case of emergency. Some of them might be used against enemies' cruisers, and it would be a great pity to break them up in a hurry. I object as much as anybody to obsolete ships; but at the same time, some of these vessels can be turned to useful account in cases of emergency. What I object to altogether is the repair of ships which can be of no use at all in time of war. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) has spoken about the repairs of certain yachts. From the manner of the hon. Member's speech it would have conveyed the impression to hon. Members who have not studied the matter that all these repairs are due to the inconsistency of the present Board of Admiralty.

SIR EDWARD REED: No, no?

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD: I would remind the hon. Member that most of these repairs were effected when the hon. Member himself was at the Admiralty. Has he left any protest in writing to the effect that he objected to these repairs?

SIR EDWARD REED: I did protest against these repairs in times gone by.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD: I am glad to hear that, but I would say that the repairs he spoke of lasted over a period of 20 years, and it is not true as some hon. Members seem to imagine that they have only been effected during the period that we have been in Office. This impression, it seemed to me, was likely to be conveyed by the hon. Member's remarks, and it is altogether contrary to the fact. Passing from that point I wish to remark that the hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine) called attention to the question of Dockyards, and pointed out that those yards really contained men who are a standing army as it were to do work which we may require to have done in times of emergency. That is, no doubt, an important point; but that which it is agreed has conduced to bad administration at the Admiralty has been a want of continuity of policy. You must have continuity in everything—with regard to your Dockyard management, to your shipbuilding, your armaments, your stores, your coals, and everything. You must decide in times of peace upon the system to be followed in time of war. The great expense this country has been put to in regard to naval matters, including the building of bad ships, as has been pointed out by the hon. Member opposite, has all occurred because you have not been ready, because you have not had continuity of policy, because you have acted in a state of panic. It is absolutely necessary that the country should keep the Dockyards as efficient as they can, so that when we start working at high pressure we shall not have to pay the highest price for the worst article. We shall keep the Dockyards in an efficient state, if the organization began by my noble Friend is carried out, as I believe it will be, in a business-like manner. These matters should be conducted in a business-like manner instead of, as they have been hitherto, on Party principles. The Boards that have hitherto been in Office have been afraid to go on with the necessary reforms. The reason why the Dockyards have so many people employed in them, and why the present Board of Admiralty has been obliged to get rid of men in an apparently harsh way, is in consequence of the Party system. Former Governments have been afraid that if they turned men away they would lose the Dockyard seats. For my own part, I believe the present Government will lose every single Dockyard seat at the next Election. [*Laughter.*] Well, perhaps not every seat, but certainly a great number of them. All I would now say to the Committee is that I took the precaution not to put my own name on the Estimates, as I did not know anything about them, and had not had time to work them out; but from what I have since seen I can assure the Committee that the present Board are doing their best to put things right. They do not mind publicity, and they do not mind being abused, but what they do want is that the system of organization, the Dockyards and everything connected with the Navy shall be managed, as far as possible, upon thorough business principles.

Admiral FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne): I will not trespass upon the time of the Committee at any length, but I would crave its forbearance for a moment, reminding it that when the Naval Estimates were last before us, I failed to catch the Chairman's eye, although the noble and gallant Lord who has just spoken (Lord Charles Beresford) and some other hon. Members on his side of the question had the pleasure then of addressing the Committee. I was delighted to hear the last observation of the noble and gallant Lord who has spoken on behalf of the Admiralty to the effect that they are all trying to do their duty on the Board. I am sure they are, and of all connected with the Admiralty, I am sure the noble and gallant Lord himself is specially earnest in his desire to do his duty to the country, and we all desire that he may long remain at the Admiralty, or at least as long as the present Government exists. I listened with great attention and respect to the hon. Baronet the Member for the Jarrow Division of Durham (Sir Charles Palmer). He spoke very moderately and deliberately as an experienced shipbuilder who thoroughly understands contract work. If he had only stopped there, I should not have had a word to say by way of criticism with regard to his observations; but he went on to say that he thought that the proper thing to do was to separate the shipbuilding establishments from the naval element. I must say that I and my brother officers would be most hostile to such a proposal as that. It is they who will have to command the men and fight the ships, and is it to be conceived that the contractor who builds the vessels can, out of his own brain-box, conceive all that is necessary for efficiency and fighting capacity in a vessel with which another class of men altogether have got to fight and maintain the honour of the country?

Sir CHARLES PALMER: I said that the contractor should take the advice of the Naval Authorities from time to time as to the construction of ships.

Admiral FIELD: I hold that we want more than advice — we want naval control and supervision. If I could trespass on the time of the Committee, I should have said that the remedy for the evils which have been pointed out would be that there should be more naval men at the Admiralty. What the Service suffers from is the want of more naval supervision instead of less. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty pointed out the evil he had to grapple with. He spoke of the relationships between the supervisors in the Naval Yards and the men they supervise. It seems that the supervisors of the gangs of men are frequently the owners of the houses in which these gangs live; and, under those circumstances, it is altogether out of the question that the control over the men would be as strict as it otherwise should be. What we want is better supervision. The motive of self-interest is at present absent in the Dockyards, and for that reason you will never be able to get work done so cheaply in the Dockyards as in the private yards. I have spoken to many of my brother officers upon this point and they all agree with me. A custom prevails in many foreign yards which ought to prevail in our yards. Why should not the custom adopted in France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere be adopted here? At present we have numbers of naval men eating their hearts away in idleness. Why should they not be put under the Admiral Superintendent to assist him? You have here at home a number of talented men of great experience who are wasting themselves on shore because, at an age when they are thoroughly efficient to work, you refuse to employ them. If you would put them in the Naval Yards in plain clothes to do the work of supervision and to assist the Admiral Superintendent, I am sure you would obtain a great amount of practical benefit from it. Then I would offer an observation in support of the view of the hon. and gallant Member for Southampton (Admiral Sir John Commerell), and the view of the noble and gallant Lord who spoke last (Lord Charles Beresford), as to the enormous importance of educating the officers. I speak mainly of the engineers, because it startled and angered me to hear from the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty that he was going to re-organize the education of engineer students, and to do away with the present system. The present system was not set on foot in a hurry. It was adopted with a two-fold object. It was adopted to raise the status of engineers, because we felt more than ever with the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) that now with your modern iron-clads and your great scientific inventions in the Navy, that it is more than ever important that the engineer should be looked upon as a very important officer. His social status was not years ago that which we could desire to see in view of the great responsibility resting upon him, and now-a-days looking at the intimate relations that exist between him and his commanding officers, I hold that it is necessary that we should now improve his status. The reason this Engineer Student Educational Institution was established was to take the sons of gentlemen in order that we might have engineers of the same social standing as other officers in the Service, and I say that if you interfere with that system you strike a blow at the efficiency of the Service. The hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed) drew a comparison between the costs of shipbuilding in private yards and Dockyards, and he complimented the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington on having shown a new-born zeal on the side of what he called cutting down expenditure and reducing redundant Establishments. I cannot forget that the hon. Member (Sir Edward Reed) has for years been a Member of this House—a talented man as he is knowing more, probably, about this subject than any Member of the House, at least so far as shipbuilding is concerned—yet he has not been able to enforce his views on the Government of which he was a Member. Why, he had for weeks a Motion on the Paper to inquire into the state of the Navy, and he never pressed that Motion home.

SIR EDWARD REED: The Government had all the time of the House.

ADMIRAL FIELD: But when he was in the Government he did not show his zeal to the extent of warning the Government.

SIR EDWARD REED: Yes, I did.

ADMIRAL FIELD: Well, I will pass over that. At any rate, he did not worry them successfully, and now he turns round and worries us. I do not mind how much he worries the Admiralty. He can find fault with them as much as he likes. They are well paid. They do their work fairly well; but the Board is not constituted in the manner I desire to see it. The hon. Member is perfectly at liberty to worry them as much as he likes, and by-and-bye I will come and give him a hand. But I object to a man who has been Chief Constructor finding fault with the manner in which our ships are constructed in the Yards, for if any man is responsible for the expenditure there the hon. Member is that man. At least, I am not aware that he succeeded in reducing the expenditure that he now criticizes. No doubt it may be better now than in his days, but it is only a question of degree. Then he goes on to criticize many of the ships that we shall see at the Naval Review. Those ships are not useless, as the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Charles Beresford) said, but some of them are obsolete. At all events, they are vastly better than the armed merchant steamers which the late

Government proposed to give us if we went to war with Russia. The House is responsible for what we have got. The House makes the Government, and the Government comes down and asks the House for what they think the House will vote. I was sorry to see the manifestations of surprise and dissatisfaction on the part of hon. Members when the noble Lord spoke of the large amount of money spent on repairing ships. For if you come to examine into the lives of these ships, that surprise will vanish. Take the case of the yachts —the Royal yacht, the *Enchantress*, the *Helicon*, and run down the list and see the lives of these ships. Take the *Helicon*. She was built in 1865, 22 years ago, she cost £46,000, and she has cost £46,000 since in repairs. But what is it? £2,000 a-year. That does not seem very much after all. I do not know that if a gentleman should keep a large steam yacht it would cost him less. And then the noble Lord spoke of the *Leander*, of the great scandal of her costing within a short time of her construction over £8,000. Yes; but he did not tell the reason. Accidents will happen to ships as to other things; and an accident happened to that ship when she was with the Squadron on the Coast of Ireland. She ran upon a rock coming into Berehaven by the west entrance, and knocked a hole in her bottom. You do not suppose you could repair her for a mere nothing, and that sum represents the cost of the repairs of the ship after that accident. I remember I was once out myself with a big Squadron of iron-clads in a heavy gale, and the Admiral's flagship, plunging into the sea, had 30 tons of water on her in a moment. In a moment, the bowsprit and everything that could move was gone. That one plunge, doubtless, cost the country £2,000 to put right. It is nonsense to talk to the House about the excessive cost of repairs; but you are dealing with a Navy which represents the chief defensive force of this country. You do not want your ships only to put to sea in calm weather. We have known Admirals who go to sea on purpose, because they see bad weather coming on. Your seamen and officers are worth nothing if they are not to go to sea in bad weather, and if they go to sea in bad weather you must pay the bill. In old days, when I was a youngster, the Admiral of the Channel Squadron was putting in, as everybody thought, for Plymouth Sound, for it was blowing hard, but suddenly he hauled to the wind again, and kept the Squadron at sea for four days facing the gale. There was a good bill to pay; but there was this enormous advantage, that you taught your young officers and your seamen, and qualified them, in the future, to face all difficulties, and to get the better of all circumstances. I do hope the Committee are not going to hug the delusion to their breast that it can have a Navy without paying for it; or that they will criticize the Estimates in a hostile sense because so much is spent on repairing old ships. Take the cost of 10 ships for repairs over a given number of years—say 10. The Admiralty would much rather you gave them 10 new ships at £100,000 each, but the House would not vote the £1,000,000 necessary, whereas it will vote the £100,000 per annum which is necessary in the 10 years for repairs. It is a question of money, and it is nonsense to disguise it. If you want an efficient Navy, you must pay for it, and it is nonsense to find fault with obsolete ships, unless you are prepared to find the money to build new ones. Naval men do not want obsolete ships. You talk about the *Black Prince*, the *Warrior*, and ships of that class. Well, though they are not fit to fight the first-class ships of France and other nations, they are competent to fight their inferior ships. We have good first-class ships —and we are building others, such as the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*—ready to fight the first-class ships of other nations, and if the House and the country is willing to spend more money, the Navy will fling up their hats with joy and give thanks. Then, again, one remark of the noble Lord pained me very much. He spoke with a great deal of skill, and I should like to tell him that he will have the united thanks of the whole Service if he can reduce the expenditure of these Establishments. We are not in favour of extravagance. There are no men who are so economical as naval men when they are in command of their ships. I will give an instance which occurred when I was a young officer. All the running gear had been unroved and surveyed and condemned, but the captain looked at the ropes himself, and he ordered us to reeve the old gear end for end. That means that the ends that were on deck went up aloft, and those aloft came on deck. Thus the country was saved a considerable expenditure. Naval men are the advocates of economy. Why, our ships are only allowed to steam five knots, so as not to burn too much coal; and every officer knows that if he goes beyond a certain speed he has to justify it when he comes into port. All naval men are friends of economy, and we shall be rejoiced if the cost of the Naval Establishments can be reduced without impairing the efficiency of the Service. But the noble Lord, as I said, pained me by one remark he made. That was about closing Sheerness Dockyard. I do not wish it to be shut up. We have not too many in time of war. It is all very well to look at it from a peace point of view; but we keep up the Navy for an abnormal state of things—which is a state of war—and, therefore, I say it would be wild folly to shut up Sheerness Dockyard. Then, again, he spoke of closing up the foreign yards. But they are something more than repairing yards, they are great coaling stations, and I say we cannot afford to close any one of them. The noble Lord spoke of Hong Kong as of no use; but all naval men know that it is of enormous importance to this country as a coaling station. Then he spoke slightingly of the three depôts on the North American station. Well, I speak in the presence of a late Commander of that station (Admiral Sir John Commerell), who will correct me if I am wrong, and I do not think he is in favour of abolishing any one of them. Everything should be looked at from the point of view of war, and looked at from that point of view I say we have not a coaling station too many. We want more. The grievous thing is that they are not defended, and all because the House hampers the Members of the Government, and will not vote the money necessary to fortify the coaling stations; and if there was a state of war we should be in a panic. Much has been said on the importance of maintaining our Dockyard Establishments, although there is a great desire on the part of many to reduce that expenditure. Of the fixed establishments I do not express an opinion; but of this I am quite certain, that one great defect of the present system is that the Comptroller's Department—which the hon. Member for Jarrow (Sir Charles Palmer) wishes to abolish—is immensely over-worked and under-manned. You have but one naval officer at the head of it, and naval men feel that another naval officer is urgently needed there. Call him what you like—an Assistant or a Deputy Comptroller—but I say such an officer would be of enormous service. I know these views are shared by the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Charles Beresford); at least I should like to challenge him to say whether he does not agree with me. One word more with the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward Reed.) He spoke rather in favour of building in private yards than in Dockyards, on the score of expense. It has been well said by other Members who have taken part in this debate, that the proper view to take is, that they are National Establishments and a portion of the preparations undertaken for the defence of the country in time of war. We never ought to separate the Dockyards from the Naval Service proper; it is one great Service—and one depends on the other—and if you interfere with the efficiency of the Yards you interfere with the efficiency of the Navy. It would be a bad day for the Navy if, through mistaken views, you were seriously to interfere with the establishments of the great Yards and cut them down to a position of inefficiency. In nine cases out of ten, when a ship comes from a private yard, although it may be well fitted, we have to lay out a lot of money afterwards. Does the hon. Member (Sir Edward Reed), forget the case of the *Neptune?* She was built for the Brazilian Government, and we bought her out of the Vote of £6,000,000. But we found she was perfectly unfit to be sent to sea without a very large expenditure, she had not even a collision bulkhead. That is only one case of a ship built in a private yard. Then take the case of the 25 torpedo boats designed hurriedly during the late Russian scare. Who designed them? They were designed on the responsibility of the Contractor's Department; but we were told that they were never submitted to the Board as a whole, and, in fact, they were designed by the private yards. But what happened in the case of these boats? We had to spend £246 per boat to alter the bottle-nosed bows; and I believe that is not all the expenditure. I am told privately that the cost was very much under-estimated. There was never a ship which came from a private yard on which a large expenditure of money has not been necessary. I wish to draw the attention of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty to this point. In Portsmouth Dockyard there are now some of the new torpedo boats—I mean of the *Scout* class—which come to us from private yards; and the men at the Dockyards were employed cutting holes in them in order to fit the apparatus for the torpedo. Naturally, the question arises—"Why could not these holes be, if not fitted, at least, left for the reception of the apparatus, instead of its being left for the Dockyard men to do?" I feel I have already trespassed too long on the Committee at this hour, and I thank the Committee for the attention they have given me.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): Before the debate closes, I should like to say a very few words for the purpose of thanking the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) for his very able and effective speech, and wishing him well in his crusade against Dockyard mismanagement, a subject, however, on which it is much more easy to talk than to work with any effect. I am inclined to agree with the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty that in some respects he has overstated his case; and there is a great deal in the remark of the noble and gallant Lord the Member for East Marylebone (Lord Charles Beresford), that exaggerations of that kind do harm by putting the Department on its defensive, and by obliging Ministers to answer them, when in reality they are only too glad to cope with other evils which they are aware of. The noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), for instance, gave us a long list of ships whose repairs, he said, had cost more than their original value; but these repairs have been spread over a very large number of years, in some cases as many as 15 or 20. In the case of a ship like the *Minotaur*, which has been 15 or 18 successive years in Commission, the repairs amount in the aggregate to a very large sum, very likely equalling her original cost. That is not to be wondered at. It would be equally the case with any merchant ship in constant service. That is an illustration of how cases may be overstated. At the same time, there is a good deal in what the noble Lord has said, and I hope he will be very successful in bringing his great influence to bear upon the subject. Some of his instances were rather of ancient date; when he spoke about the *Inflexible* he seemed to forget that a Royal Commission was appointed during the course of building, and, in consequence of the Report of that Commission, very great changes were made in the construction, which added enormously to her cost, and were the cause of the very great delay which took place. I am very glad to hear from the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty that the Board have set their faces against changes during construction. Every civilian who has ever been connected with the Board of Admiralty has fully appreciated the very serious expenditure and waste arising from changes of this kind. I hope I shall not be imputing anything wrong to naval officers when I say that changes of this kind generally come from them. Whenever a new Admiral comes in as Director of Naval Ordnance, or as Comptroller, or as a member of the Board of Admiralty, there are recommendations of improvements in the vessels under construction, which it requires a very strong First Lord and a very strong Board to say "No" to. For my part, during the time I had any influence there I always used it in that direction, holding that it is better to spend money on fresh construction rather than on improving things which have already been decided upon, and, perhaps, partially carried out. If the present Board will stand firm, I have no doubt that considerable economies will be effected in this direction. A most important part in the speech of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) was that in which he referred to the very large increase in the Dockyard wages, which, I think, he said had doubled since 1882-3. I cannot help thinking that the *employés* of the larger Dockyards have now become so numerous that those in charge are unable to control them; and I believe it would be a wise policy greatly to reduce the number of men in the Dockyards, and to go back to the condition of former times when more work was given to private yards. This may not be a very popular policy in the Dockyard towns; but we have been told by the noble and gallant Lord the Member for East Marylebone, that the Board is prepared to act with considerations of this kind; and I hope that, even at the risk of losing a few seats, the present Board will persevere in the policy which has been enunciated by the noble Lord. I agree with a great deal of what the noble Lord the First Lord of the Treasury said of the political and social difficulties in the Dockyards; but I can assure him he will not find any increase of those difficulties from this side of the House. We will endeavour, to the best of our ability, to assist him in any reforms which he may attempt to carry out. I hope the same may be the case in the Dockyards. Next year there will be a considerable reduction in the Dockyard Vote, due to the completion of the works now in hand. An opportunity will be afforded for great economy somewhere, and the question will arise whether that economy shall be made in the direction of private work, in reducing the number of hands in the Dockyards. I hope the noble Lord will seriously consider the policy of reducing the number of men employed there. I will not detain the House longer. I have given Notice of my intention to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000, with a view of raising an important question as to the expediency of appointing a Royal Commission for the purpose of considering the design of vessels completing. If I do not bring on that Motion at the present time it is because I think it better to postpone it to Vote 10, to which, perhaps, it more properly refers. There is one further point I have to notice, to which I have already, on a previous occasion, somewhat briefly alluded. It is this, that the principal alteration effected by the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty in the Dockyards does not go far enough. I do not believe that the appointment of Civil assistants to the Superintendents of Dockyards is, on the whole, a wise appointment. It is, perhaps, a step in the right direction, but it is not a very small step. These officers have no responsibilities, and have no power to give an order to any single person in the yards. They are highly paid advisers of the naval superintendents. I am not in favour of doing away with Naval Superintendents; but I believe the true policy is to build up, under Naval Superintendents, a complete system of Civil management, and that you should make a single civilian responsible for the work of the Dockyard. For that purpose there should be an officer immediately under the Naval Superintendent, as responsible on the whole of the administration and work of the yard. But as far as I understand it, the new officer has no responsibility. He has power of giving an order, nor control over the Dockyard in any way. Therefore I cannot but think that his energies will be, to a large extent, wasted. I believe it will be necessary to go further, and to build up, through the means of these officers, a complete Civil management of the Dockyards.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Burr): Before this discussion closes I should like to make one or two remarks on a question of accounts, which I have, in previous years, brought before the Committee. I have looked very carefully through these Estimates to find if there is any account given of the receipts of money at the Dockyards. There is not a single figure or letter to show that any money has been received. All the figures go to show large sums of money spent, but none received. Now, there is a system of sales at the Dockyards of old materials. These constantly take place. The first happened some time ago, and was not in the time of the present or the late Administration. A large quantity of tin had been collected, to the extent of 10 tons, and at that time tin was worth £160 a-ton. Well, it was sold by auction at the Dockyard, and, notwitstanding the value of tin at that time, it was knocked down for £60 a-ton. That represents a loss of £1,000 on this single item. I happen to know the man who bought it, and I got this account from him—that two or three days after he sold it at a profit of £1,000. I take this item to show what a loss there must be in the course of a year. A little later a considerable quantity of wood—of very special value, because it would not warp—was stored at the Dockyard. It had been kept for some time, and its value had increased to a very great extent. At one of these sales, not very long ago, this wood was sold for exactly half its value, and the man who bought it sold it at its full price. Still more recently a boat which cost £66 to build was sold for the small sum of 36*s*. These sales—of what is called old material, though it is not old material—are constantly taking place in the Dockyards, and there seems to be a complete want of any supervision of what is sold. I am convinced that a very large sum of money is lost to the country in this way every year, because almost immediately after these sales take place fresh orders are given for the supply of these very materials. It must be quite clear to the Committee that this system opens the door to a constant succession of frauds year after year. I am not able to say that fraud has taken place; but it is the duty of the House of Commons, as representing the taxpayers of this country, to see that there shall be such a supervision in the Dockyards which, with very little trouble, would prevent these opportunities of fraud altogether. The statements, then, were not absolutely denied, and the Committee was led to believe that they were considerably exaggerated. Therefore, I have risen for the purpose of calling attention to the system of accounts. You give no account of these receipts, whether they be large, or whether they be small, and it leaves the matter open to these constant annual frauds on the taxpayers of the country.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £71,800, Victualling Yards at Home and Abroad.

(3.) £65,900, Medical Establishments at Home and Abroad.

(4.) £21,700, Marine Divisions.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [15th July] *reported.*

First Resolution *agreed to.*

Second Resolution read a first and second time.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish, upon this Resolution, to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) whether he can give me the information he promised as to the Belfast Board of Customs, and also the application of Belfast for a City Charter?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): With reference to the first question mentioned by the hon. Member for West Belfast—namely, the status of the Customs establishment there, I have to say that there is no classification of Customs' ports in classes. The salaries of the staff are regulated by the amount and character of the general shipping trade of the particular port, and not solely by the amount of revenue collected at the port. There is this peculiarity as to the salaries connected with Belfast and Dublin. The salary of the present Collector at Dublin was £1,000 a-year; and, in fact, £1,000 is paid to the present holder of the office; but by a Treasury Order of the 3rd December, 1885, I think the salary of the Collector at Dublin was reduced to £700 a-year, and when the present officer vacates his office, his successor will not receive more than £700 a-year. I think that answers the hon. Member's question so far as classification goes. With regard to the other question—namely, the Charter which had been applied for for Belfast, it appears that this question has been before the Law Officers in consequence of some difficulties, and that some information was necessary before the case could be put in complete form. I am informed that only to-day was the information received from the Town Clerk of Belfast to enable the case to be put before the Law Officers of the Crown, in order that an answer might be given.

MR. SEXTON: The answer of the hon. Gentleman is satisfactory as regards the Charter. There can be no reason for the demand of so important a community as Belfast being refused. But with regard to the classification of ports, I would just point out some anomalies. Take the Port of Bristol. In point of revenue Bristol holds a very low place as compared with Belfast. Yet I understand Bristol holds a higher place than Belfast in respect of classification. Then the receipts at Glasgow are only half what they are at Belfast. The receipts at Glasgow and Hull only equal those at Belfast, yet Belfast holds a lower place than either Glasgow or Hull as regards staff. Whether you consider solely the question of revenue, or the question also of general trade, Belfast is entitled to a higher place in the scale than it receives from the Board of Customs. I am also advised that Belfast is entitled to a more efficient staff than it has at present, and that the Collector of Customs there, who is a highly efficient officer will be removed to another post, unless the classification is altered. I think the Secretary to the Treasury will find that, although there is no classification, yet there is some list or rating—I think rating is the word. At the present moment I shall press the hon. Gentleman no further than to ask him respectfully to give his attention to the question.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Third Resolution *agreed to.*

VOTE ON ACCOUNT, £1,885,100.

Resolution [15th July] *reported.*

DR. CLARK (Caithness): Upon this Resolution, I wish to ask whether the Secretary to the Treasury will reply to certain questions I put to him in Committee as to the barrier put in the way of the Crofters Act being carried out. It has been in operation now for nearly 12 months, and not a loan has been carried out. I wish to know how long the Government intend this condition of things to remain?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am extremely sorry that the hon. Member who raised this question the other day was obliged to leave the House before my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate who was prepared to answer the questions then rose. But I may point out that the share which the Treasury has in the setting of these terms, and of these rules and regulations in regard to lending money to the crofters under this Act, is simply the approving of the rules and transmitting them; and, therefore, the responsibility of drawing up the rules rests with the Scottish Office—at any rate, not with the Treasury. I am merely showing you the share which the Treasury has in the matter, and I am only sorry the hon. Gentleman was not here the other day, because the Lord Advocate was desirous to make his explanation, and would have made it had not the hon. Member gone.

Resolution *agreed to.*

CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND) PROCEDURE (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 196.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read, and *discharged*:—Bill *re-committed,* in respect of Clauses 40, 42, 43, 51, and a new Clause; *considered* in Committee, and *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): With the consent of the House I would like to take the third reading now.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire): I object to the third reading of the Bill. I have put down a block to it.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: You cannot block a Bill on its third reading.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*The Lord Advocate,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

TRUCK BILL.—[BILL 299.]

(*Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Warmington, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Esslemont.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): Before this Bill passes its final stage, I wish to express my deep regret at its imperfect character, and that it will still leave unredressed many grievances from which thousands of working men suffer. It will be in the recollection of hon. Members who attended the Committee and the Report stage that an earnest effort was made by the hon. Member for North-East Lanarkshire (Mr. Donald Crawford) to introduce into the Bill a clause giving workmen a right to appoint their own medical officer. A more reasonable proposal in my estimation could not possibly have been made. That proposal met with the most determined hostility from the author of the Bill, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and mainly at his instigation, it was rejected by the Committee. I was certainly surprised at the opposition which was offered to such a reasonable proposal. It seemed to me that that opposition was based on the course which in the past was pursued with regard to working men, when we were told our duty was simply to pay, that our employers were very much better judges of our wants than we were, Certainly, it does seem to me only reasonable and right that those who have to pay ought to have a voice in, and the right of, selecting their own medical officer. Against the exclusion of such a very wholesome and democratic provision from the Bill I enter my emphatic protest. Then another clause which I felt it to be my duty to move, was one to exempt workmen from any deductions. I did so because I thought the time had gone by when employers ought to have the right to deduct from the wages of the workman, any amount, no matter however small it might be; but the House in its wisdom thought otherwise, and the clause was negatived. Then I introduced another clause to exempt from any such deductions workmen who had already made provision for sickness, old age or death, so that they should not be compelled to pay twice over. It did seem to me, now, that we have huge organizations such as the Oddfellows, the Foresters, and the large and powerful trades unions, and that nearly every workman has made provision for himself, that there was no necessity that this coddling process should go on. There might have been some 20 or 30 years ago, when the practice was first introduced, a necessity for these funds—and I have no doubt many employers were actuated by most benevolent motives—but the necessity for them has now been superseded by the operation of the societies to which I have referred. Again the hon. Member for Northampton interposed, and the House decided to reject that clause. Then there was another very wholesome provision attempted to be introduced, to compel employers to render a statement of the income and expenditure in matters of this kind with respect to deductions, and for the life of me I am unable to conceive how the hon. Member for Northampton could have opposed such a wholesome provision as that. Surely, when workmen are compelled to pay they have a right to know what is done with the money taken from their wages. At the instigation of the hon. Member for Northampton the House rejected that clause; but, a clause, which was introduced by the hon. Member for North-East Lanarkshire, and which provided in part for a statement of income and expenditure, was accepted. Now, the Bill is in this anomalous condition, that where employers make deductions from the wages of workmen for the purpose of school fees and for the purpose of medical attendance, they will be compelled to provide their workpeople with a balance sheet showing what has been done with the money which they receive. So that when pence are collected—and for the purpose of school fees and medical attendance it will only amount to pence—a balance-sheet will have to be provided by the employer for his workmen; but in the case of a benevolent fund, where shillings would be deducted, the employer would not be compelled to provide his workmen with a balance sheet. It seems to me an anomaly to compel employers to render a statement in regard to small deductions, and not to enforce the same conditions in regard to the greater. The hon. Member for Northampton taunted me with my ignorance on this subject, and I frankly admit that my only knowledge of the subject has been acquired by something like 20 years' experience in workshops and on scaffolds, and never having seen a balance sheet of the money deducted, or the way in which it has been expended. What is the practice that obtains amongst employers? Some employers deduct from the wages of their workmen, and hand over to a Committee of workmen the money which they have so deducted; and the committee distribute the funds and render an account to their fellows of the money which they had received from their employers, and the way in which they had expended it; but there are other instances — a great many, unfortunately — of employers who deduct these moneys from the wages of their workmen, and retain them in their possession. There is no committee, no check, and no audit. The workmen never know what is done with the money which they are compelled to hand over to the employer, or his agent. It seems to me a monstrous thing that this system should go on unchecked; and it will, because of the exclusion from the Bill of that wholesome provision in the clause that I moved, and which would have met this difficulty. I have been informed by the hon. Member for the Ashburton Division of Devonshire (Mr. Seale Hayne) that in the mining districts of Cornwall, the employers do not keep accounts of the deductions they make from the workmen; and it is mixed up with their capital. In many instances the employers act in a most benevolent spirit to their workmen, and supplement the amount they deduct from the workmen's wages by grants from their private purse. But there are a large number of employers—especially the smaller employers—who make deductions from the wages of their workmen; and frequently they become bankrupt, and the workmen do not get a single farthing from the funds to which they have been compelled to subscribe. No balance sheet is ever published, and no account is rendered to the workmen, and no account is given of the way in which the money is expended. If all employers were good men—I do not say they are all bad men—there would have been no necessity for this Bill. The very fact that this Bill has been introduced proves that bad practices obtain on the part of a considerable number of employers; and it was to meet those bad practices, and to prevent their continuance, that this Bill has been introduced. I cannot help thinking that the hon. Member for Northampton's experiences of the practices obtaining among the mining organizations of the Northern part of the Kingdom, led him to the conclusion that the practices obtained generally; but it was with some surprise that I observed the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) oppose this clause; because he frankly admitted he knew nothing about the organizations of the workmen in any other part of the Kingdom—that his knowledge was confined to the miners of the North, whose interests he so well represents in this House. In the North of England, where deductions are made from the wages of their workmen by the employers, it is done with the full knowledge, and consent, and concurrence, and I may say the wish of the mining population; but the employers, after the deductions have been made by themselves or their agents, immediately hand over the amount to a committee of workmen who receive and distribute the funds. I imagine the hon. Member for Northampton thought that practice obtained all over the Kingdom. [Mr. Bradlaugh dissented.] He shakes his head, but that makes his position all the more unintelligible. Having failed in that direction, I sought to induce the House to accept another clause, giving compensation to workmen when they are discharged from their employment after having contributed for a long time to such funds. Some employers make a practice of giving compensation to workmen in such a case. For instance, the London and North-Western Railway Company compensate their workmen when they are discharged from their employment after having subscribed to funds of that kind, and I sought to make it compulsory on all employers to do what the London and North-Western Railway Company does voluntarily. And I am thoroughly amazed to see how the hon. Member for Northampton could have opposed a clause of that kind, containing such an equitable and just provision. I should like to ask, in conclusion, how the hon. Member for Northampton, how any hon. Member of this House, would like to have deductions made from his income, and then be cast adrift at any period when it suited those who made the deductions, without a farthing of compensation? It seems to me monstrous that such a system should continue—a system involving practices which might have been put an end to by the clauses to which I have referred, but which have been rejected by the House at the instigation of the hon. Member for Northampton. It is against the rejection of these clauses and against the imperfect nature of the Bill that I have entered my protest, and having entered it in the name of tens of thousands of workmen, whose grievances will still be untouched, I shall offer no further opposition to the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

MOTIONS.

LABOURERS ALLOTMENTS BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. FIRST READING.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Ritchie) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Bill which I am now about to ask the leave of the House to introduce dealing with allotments formed, as the House is aware, a portion of the programme of Her Majesty's Government at the commencement of the Session, and was included among those measures to which reference was made in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne. A pledge was given at that time, of the intention of the Government on the subject, and that pledge has been repeated on more than one occasion by various Members of the Government. Although the circumstances of the Session have been such as have prevented the Government from dealing with the subject at an earlier period, they have never abandoned the hope that in the course of the present Session, they would be able to introduce the Bill, and that the House would pass it before the close of the Session. The question is recognized on all hands as one of very great importance, and requires to be dealt with as soon as the Government could possibly undertake it, and although the period of the Session is now very far advanced, we believe that the proposals which the Government are about to make will so recommend themselves to the House, and we believe the interest the House and the public feel in the question is so great that we have every reason to hope that the Bill I am about to ask the leave of the House to introduce will pass through the House with the assistance of all parties. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge on the benefit of allotments to the working classes. They are, rightly used, a valuable means of education, a means by which the working classes may elevate themselves into a position of manly independence by industry and sobriety, which will be greatly beneficial to themselves, their employers and the whole community, whose interests are very much wrapped up in the interests of its individual members. The Allotments Question has made great progress during the past few years. According to Returns presented to Parliament this year, there were in England and Wales in 1886, detached from cottages 131,207 allotments each under an eighth of an acre; 116,355, between one-eighth and a quarter of an acre; 103,915 between a quarter of an acre and one acre; and of allotments which hardly can be called such, of between one and four acres 35,036—in all 386,513. In addition to these, there were allotments attached to cottages exceeding one-eighth of an acre, to the number of 256,805. Therefore, the number of allotments attached to and detached from cottages in England and Wales are no less than 643,318. According to the same Return, the number of agricultural labourers in England and Wales in 1881, was about 800,000; so that it will be seen that even if we exclude allotments attached to cottages and only take those detached from cottages, nearly one-half of the whole number of agricultural labourers in England and Wales have been provided with allotments. Well, it will be thus seen that voluntary agreement has done much to meet the demand for allotments, and it is clear that there is no great indisposition on the part of landowners, where allotments are in general request, to supply the demand, and I am sure that no one, however he may desire the extension of the number, no one will deny that voluntary agreement is by far the best principle by which allotments may be provided, and has the best chance of success. [*Murmurs.*] I do not say that we are going to trust to purely voluntary agreement, but I do say that the voluntary system to meet the demand has the greatest element of success. Now, the object of the Bill, which the Government are about to introduce, is not in any way to do away with voluntary agreements, but to supplement them where necessity arises. It must be remembered that this is no question affecting exclusively agricultural labourers, dwellers on the outskirts of our large towns are, I think, fully as much interested in this measure as are the agricultural labourers, and I venture to think the benefits this Allotments' Bill will confer are as likely to be availed of by labourers in the one case as in the other. By the proposals of this Bill we propose to place allotments within the reach of labourers on the outskirts of towns, as well as of agricultural labourers; and if this can be done on sound principles, it will bring with it enormous benefit to those concerned. The object of the Bill is not to supplant, but to supplement voluntary agreement between the would-be allotment holder and the landowner; therefore the Local Authority we propose to authorize to act by this Bill must first satisfy itself that allotments cannot be obtained at a reasonable rent by voluntary agreement between owners of land suitable for allotments and the applicants. On being satisfied of this, it will be the duty of the authority by purchase or hire, to acquire any suitable land which may be available adequate to provide a sufficient number of allotments, and to let this land in allotments to persons resident in the district. This obligation is, however, subject to the condition that the land can be obtained at such a price or rent as may reasonably be expected to be recouped by the allotment rents. So far the arrangement is one of a voluntary character. First of all, the applicants can make their own arrangement with the landowner, then to meet the cases where it is not possible for applicants to arrive at an agreement for obtaining allotments, though the landowner may be quite willing to provide them, where in fact, some organization is necessary to produce them, we make it the duty of the Local Authority to treat with the landowner. And now the question arises what is the Local Authority to be? There have been suggested the Parish Authority, the County Authority, and the Sanitary Authority. I may say, at once, we do not propose to adopt the Parish Authority. We do not think the Parish organization is such as would justify us in entrusting it with this power and duty, but apart from that as hon. Members are well aware the number of extremely small parishes in England and Wales is very great, and therefore the authority in a large number of cases would be an authority over a very small area. Well, then there is the County Authority, but that authority, as at present constituted, is not an elective authority, and therefore do not think that it is, in a broad sense, representative of the ratepayers, and an authority we can recommend the House to adopt for the performance of functions under this Bill. Besides, we think the area is too large. Then the authority we do propose is the Local Sanitary Authority. The Sanitary Authority, as members are aware, as in towns the Town Council, in local Government areas the Local Board, in rural districts the Guardians. Then arises the question, perhaps one of the most important in the Bill, what is to be done in cases where there is a demand for allotments which cannot be met by voluntary agreement between landowner and applicants, or between the Local Authority and the landowner? My own conviction is, that where you set up the machinery in the fullest manner we propose by the Bill, the cases will be rare in which the demand is not met in this way; for I really believe landowners will be glad to co-operate with applicants and with Local Authorities for the provision of these allotments; but one cannot deny that there may be unreasonable landowners as well as unreasonable Local Authorities. It is conceivable, that although, in 99 cases out of 100 the arrangements will be made by voluntary agreement, yet there will be cases in which it is impossible to obtain voluntarily that for which there is a demand. If that be so, unless there is some machinery provided to meet those cases, the exceptional grievance will be all the more intolerable; because in 99 cases out of 100 the demand is met by voluntary agreement between landowner and applicant. While, as I have said, we believe the safest principle, and that which bears on the face of it the greatest chance of success, is the voluntary principle, we are reluctantly compelled to admit that unless some remedy is provided against the action of the unreasonable landowner who prevents the carrying out of a public benefit, the Bill will be incomplete. How is this remedy to be provided? The Local Authority might be empowered to apply to the Local Government Board for a Provisional Order under the Public Health Act of 1875. But that is a proposal that does not commend itself to us. We are anxious, even in cases of this kind, that what is meant to be done should be done in a manner to cause the least amount of friction. To bring in a Government Department with its Inspectors and its inquiry would, we believe, lead to much soreness and friction without which it is impossible to work. Government inspection and inquiry with reference to schemes of Local Authorities under the Public Health Act are not only desirable, but, in most cases, necessary. The sufficiency and necessity of the work to be undertaken, the cost, the period for which the money shall be borrowed, and many other such questions, are all matters which I think can be best inquired into by a central Department, both for the protection of present and future ratepayers; therefore, I do not wish it to be imagined that I am in favour of abandoning the powers which the Local Government Board possess.

On the contrary, I should be most unwilling to part with such supervision in such matters. But the matter in question is, in my opinion, a totally different one from any of those to which I have alluded. Specific powers are to be given for a specific object to the Local Authority. Parliament imposes a special duty on the authority, and it is quite unnecessary for the Central Department to interfere. Therefore, I am not favourable to the proposal that the Local Government Board should intervene between the Local Authority and unwilling landowners. What other machinery is there available? The Local Authority might come to Parliament for a special Act in every individual case. Well, I do not think that would be a proposal acceptable to the House. It would be expensive, and would therefore, in my opinion, be unworkable. Local Authorities would never avail themselves of so expensive and cumbrous a machinery. Having told the House what the Government do not propose to do, now let me see what we do propose. As the House is aware, the Government have taken the first step towards the reform of local government throughout England and Wales by the introduction of a Bill to appoint a Boundary Commission, and next year they hope, at the very earliest period of the Session, to propose a Bill to complete the work. I trust the House will this year enable them to begin. By this Bill there will be set up a Representative Authority in every county in England and Wales, and to this authority we propose to entrust the power to act in those cases when the allotments cannot be obtained by voluntary agreement with the applicant or with the Local Authority. Where the Local Authorities are not able, by hire or purchase, to acquire land sufficient for allotments, then they will petition the County Authority to make a Provisional Order, authorizing them to take the land otherwise than by agreement, the County Authority being, for this purpose, clothed with the powers now possessed by the Local Government Board under the Public Health Act. It will be the duty of the County Authority to inquire into the circumstances, and, being satisfied, they will make application to the Local Government Board to introduce a Bill into Parliament confirming the Provisional Order. Meantime, pending the setting up of the County Board, County Sessions will act. Certain rules are laid down in the Bill, providing that no park, garden, or pleasure ground attached to, or required for, the amenity or convenience of any dwelling house shall be taken, and that regard shall be had to the extent of the holdings in the neighbourhood, and the convenience of any other property of the owner. Ultimately, it will be seen, the whole question of acquiring allotments, voluntarily or otherwise, will be in the hands of Representative Bodies, which we believe will be the best means of satisfactorily dealing with the matter, an opinion in which I hope the House will concur. Provision is made in the Bill as to draining, fencing, dividing the land, making roads, and the apportioning of expenses. The Local Authorities are to make regulations for the letting and management in the allotments, and are to appoint a committee or committees, consisting partly of themselves and partly of ratepayers liable to contribute to the expenses under this Bill, or entirely of such ratepayers, and their powers and proceedings will be such as may be prescribed by the Local Authority. In this way we hope to secure the best men in the place for management and guidance, in an economical manner, of the allotments provided by the Local Authority. The rents are to be such as may be reasonably expected to ensure the authorities against loss. The rates, taxes, and tithe rent-charge are to be paid by the authority, and apportioned among the allotment holders. Provison is made for the letting of any allotment, which cannot be let in accordance with the main object of the Bill, and for the sale or letting of any land which may not be required; and the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act in relation to the right of pre-emption of superfluous lands are to apply to the sale of any such by the Local Authority. No buildings are to be erected on the land. Compensation to outgoing tenants will be provided, we hope, by means of the Bill promoted by the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck), which I trust will, within a short time, pass the House. Only one other point remains upon which the House will feel interested, and that is the size of these allotments. It is manifestly necessary that regard should be paid by the Local Authority to the special circumstances of each particular case. I am sure the House will agree that no person ought to have an allotment larger than he is able to attend to, in addition to his ordinary means of livelihood. We do not propose, it is not intended that an allotment shall provide the means of livelihood, but that it should supplement other labour; and I am assured that if any other plan is sanctioned, it will fail. Of course, the amount of land an allotment holder can attend to will depend on circumstances—the proximity of the land to his house, the size of his family, and the nature of his occupation. Out of 386,000 existing allotments detached from cottages, some 240,000 are under a quarter of an acre, and, probably, the great bulk of allotments under this Bill will not exceed that size. But there are 140,000 allotments between a quarter of an acre and an acre; and we think it is undesirable to limit the Local Authority, where they may feel justified in going to the extent of the largest of these. We propose to put the limit of the allotments at one acre. At this late hour, I am unwilling to trouble the House with more details. I have gone through what I think are the principal points of the Bill, as to which the House will feel interest, and I trust the House will consider the Bill is drawn on such broad and safe lines as to command its approval. I am sure when hon. Members have the Bill in their hands, they will find my description amply borne out, and I trust the measure will commend itself to Parliament and the country.

Motion made, and Question, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to facilitate the provision of Allotments for the Labouring Classes,"—(*Mr. Ritchie,*) —put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. RITCHIE, Mr. Secretary STANHOPE, and Mr. W. H. LONG.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 329.]

POOR LAW SETTLEMENT AND REMOVAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Norton, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Settlement and Removal of the Poor in England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Norton, Sir Edward Birkbeck, and Mr. Pickersgill.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 330.]

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to facilitate the provision of Technical Instruction."—(*Sir William Hart Dyke.*)

Debate arising;

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC PARKS AND WORKS (METROPOLIS) [PENSIONS.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of a portion of any pension that may be awarded to any officer transferred from the services of the Commissioners of Works to that of the Metropolitan Board of Works under any Act of the present Session for the transfer to the Metropolitan Board of Works, and the maintenance of certain Public Parks and Works in the Metropolis.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to state, for the information of the House, that I have received a telegram from my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), who is now in Cork. The telegram says—

"Statement made on Friday night episode grossly inaccurate. Will meet the accusation on Thursday next."

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at five minutes after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 19*th July,* 1887.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Coroners * (177); Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) * (178); Truck * (179).

Second Reading—Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment (176); Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment (159).

Committee—Copyhold Enfranchisement (129-180).

Report—Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension (168).

Royal Assent—Quarries [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 19]; Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 20]; Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 118].

Provisional Order Bills—*Committee—Report* — Public Health (Scotland) (Cowdenbeath Water) * (154); Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * (167).

Report—Pier and Harbour * (137); Gas and Water) * (131).

Royal Assent—Local Government Provisional Orders [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxii]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxi]; Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxii]; Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Killiney and Ballybrack) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxiii]; Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (London) [50 & 51 *Vict.* cxx]; Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (Christchurch) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxix]; Gas Provisional Orders [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxv]; Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxiii]; Water Provisional Orders [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxiv].

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

(NO. 129.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Lord HOBHOUSE, in moving, "That the House do resolve itself into Committee upon the Bill," said: Before your Lordships go into Committee on this Bill, it will be convenient if I state the character of the principal alterations made in it since it was last before the House. It has been very largely altered, in some respects improved, as I think, not in others; and I do not conceal that I am very sorry for some of the alterations that have been made. I will deal first with the parts that have been struck out, and then with the new matter that has been inserted.

The most obvious omission is that of the clauses which put pressure upon the parties interested in copyhold lands to effect enfranchisement of them. We had in Committee a great deal of evidence on this point; and a great deal of that which is called evidence, but is really discussion and statement of opinions. And the effect produced on my own mind was this—I thought that the sort of compulsion which the Bill proposed—or even a more absolute compulsion—would not be any hardship upon the lord. But as regards the tenant, it seemed to me that there might be an appreciable number of cases in which a man, having paid his fine for admittance, having only small rents to pay for the rest of his life, not wanting to improve, and not caring for his successors, would feel irritated and aggrieved at being saddled with the payment of a substantial rent, or of a lump sum, in order to acquire the freehold. Therefore, I was averse from absolute compulsion, such as was proposed to the Committee, and supported by several Members of it. On the other hand, I found myself more convinced than before that a modified compulsion would be practicable and useful. There are a great number of manors in which the lord's fines are of fixed amount, and in them the steward has a greater interest than the lord in the continuance of the manorial system. Mr. Waugh, an energetic promoter of the Bill, and a principal witness, boldly calls them "stewards' manors." And a very able and active opponent of the Bill, Sir Richard Nicholson, of whom I ventured to ask the question whether in such manors "the steward's interest was more than the lord's," candidly answered—"Yes; his actual receipts upon admission are very much larger." Now, in those fine-certain manors, I feel confident that if it were provided—as in the Bill it was provided—that as each occasion for admittance came the lord should serve notice of enfranchisement, the process, being once begun, would go on to its end, to the mutual satisfaction and advantage of both lord and tenant. Both would gain by it, and nobody would lose, except the steward, whose business would be gone.

My Lords, on these grounds, I much regret the disappearance of the whole of these provisions; and I am sure that it will be a keen disappointment to those who have twice carried the Bill through the House of Commons and have supported it out-of-doors. And I thought it right to put Amendments on the Paper, by way of showing to my Colleagues, and to other noble Lords, precisely what form of compulsion—being nearly, but not precisely, the original form—it might be beneficial to apply. But as to moving those Amendments, I intended to be guided by the result of counsel with others when they had seen them. It is very far from my wish to raise any discussion of an abstract or unpractical nature on this Bill. And, in the result, those who are favourable to the proposed Amendments agree that there would be so small a chance of inducing the House to reverse the decision of the Committee, that I propose to withdraw them, if I may be allowed to do so.

My Lords, another set of important provisions which have wholly disappeared are those which relate to sporting rights. And in a sense I am sorry for this also. That is to say, I think it leads to considerable inconveniences when one man has the ownership of land, and another has the right of going over it in search of game. Nobody, I think, differed as to that; and we should have been glad enough if any practicable mode could have been provided for the extinction of that divided ownership through the medium of the Copyhold Acts. But none of us saw our way. Speaking for myself, I was convinced that the matter is too complicated; that we should do more harm than good by adopting the provisions of the Bill, or any other provisions that were suggested to us. In fact these original provisions of the Bill stepped beyond the province of copyhold and dealt with enclosures. With regard to enfranchised copyholds the difficulty is not so great, because, as a rule, the lord of the manor has no right of sporting over copyholds. But, as a rule, he has the right of sporting over the wastes of the manor, and upon enclosure that right has been continued to him in its integrity. Now, suppose that a large waste, say 3,000 acres, has been enclosed. The right of sporting over that space is of great value. But if there be a plot, say 50 acres, allotted to one of the tenants in the middle of it, and the sporting rights over that plot are to be extinguished, that largely impairs the value of the sporting over the whole area. How is compensation to be assessed in such a case? Either you must throw a great burden, probably a prohibitive one, on the landowner, or you will inflict a serious injury on the owner of the sporting rights. And, then, what is to be done when a second owner of some small plot comes to set that free, and a third? Are they to have the benefit of the deterioration in value effected at the expense of the first comer, or are they not? Your Lordships will readily see the amount of embarrassment in the case. I myself believe that the thing cannot be done, except by single operations over entire areas, for which some new authority must be created. Whether or no there exists sufficient cause for that is matter of opinion; but it relates to old enclosures much more than copyholds, and we thought that in this Bill we had better let it alone.

I pass to the matters which have been newly inserted in the Bill. And first of minerals. Everybody who has approached the question of copyhold enfranchisement has begun by thinking that the title to minerals should be settled when the enfranchisement takes place, and everybody has turned away disappointed. The difficulties are greater than in the case of sporting rights; they are enhanced by the far greater value of the subject-matter; and, further, in the case of deep minerals which are the most important, by the uncertainty whether they will be found under the particular plot of ground in question. There may be, say, coal throughout the area of the manor; but under the plot of three or four acres there may be none, or the seam may run very thin. If the parties were to deal with them upon enfranchisement they would be dealing in the dark. All that we could see our way to do has been expressed in Clause 7 of the amended Bill. It is intended to apply to those cases in which the lord has the freehold property in mines, and the tenant the possession, so that neither party can use them without the consent of the other. The tenant, it is said, keeps the box in which the lord's property is placed. If the lord were to work the minerals he would be committing trespass on the tenant; and if the tenant, he would be guilty of waste against the lord. The lord's interest is the greater in value, for the freehold property is his, and much more extended in area and therefore more workable, for he is interested in the whole manor, and the tenant only in his own plot. It is reasonable therefore that the lord should be able to buy out the tenant by the usual methods of compulsory acquisition of property.

Before quitting the subject, I should like to mention the name of the gentleman who supplied us with this plan. It is Mr. White, the solicitor of the Ecclesiastical Commission. He has taken great pains to improve this Bill, and we have availed ourselves of several other suggestions of less importance which have come from him.

The next subject to which I draw attention is that of escheat, which is dealt with by Clause 4. Your Lordships are aware that wherever the ownership of land is found to be vacant for want of lawful successors to a deceased owner, it passes by escheat to the superior lord of whom the land is holden. If it is common socage land, or ordinary freehold, that is held of the Crown, and it escheats to the Crown. If it is copyhold land, that is held of the lord of the manor, and it escheats to him. When copyhold is turned into freehold, of course the lord loses his chance of escheat, and he must be paid for it. But what we found was that the payment actually made is unduly high. Escheat is extremely rare. Mr. Gregory, a solicitor of vast experience, never knew of one. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners own 450 manors. Mr. White of whom I have just spoken, mentioned only one case as known to him in the course of that business, though he knew of another in another quarter. Mr. Waugh, the principal promoter of the Bill, a solicitor of 50 years' standing in a district abounding in copyholds, never heard of an escheat. I am not exaggerating when I say that the chance against any given property escheating within any period of time worth considering must be many hundreds to one. But the least sum received for escheats—it is true they are mixed up with forfeitures, but I shall have occasion to distinguish that matter presently—the least sum is a quarter of the improved annual value of the tenement; it often rises to a-third or a-half, and there is evidence that sometimes more is obtained. Now, when a property has been improved, as by building, such a demand very much increases the cost of enfranchisement. I will refer your Lordships to an instance put in evidence among others by Mr. Woodcock, a solicitor from the Honour of Clitheroe. A copyhold tenement carries a quit rent of 6½*d.*, and a fixed fine of equal amount. That was all the lord got—6½*d.* a-year, and an occasional 6½*d.* more. But the land had been built on; not by the lord, of course, but at the expense and risk of the tenant. And when he came to enfranchise, the sum he had to pay was £146. It was the case of an industrial co-operative society, who, Mr. Woodcock states, had to pay £146 for getting rid of 6½d. a-year. Then came this question and answer—

> "The Earl of Selborne: May I ask how much of that goes to the consideration of the chances of escheat and forfeiture?
>
> "Mr. Woodcock: 15*s.* 2*d.* is for the rent, and £94 18*s.* 3*d.* is for the escheat.'

The rest is made up of steward's charges; compensation, and loss of fees, £32; and cost of preparing the deed, some £19 more. Now, your Lordships will bear in mind that for this £94 the copyholder gets nothing—absolutely nothing. His land escheats as before, only it escheats to the Crown instead of the lord. It is a great burden on the copyholder to be compelled to make such a purchase for the benefit of the Crown. We thought he ought to be compelled no longer. And though it is rather bold to make the first encroachment on the Statute of Subinfeudations, which has been woven into the tissue of our law for five or six centuries, the Committee have inserted provisions that upon enfranchisement the lord shall retain the benefit of escheats, and therefore shall not be paid for the loss of them.

My Lords, I think that in the next clause the Committee have not drawn the full inference from this change of law. But I have an Amendment to move on that subject, and will reserve my observations on that point for the present. The next clause I have to mention is the 6th, which deals with the creation of new copyholds. It is often a surprise even to lawyers to hear that new copyholds can be created, because a copyhold is the creation of custom, and no man can make a custom *de novo;* and the general rule is that a new copyhold cannot be created. But in some manors there is a custom that, upon due action of the homage, the lord may grant portions of the waste or common land to be held by copy of court roll. According to the evidence of Mr. Hunter such customs exist, or at least are alleged to exist, widely in the South of England manors, and that they have been acted on with much greater frequency, and on a much larger scale, in modern times. In the days when the manor was a vigorous local institution, well attended by the tenants and suitors, such grants were not made without careful consideration, and, we may suppose, not without good reason. But manorial courts have fallen into decay, the homage has become a phantom, the lord of the manor has had no check upon him, and, at least in many places, has done pretty much what he pleased, and has been pleased to make such grants simply for his own emolument. No public notice is given of the proposed grant; the steward summons two or three persons of his own choice to sit on the homage; and grants out of the common are thus made with the greatest ease. In the Epping Forest case it was proved that some such process as this went on. A, B, and C were summoned to the homage. A would walk out of the room, while the steward and the other two passed a grant to him. When he came back A received his grant; then B walked out, and a grant was made to him; and so on, through as many letters of the alphabet as had been selected for grants on that day. That was proved in the Chancery suit; and I can add my testimony, having had to examine a great number of such cases, that these grants were commonly made upon agreements with the grantees that they should build houses, and that the land should then be enfranchised, the lord of course getting a large sum on the improved value. In Epping Forest, as your Lordships will remember, this thing was done on a very large scale, whole commons disappearing under the process. It is true that there was a flaw in the proceedings there, through which some of the land was recovered. But there can be no doubt that there and elsewhere the custom in question has been worked in a way quite foreign to its spirit and its former working. Under these circumstances, what the Committee looked for was some check upon the lord's action in lieu of that which has decayed away; but not being able, in the absence of those local institutions which are always going to be created, but never are, to discover any local authority likely to place due restraint on such grants, they have proposed that the consent of the Land Commissioners shall be necessary for a valid grant of a new copyhold. And this, I trust, will commend itself to your Lordships.

The only other subject which I think it necessary to dwell upon now is one of extreme difficulty, which is dealt with by Clause 55. That clause is directed to a group of manors comprised in the Honour of Clitheroe. The state of things is very complicated; and, without taking much more time than would be convenient, I should despair of giving to your Lordships any complete account of it. But I may perhaps be able to give a general outline sufficient for a due understanding of the objects of Clause 55. A full account will be found in the evidence of Mr. Woodcock. The rents and fines in these manors were fixed in the Reign of James I., and are quite insignificant compared with the value of the property. A large population, exceeding 200,000 souls, and consisting chiefly of the artizan classes, has sprung up in the district, and the land has been built over to a great extent, and has become subdivided into many tenements. It is said that there are from 8,000 to 10,000 such tenements, and that they increase every year. It is the custom in the South of Lancashire to grant building leases for 999 years—one of those devices by which people sought to escape from the Statute of Subinfeudations—and the custom of these manors is for a copyholder in fee to grant leases as he pleases to persons who are entered on the rolls as tenants. They again grant leases as they please, and so on in infinitum. All lessees are entered on the rolls; so that in respect of a single tenement you may have a number of tenants entered for subordinate interests. That is quite contrary to the usual custom of manors which do not admit of leases by the tenant, nor of the entry upon the rolls of any other interest than the fee simple. Now your Lordships may imagine the embarrassment which arises from such a state of things. It is aggravated by the circumstance that the customs as to transfer in these manors appear to be more clumsy and inconvenient than ordinary. On each dealing with each house, cumbrous and expensive proceedings have to be taken. The rents and fines to the lord are ludicrously small—so small that rents are not collected; but fees and law charges make a substantial burden. Why do not the tenants enfranchise? Well, I cited just now an instance from Mr. Woodcock's evidence showing why. Because the land has been built upon, and escheats and forfeitures have to be bought up on the footing of its improved value. The lord lost 6½*d.* a-year; but, besides the price of that, he received £94 for the loss of a contingency remote beyond calculation. I will now quote another passage from Mr. Woodcock, giving an example of this state of things—

> "Here is a plan of a number of club-houses built about 50 years ago, and owned by about 60 working men. Each of these working men is subject to a lord's rent of a farthing per annum, and the fine on death or alienation is a farthing, and if it were strictly ascertained it would be very much less."

My Lords, I have tried to do the sum, and if my arithmetic is correct, the rent in the instance given would be one-seventh of a farthing. We have heard something lately of extortionate landlords; but here the unfortunate lord can hardly demand less than the smallest coin of the Realm, and so he is obliged to screw up his rents to a farthing. *Per contra*, he does not collect them. But Mr. Woodcock goes on—

> "If the Bill passes as it stands, each copyholder is to have notice, and valuers are to be appointed; one to represent the lord, and one to represent the copyholder, and an umpire; he is to have an award of enfranchisement, and a memorandum of enfranchisement with the consequent cost. And what for? All to get rid of the lord's rent of a farthing a-year."

My Lords, we felt that such a condition of things demanded at least an attempt at a remedy; the ordinary processes break down under the stress of the circumstances; and there is nothing for it but to create another process of a more or less summary and arbitrary kind in order to cut the knots which can hardly be untied. This is not the time to describe in full the details of the plan. It will probably be sufficient now to say that we propose to give to the Land Commissioners powers of making a local inquiry, of ascertaining in each manor whether there is a very general desire for enfranchisement on the part of the copyholders, and if there is, of proceeding to effect enfranchisements throughout the manor.

My Lords, there are other alterations which will be seen when the Bill is in Committee, but, I think, none of sufficient magnitude to warrant my detaining you any longer at this stage.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee."—(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he was glad to hear his noble Friend say that he was not going to move an Amendment to Clause 1, of which he had given Notice, involving the question whether a kind of indirect compulsion to enfranchise should be brought to bear on lords of manors. He was of opinion that one of two things should be done. Either it should be directly provided that all copyholds should be enfranchised by law, or that enfranchisement should be voluntary as at present. Indirect methods of compulsion he was entirely opposed to. Thinking it desirable that immediate compulsory enfranchisement should take place, he moved a Resolution to that effect before the Select Committee, but it was lost. That being the case, he was of opinion that the Bill should be passed in its present form, leaving enfranchisement entirely voluntary. He believed that the Bill contained a number of useful amendments of the law, and that it was well worthy of consideration.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, he agreed with the noble Lord that the subject of the Bill was one of extreme difficulty, and, in his opinion, the House did a most sensible thing in remitting it to the consideration of a strong Select Committee. He thought their Lordships should be prepared to accept the decision of that Committee as a compromise after having referred the matter to them.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, that, while he concurred generally in what had been said by the noble Marquess, he hoped the noble Marquess did not go so far as to object to the consideration of Amendments which might be moved. Some were of importance and consistent with the general principles of the Bill.

Motion *agreed to*.

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 4 *agreed to*.

Clause 5 (Corresponding abatements to be made from the lord's compensation).

LORD HOBHOUSE, in moving an Amendment, to add, at the end of the clause, the words "or forfeiture," said: The reason for the Amendment is this. The 16th section of the Copyhold Act of 1852 specifies the things which the values are to be taken into account in ascertaining the lord's compensation. They are as follows;—

"Facilities for improvement, customs of the manor, fines, heriots, reliefs, quit-rents, chief-rents, escheats, forfeiture, and all other incidents whatever of copyhold or customary tenure, and all other circumstances affecting or relating to the land."

In speaking of escheats, I mentioned that they had been mixed up with forfeitures. It does not appear that there ever was such a thing as a separate valuation of forfeitures apart from escheats. The sums which I mentioned, so much of the annual value of the tenement, were given as lump sums to cover the two things. Now escheats are to be preserved to the lord. It is therefore necessary to strike them out of the instructions to valuers, and the clause rightly does so. But then forfeitures remain, and if they remain the valuers will be compelled to go on adding something for them. That, I submit, is not right. My Lords, there were two totally distinct kinds of forfeitures, those which were consequent upon attainder or outlawry, and those which were the mere incidents of tenure, and the remedy for wrong doing by the tenant. Both attached to freehold land as well as to copyhold; only, where freehold land would be forfeited to the Crown, copyhold would be forfeited to the lord of the manor. But all forfeitures consequent on attainder or outlawry have been abolished by law, and neither Crown nor lord can now reckon on anything from them. I am speaking in the presence of those who are more familiar than myself with this branch of the law, and shall be set right if I am wrong. But, unless I have fallen into error, forfeitures for crime were finally swept away in the year 1870 by the Statute 32 & 33 *Vict.* c. 23, and outlawry on civil process was absolished in the year 1879 by the Statute 42 & 43 *Vict.* c. 59. As long as these forfeitures existed, they were, like escheats, a chance for the lord of some emolument beyond his due from the tenant, and he might rightly be paid something for losing that chance, however slight it was. But the other class of forfeitures never were the proper subjects of compensation when the lord's rights were bought up, because they were only his remedy in case his rights were denied to him. If, for instance, the tenant committed waste, the lord had no action of waste at Common Law; but the remedy given him was to forfeit the wasted tenements after due presentments by the homage. No doubt, the lord has for a great length of time had better remedies in Equity by injunction and account, and the clumsy and somewhat odious remedy by forfeitures has fallen into disuse. It is much rarer even than escheat. Mr. Gregory, Mr. Woodcock, and Mr. Waugh had never heard of such a thing. There was no witness who knew of a forfeiture being enforced.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that Mr. White spoke of an enforced forfeiture.

LORD HOBHOUSE: I was just going to say that one of the witnesses—I have just been searching for the passage, but could not lay my hands on it—said that he had known threats of forfeiture in order to compel tenants to do their duty; but I thought that none spoke to an enforced forfeiture. It matters little. The extreme rarity of the process is clear—clear that the thing is for anything but its proper function—namely, the safe-guarding of the lord's rights, a phantom so attenuated that a mere nominal sum would be sufficient compensation for it, even if it were the proper subject of compensation. But, as I have endeavoured to show, it has not, and never had, any existence independent of the lord's rights against his tenant. All those rights are bought up and paid for upon enfranchisement; and to pay a man first for all his rights, and afterwards for the remedies which he would have if those rights were denied him, is contrary to all principles of justice. My Lords, if the words of the Act of 1852 were not express upon the point that forfeitures should be valued, there would be no need for this Amendment. Nay, I believe that if the matter were argued before this House judicially, it would be found that the thing which was contemplated by the Act of 1852 does not exist, and that if, owing to the express words of the Act, any valuation must be made of it, a nominal sum would satisfy it. But this matter goes into the hands of persons who may be well skilled in valuations, but who are unskilled in law, and probably not acquainted with the history of the matter. And it is likely that they will think themselves bound to place some substantial amount on that which an Act of Parliament tell them to value. I ask your Lordships now to omit that which was rightly included in the Act of 1852, and had a justification up to the year 1879, but then became an anachronism, which probably, when mixed up with escheats, did no practical harm, but will, when escheats are omitted, be productive of injustice between the parties.

Amendment *moved*, in page 2, line 12, after ("escheats") to insert ("or forfeitures").—(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he should support the Amendment on the ground that the Lord's right of forfeiture had not been shown to have been ever exercised in practice, or to profess to have any practical value. He could not think it right or productive of anything but an expense and difficulty which ought not to stand in the way of enfranchisement, to direct valuers to put a price on something which really had none, and so make the costs of a valuation necessary for that purpose only, when for every other purpose the scale of compensation fixed by the Land Commissioners would be enough.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he could not agree to the Amendment, which, in his opinion, proposed to take away something valuable from the lord. It would leave him without compensation for the loss of an undoubted right. What the value might be, it was for the valuer to decide.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he heartily supported the Amendment. If the copyhold tenant performed his duty the lord had no right of forfeiture. The lord was getting compensation for all his rights, and it was not reasonable to give him compensation for the right of forfeiture in addition.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, he should oppose the Amendment. He contended that the right of forfeiture was a valuable right, and if the lord was deprived of it, he ought to receive compensation.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY pointed out that the question was of considerable practical importance. There were, especially in the North of England, manors where the rights of the lord were exceedingly small. For instance, he might receive a quit rent of 6*d*. or 1*s*. and a few shillings as fine when a new tenant was put on the roll. But the land had been built over and was exceedingly valuable, and if a value was put upon the right of forfeiture, enfranchisement would be made absolutely impossible.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that there was something valuable in the right of which the lord ought not to be deprived without compensation.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he should oppose the Amendment.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 23; Not-Contents 53: Majority 30.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 6 to 15, inclusive, *agreed to*, with Amendments.

Clause 16 (When compensation to be secured by rent-charge).

LORD HOBHOUSE said, he wished to move an Amendment rendered necessary by the abandonment of the compulsory clauses in the Bill, to restore the existing rule with respect to enfranchisement—namely, that where the enfranchisement was effected at the instance of the lord of the manor, the compensation paid to him should be by way of rent-charge, but where at the instance of the tenant by payment of a lump sum.

Amendment *moved*, in page 5, line 24, after ("agree") insert ("in every case in which the enfranchisement is made at the instance of the lord, and").—(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses and Schedules amended, and *agreed to.*

The Report of the Amendments to be received on *Thursday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 180.)

METROPOLITAN OPEN SPACES ACTS EXTENSION BILL.—(No. 69.)

(*The Lord Mount-Temple.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to order).

Amendment *moved* to insert the following sub-section at the end of Clause 2:—

"In the case of any disused churchyard, cemetery, or burial ground, at least one month before any tombstone or monument is removed an advertisement of the intention to remove or change the position of tombstones and monuments in such burial ground shall be inserted three times at least in some newspaper cirulated in the neighbourhood of such burial ground, and such other steps as may be found practicable shall be taken to inform persons interested in such tombstones and monuments of such intention as aforesaid. In the case of any disused consecrated churchyard, cemetery, or burial ground, at least one month must elapse after the issue of the third advertisement so issued, and at least one month before a licence or faculty be issued under the Metropolitan Open Spaces Act, 1881." —(*The Lord Mount Temple.*)

LORD DE ROS said, that he had now no objection to the adoption of this Amendment, as in addition to the advertisement the noble Lord had made it necessary that such other steps as should be found practicable should be taken to inform persons interested that tombstones were to be removed.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he did not see the use of providing that other steps should be taken if they were not specified.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said that the reason given in Committee for the necessity for some alteration in the Bill was that tombstones might be removed without the persons interested having any warning. That difficulty was now proposed to be met by this Amendment, which provided for the insertion of advertisements in some newspaper circulated in the neighbourhood of the burial ground. But families changed their residences and went into other localities, and thus an advertisement in a newspaper in the neighbourhood where the graveyard was situated might never be seen by those for whom it was intended. He thought it would be well to enact that a record should be kept like a parish register of the inscriptions and epitaphs on all tombstones, so that no evidence as to family connection or title might be lost.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) remarked that the Amendment did not apparently do anything to preserve such valuable evidence as the inscriptions and epitaphs on tombstones. He would have thought that after the discussion in Committee the noble Lord in charge of the Bill would have provided some machinery whereby copies should be taken of all tombstones removed, which copies should be made evidence instead of the originals in Courts of Law. The provision for advertising was most illusory, and families which had left a neighbourhood might know nothing about the removal of the tombstone until they happened to return to the parish to look for it and found it was gone.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he agreed that there ought to be provision made for a copy of all epitaphs and inscriptions to be taken and preserved. He begged to move the adjournment of the debate that such provision might be brought up.

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*The Lord Herschell.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

The further debate on the said Amendment adjourned to *Tuesday* next.

VALUATION OF LANDS (SCOTLAND) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 176.)

(*The Marquess of Lothian.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to apply the provisions of Section 5 of 30 & 31 *Vict.* c. 80, which were now applicable only to railways, to waterworks, gasworks, and other undertakings. The Act in question defined the duty of the assessor of railways in Scotland in making up the valuation roll of railways. His duties were now confined to railways, and it had been thought expedient that they should be extended to gasworks, waterworks, and other similar undertakings. There had been much difficulty experienced in police burghs in Scotland, especially in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, in connection with rates due to them for gas and water works, and other undertakings of that description, and the object of this Bill was to do away with the uncertainty which now existed, and which had created much unpleasantness. The Bill was desired both by the burghs and by the landowners, and he hoped their Lordships would give it a second reading.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Lothian.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

LEGITIMACY DECLARATION ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 159.)

(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the Bill was to extend the provisions of the Legitimacy Declaration Act to natural-born subjects who might not be domiciled in England or Ireland, and who were unable to obtain a declaration of their legitimacy or of the validity of their marriages in the country of their domicile. The Bill had the support of Sir James Hannen, the President of the Divorce Court, and others.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he regretted that a Bill of so much importance should be introduced at a time when it could not receive all the consideration the subject deserved. The measure, if passed in its actual form, would only tend to add to the confusion which arose from the conflict of law on questions of marriage and legitimacy. He objected altogether to the English Courts assuming a jurisdiction in regard to people whose status was a proper subject for consideration by the Courts of other countries, to which their allegiance was due, and in which they were domiciled. The Bill was not limited to cases in which the domicile was British at the time of the marriage; it embraced foreigners and foreign marriages, without any regard to their domicile at any time.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he thought the principle of the Bill was correct, and it ought to be read a second time. The noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) had pointed out a real grievance in the existing law which ought to be remedied; but the Bill would require careful examination in Committee.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he was willing to withdraw his objection to the second reading, on the understanding that the Bill would receive, as it certainly required, much amendment in Committee.

LORD WATSON said, he should not be disposed to object to the principle of the Bill. He would, however, point out that one of the parts of Her Majesty's dominions which would be affected by this Bill was the realm of of Scotland, and that the effect of the Bill might be to introduce difficulties respecting the judgments of their Law Courts, which ought not to exist. He had no doubt, however, that in Committee they would be able to deal with that question.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that the Bill did not apply to Scotland.

THE MARQUESS OF BATH said, he was doubtful whether it would be wise to read the Bill a second time. According to the statement of the noble Earl who was in charge of it, it did not extend to Scotland, nor to India and the Colonies—he did not know whether Ireland was included—and it seemed as if it was only intended to apply to Constantinople and France.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

CORONERS BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to consolidate the law relating to coroners—Was *presented* by The Lord Chancellor; read 1ª. (No. 177.)

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock,
to Thursday next, a quarter past
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Tuesday, 19*th July,* 1887.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 5 to 9

Resolutions [July 18] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Technical Instruction [332]; Turnpike Roads (South Wales) * [333]; Trustee Savings Banks * [334].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Temporary Dwellings [256].

Committee — *Report* — Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2) * [220-331].

Committee — *Report* — *Considered as amended*—*Third Reading*—Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) [153], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Third Reading* — Tramways (No. 1) [257], and *passed.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

—o—

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.—[BILL 257.]

(*Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Jackson.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Baron Henry De Worms.*)

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.): I wish to point out that this Order goes beyond the Act of Parliament passed in 1870 regarding the tramways of the Metropolis. I have further to urge that the Board of Trade have no power to make this Order, and that it can only be made with the consent of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and also of the Vestry. In the present Order, the Board of Trade seek to establish motive power other than horses, such as electric and other power; and it appears to me that the provisions of the Bill place it out of the power of the Metropolitan Board of Works if they find that the power employed is inconvenient for the ordinary traffic—that it frightens horses, and becomes dangerous to life and property—to put a stop to it. The Metropolitan Board had power originally to refuse to accept this Provisional Order at all, and although they did not exercise their rights, they imposed conditions, which conditions are disregarded in the Bill. Of course, it will be said that if the Tramway Authorities act in any way contrary to the provisions of the Order, the Metropolitan Board will have power, if they desire to exercise it, to go to the Board of Trade; but I may mention that the Act of 1870 so far established the principle of local self-government, in contradistinction from that of centralized government, that it left the Local Authorities to decide whether the tramways were to be continued, in the event of their not being worked in accordance with their wishes. It is, however, in the interests of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and not in the interests of local self-government, that I rise for the purpose of making this protest. Before I sit down I may say that, at this late period of the Session, seeing that any effective opposition to the Bill would, in all probability, result in getting rid of any opportunity of passing this Order this Session, the Metropolitan Board do not wish to press the matter to a Division. They only desire to make a protest against what they regard as an infringement of their rights. Their contention is that the Order goes behind the Act of Parliament which has conferred certain powers upon them. I shall, therefore, content myself with having made these remarks, without asking the House to divide against the Provisional Order.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have no wish to enter into the technical discussion which has been raised by the hon. Gentleman; but I will simply point out that, in reality, the Metropolitan Board of Works have no cause of complaint in the matter. This Provisional Order was advertised in the month of November last. It was sent to the Board of Works, and a copy was forwarded by that Board to the Board of Trade on the 25th of March, and consented to subject to certain conditions.

MR. TATTON EGERTON (Cheshire, Knutsford): Will the hon. Member state what the consent was which the Metropolitan Board of Works gave?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I am unable to say. All I can say is that no objection was taken to the Provisional Order until Petitions were lodged against it on the 21st of May last. It appears to me that the matter is a very simple one. The Metropolitan Board of Works gave their consent to this Provisional Order as far as they were concerned, subject to certain conditions, and these conditions were inserted in the Order except the condition that the Metropolitan Board might at any time revoke the authority to use mechanical power. That authority is vested in the Board of Trade; and if, at any time the Board of Works can show to the Board of Trade that there is any reason to suppose that this tramway, if worked by mechanical power, is likely to be a nuisance, or dangerous to the neighbourhood, the Board of Trade could withdraw the consent they had already given. Let me point out another matter which might have influenced the opinion of the Board of Works upon the subject. It has been alleged that the tramway will be worked by steam power. That is not so. The motive power proposed to be authorized is any mechanical power other than steam. The tramway itself will commence, I believe, at Shepherd's Bush, which is within the Metropolitan district. I am glad to find that the hon. Member intends to exercise a wise discretion in not opposing the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. TATTON EGERTON: I can confirm what the hon. Gentleman the Member for St. Pancras (Mr. Webster) has stated; but there is no wish to press for a Division against the third reading of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade has stated that the Metropolitan Board gave their consent to the provisions of the Order. Now, that I absolutely and utterly deny. A conditional consent is no consent at all, and the present contention relates to a question of principle. By the Act of 1870 Parliament gave to the Local Authorities, who, in this case, were the Metropolitan Board of Works, the power of withholding their consent to the Provisional Order; and the point of the contention is that, at the present moment, the Board of Trade are proposing to grant a Provisional Order which is to become an Act legalizing what is said to be an illegality. It is against that course on the part of the Board of Works that I protest. As the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees (Mr. Courtney) is in his place, I should be glad if he will give the House his advice on the matter, because I believe that the point to which I have called attention is an important one, and is of much interest so far as the future construction of tramways is concerned.

Mr. J. C. STEVENSON (South Shields): As a Member of the Committee appointed to consider this Bill, I should like to explain that the Committee came to no conclusion whatever in regard to the powers of the Board of Trade.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and being returned;—

Mr. Speaker *reported* the *Royal Assent to* several Bills.

TRAMWAYS PROVISIONAL ORDERS (No. 1) BILL.

Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

Mr. J. C. STEVENSON: I was proceeding, at the moment the discussion was interrupted, to explain, as Chairman of the Committee to whom this matter was referred, that as to the powers of the Board of Trade the Committee came to no conclusion whatever. They felt justified in coming to the conclusion that they had no power to go behind the Order of this House.

The CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES (Mr. Courtney) (Cornwall, Bodmin): As the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire (Mr. Tatton Egerton) has appealed to me, perhaps I may be allowed to say a word before the Bill is read a third time. I fail to see that any principle is now involved in the matter. It is agreed that under certain conditions the Board of Trade may make a Provisional Order for the construction of a tramway with the consent of the Local Authority, which in the Metropolis means the Metropolitan Board of Works. The necessity of this consent is not denied. The only question in this case is whether or not the Metropolitan Board of Works gave their consent to the granting of this particular Order. The Board of Trade are under the impression that the consent was given, whereas the Board of Works deny that they gave it. The Board of Trade admit that consent was necessary, and as to whether it was or was not given depends upon the interpretation put upon a particular document, because while using the word "consent" the Metropolitan Board proceeded to add conditions which the Board of Trade disregarded. It is not for me to add anything more, except that the two Boards are now in agreement as to the expediency of not opposing the third reading of the Bill, and, in future, I think it will be wise on the part of the Metropolitan Board of Works to give their consent unequivocably, one way or the other. I do not think it is wise to give a conditional consent when in reality something else is meant.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

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PARIS EXHIBITION, 1889.

Sir BERNHARD SAMUELSON (Oxfordshire, Banbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will state, for the information of the Chambers of Commerce and of traders and manufacturers generally, what is the character of the facility which the Marquess of Salisbury, in his letter of the 6th of May to M. Waddington, assured him Her Majesty's Government would be very happy to afford to exhibitors who may be desirous of contributing to the International Exhibition to be held in Paris in 1889?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The facilities to be afforded by Her Majesty's Government to contributors to the Paris Exhibition must depend upon the requirements of such contributors, and the ability of Her Majesty's Government to grant them. There may be some feasible under the Customs Regulations. The undertaking by the Marquess of Salisbury quoted by the hon. Baronet was mentioned in response to a request of the French Ambassador, which was as follows:—

> "In the event of the Government of the Queen not being able to afford official participation, the French Government would receive with satisfaction the assurance of their unofficial support in giving all publicity to the documents relating to the Exhibition, and in guaranteeing to British subjects all necessary facilities in regard to carriage and Customs duties."

SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON asked, whether the facilities would be granted by the French or by the English Government?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, there were always questions with regard to the return of articles exhibited; but he did not pretend that the facilities which the Government could afford were very considerable.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—TRALEE AND FENIT PIER AND HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether, at the last meeting of the Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Commissioners, Mr. Robert M'Cowen, J.P., was elected Chairman by a majority of one vote; whether his son, Mr. Robert M'Cowen, junior, voted in the majority; whether Mr. M'Cowen, junior, was elected a Commissioner without any notice of a vacancy having been advertised in the local papers, as provided by the second section of the incorporating Order; whether this election took place on the 24th ultimo, in anticipation of the contest for the Chairmanship; whether the two votes solely recorded for co-opting Mr. M'Cowen, junior, were those of Mr. L. M. Hussey, his proposer, and Mr. M'Cowen, senior, his seconder, who also put the motion from the chair, and declared his son duly elected; whether Mr. E. R. Murphy, Chairman of the Board of Guardians, the only other Commissioner then present, protested against this course as irregular and illegal; whether protests were also made at the last meeting against the legality of Mr. M'Cowen's election as Chairman, on account of his son's vote; by what right does Mr. Curling sit and vote as member of the Board of Commissioners of the Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour; and, to whom are the above body responsible for any infringement of "The Commissioners Clauses Act, 1847," in so far as it governs their proceedings?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have received from the Secretary to the Tralee and Fenit Harbour Commissioners a long answer to the nine Questions placed upon the Paper by the hon. Member, and, if he will permit me, I will send it to him in writing.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: May I ask the hon. Gentleman from whom does that answer come?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: From the Secretary to the Tralee and Fenit Harbour Commissioners.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON: Has the hon. Gentleman any objection to read the answer to the House?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I am afraid it would take half an hour.

MINES REGULATION ACT—WILLIAM SHAW, FIREMAN AT THE PARK MINE, TAEND VALE COLLIERY, SKELMERSDALE.

MR. BURT (Morpeth) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of William Shaw, fireman at the Park Mine, Taend Vale Colliery, Skelmersdale, who reported having found gas in a collier's working place on the 12th of June, and in consequence of that report shot firing was discontinued; whether it is true that a few days afterwards the fireman was discharged from his employment without any reason having been assigned for his dismissal; whether the Inspector of Mines found on examining the Report Book that the Report made by Mr. Shaw had been partly erased; and, whether, considering that the workmen believe the fireman lost his employment on account of his having reported the finding of gas, he will inquire into the subject, as well as into the alleged erasure from the Report Book?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have received a letter from the Lancashire Miners' Federation, and also a Report from the Inspector, who informs me that he has made careful inquiry into this matter. The facts appear to be practically as stated in the Question, except that the reason assigned for the dismissal of the fireman was that he had used bad language and did not obey orders. The Inspector tells me that he found it very difficult to get at all the facts with certainty; but, in view of the serious allegations made against the managers of the mine, I have ordered him to prosecute his inquiries further, and if it can be established that there has been any infraction of the Statute, or of the special rules, proceedings will be instituted.

PUBLIC HEALTH—A "THAMES SWIMMING BATH."

MR. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been directed to an article in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 14th July on a "Thames Swimming Bath;" and, whether he is prepared to bring in a Bill to legislate in the direction indicated?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): As Battersea Park is about to be handed over to the Metropolitan Board of Works, I do not think I ought to express any opinion as to the construction of a swimming bath there, or on any other proposal as to its future management.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD — ACCOMMODATION FOR MEMBERS.

CAPTAIN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, What is the estimated number of Members of the House and their friends to be accommodated on board H.M.S. *Crocodile* on 23rd instant; and, whether, with reference to the Admiralty notice exhibited in the Lobbies of the House, special arrangements cannot be made to enable Members and their friends, who see no risk in disembarking into a tug by the aid of electric light, to remain on board the *Crocodile* to see the illuminations?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The number to be accommodated on the *Crocodile* is 700. The disembarkation of so large a number of visitors after dark into tugs involves a risk to human life, especially as the flowing tide will be running at the rate of five knots. The Board of Admiralty regret that they cannot alter the decision conveyed in the notice referred to; as they do not feel justified in throwing the responsibility of carrying out the operation, without accident, on the officers and men of the troopships and tugs. The granting of this request would lead to a similar application on behalf of the visitors in the other large troopships which cannot come into harbour; and even if the permission were limited to the troopships conveying distinguished guests, upwards of 2,500 visitors would have to be provided for. The disembarkation of other visitors into private tugs, not under naval control, might possibly be attended with greater risk, and cannot be sanctioned by the Admiralty.

CAPTAIN COLOMB: Will hon. Members who pay their expenses be allowed to remain on board all night?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The question of providing accommodation on board for 700 persons is a rather serious one. I do not think we can vary the arrangements laid down.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—CLERKENWELL POLICE COURT—"ARBITRARY CONDUCT OF A POLICE MAGISTRATE."

MR. W. A. MACDONALD (Queen's Co., Ossory) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true, as stated in Thursday's *Daily News*, that Mr. Hosack, the Magistrate at the Clerkenwell Police Court, on Monday refused to attest the voting paper of Dr. J. B. Daly, an elector of Dublin University, on the ground that he was not personally known to him; that several policemen about the court knew Dr. Daly, and were willing to testify to the fact that he had property close to one of their stations; and, that Mr. Hosack refused to interrogate the said policemen, and ordered Dr. Daly to stand down, and that, as a consequence, Dr. Daly was deprived of the opportunity of recording his vote at the election?

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) had a similar Question on the Paper which was not asked.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he had obtained a Report from Mr. Hosack, the magistrate, who informed him that on the 11th instant, Dr. Daly applied to him to certify that he was a voter for Dublin University. It was the invariable rule in such cases that the applicant should be introduced by a person who could certify that the applicant was personally known to him. The applicant in this case was not so introduced; and therefore the magistrate declined to attest the voting paper. The magistrate denied that he had refused to hear any evidence as to Dr. Daly's identity. The latter stated that he was well known to the police of the district, and an Inspector of Police in Court, when asked by the applicant, said he did not know him. It was not a fact that Dr. Daly was obliged to wait for the arrival of the magistrate in a narrow, crowded Court, with the people about to be charged before the magistrate. He was in another part of the building along with other persons, who, like himself, were applicants. Mr. Hosack was absent from town at present; but on his return he (Mr. Matthews) would request him to make further inquiry into the statements of Dr. Daly.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—"TOTAL COMPLEMENT" OF THE SHIPS.

CAPTAIN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether each vessel named in the "Programme of the Naval Review" will have its "total complement" actually on board on the 23rd instant; why, in the case of torpedo boats, is the column "total complement" left blank; what will be the total number, all ranks, of the Royal Navy, exclusive of Marine forces, taking part in the Review; what is the number of non-combatants included in the total; what will be the total number, all ranks, of the Royal Marine Artillery and Infantry respectively taking part in the Review; what proportion of the aggregate force on board the mastless vessels will be furnished by the Marine Forces; and, what proportion of the aggregate force on board the masted vessels will be furnished by the Marine Forces?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): Each vessel named in the programme of the Naval Review will be completely manned and fit for battle. The omission of the complement of four torpedo boats in G flotilla is a clerical oversight, which was not observed till after the programmes were printed. Their complement is 16 each, as in the case of other torpedo boats of the same class. The total number, all ranks, of the Royal Navy, exclusive of Marine forces, taking part in the Naval Review will be approximately 13,938. The number of non-combatants included will be approximately 2,342. The total number of Royal Marine Artillery and Infantry will be approximately 2,263; but without going through the whole of the Embarkation Returns it is impossible to separate them. The proportion of the aggregate force on board the mastless vessels furnished by the Marine forces will be about 1-7th, or as 1,018 is to 7,153. The proportion of the aggregate force on board the masted vessels furnished by the Marine forces will be about 2-15ths, or as 1,245 is to 9,048.

INLAND REVENUE DEPARTMENT — "RIDE" OFFICERS.

MR. DEASY (Mayo, W.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When it is intended to grant the recently promised £10 per annum increase to those ride officers of Inland Revenue who are standing for the last few years at their maximum, which the Board now consider too low; whether it be true that the re-scheming of the stations of those officers has largely increased their work; if it is intended to increase their travelling and subsistence allowances, which are alleged to be insufficient; and, if the officers who suggested and carried out the re-scheming, which is said to be detrimental to the best interests of the Excise Service and its officers, had been promoted over the heads of a large number of their superior officers?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): From the 1st of September the maximum salary of second-class officers (heretofore styled ride officers) will be £140 instead of £130, an increase of £10. All such officers who on that date have for a period of one year or more been in receipt of £130 will receive their first increment of £5 under the new scale. As a rule, the effect of re-scheming the stations will be to increase the work and responsibilities of the officers, which is the reason why their salaries have been increased. The allowances on account of travelling and subsistence are always considered, and where necessary revised, when the areas of stations are altered. The re-scheming has been both suggested and carried out by the Board of Inland Revenue themselves, who consider it decidedly advantageous to the best interests of the Excise Service, and no question of promotion of officers in connection with the re-scheming has therefore arisen.

CEYLON—PARDON OF MARTINEZ PEREIRA.

SIR JOHN DORINGTON (Gloucester, Tewkesbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has information before him that the Governor of Ceylon has granted a free pardon to Martinez Pereira, who had been convicted of perjury upon a prosecution ordered by the District Court in respect of his evidence given on behalf of the Ceylon Government, in an action brought by Mr. Talbot for the recovery of property lost on a Government Railway; whether, up to the present time, notwithstanding the decision of the District Court in Mr. Talbot's favour, the Ceylon Government has avoided making compensation for the lost property, such property having been lost in October, 1885; and, whether he will make further inquiries into the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): The Governor of Ceylon has reported that he has granted a free pardon to Martinez Pereira, who was convicted of perjury. The Governor acted upon the advice of the Attorney General and the Lieutenant Governor; and the pardon was granted on the ground that the statement on which the perjury was assigned was not proved to have been made with knowledge or belief that it was untrue, but was an erroneous inference from admitted facts. The Secretary of State does not interfere with the discretion of Colonial Governors in the exercise of the prerogative of pardon.

TRADE AND COMMERCE — EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE PORT OF DUBLIN.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) had the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, When he will be able to state the result of his inquiries as to the possibility of keeping a record in the Dublin Custom House of the imports and exports to and from the Port of Dublin, showing whether they are Irish or foreign, raw or manufactured? The hon. Member thanked the Secretary to the Treasury for his courtesy in supplying him with satisfactory information on the subject of this Question.

IRELAND — KINGSTOWN HARBOUR COMMISSIONERS — INCLOSURE OF GROUNDS.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Harbour Commissioners of Kingstown to inclose the plot of ground opposite the Mariners' Church, which has been always open to the public, notwithstanding the remonstrances addressed to them by the Township Commissioners; whether this large piece of ground is to be added to the Harbourmaster's garden; and, whether the Harbourmaster, Captain Crofton, has not already taken in a large piece of ground, which did not originally belong to his house, and has had it converted into a private lawn tennis ground at the public expense?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) in reply, said, the Harbour Commissioners of Kingstown had decided to place a railing across the open space mentioned. A remonstrance had been received from the Township Commissioners; but it was not renewed, on an explanation being given that the enclosure would prevent the ground from being put to most objectionable uses. There was no intention of adding this small plot to the Harbourmaster's garden. If anyone was prepared to rent it, and give an adequate guarantee that it would not be used for an objectionable purpose, he could do so. The Harbourmaster was in occupation of a small piece of ground between his house and his office; but no expenditure upon it from the public funds had ever been made or intended.

ARMS (IRELAND) ACT—JOHN HENCHEY, OF BODYKE, CO. CLARE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether John Henchey, of Bodyke, County Clare, a farmer and blacksmith, has been deprived of his licence to carry arms, and thereby prevented from protecting his crops from vermin; and, whether Henchey has ever been charged with any crime; and, if not, why has his arm's licence been revoked?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the arm's licence of Henchey had been revoked. This man had not been charged with any offence; but the authorities did not consider him to be a fit person to hold an arm's licence. With regard to the allegation that he had been thereby prevented from protecting his crops from vermin, he might mention that Henchey stated that the gun did not belong to him, but that he borrowed it from the owner. He refused to give the owner's name.

MR. COX said, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had not given the reasons why he had been deprived of his licence.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the reason was because he was not considered a fit person to hold a licence.

MR. COX gave Notice that he would call attention to this matter on a subsequent occasion.

TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EDUCATION—EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGNERS IN LONDON.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, If his attention has been called to the statistics and particulars obtained by the London Chamber of Commerce as to the employment of foreigners in London, summarized in *The Times* of the 13th instant; if he can, by Circular Letter or otherwise, endeavour to arouse the attention of all persons concerned in education, and, in particular, the Governing Bodies and Head Masters of Public, Grammar, and High Schools, although not under the authority of the Education Department, to the woeful state of affairs thereby proved to be now existing in the City of London—namely, the employment of foreign clerks by 35 per cent of mercantile houses—

> "Because Englishmen have no proper commercial education."

and because—

> "99 Englishmen out of 100 are acquainted with no language but their own."

and, if he can state when the Government Technical and Commercial Education Bill will be in the hands of Members?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, he hoped that the Bill referred to would be printed and in the hands of Members in the course of a few days. He trusted that some of the provisions of the Bill would, at all events, go far to remedy the state of affairs mentioned in the hon. Member's Question. The hon. Member did not seem to be aware that the Charity Commissioners in no less than 333 schemes out of a total of 412, had kept the requirements of commercial education strictly in view, and had in all these cases made provision for the teaching of one, if not two foreign languages. Other commercial subjects are frequently included, and new schemes on the same lines are constantly coming into operation.

WAR OFFICE—IMPORTATION OF CANADIAN HORSES.

MR. C. W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the statement in *The Echo* of the 15th instant is correct, that in a recently arrived consignment of Canadian horses at Woolwich there was a large proportion of weeds which raised the price of the horses adopted to about £45; and, if he is aware that English horses from English farmers could be obtained at a lower price.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The horses which have arrived from Canada are pronounced to be a very good lot. After considering, however, the price of these Canadian horses, I do not think it worth while to continue at present the experiment of importing horses from Canada. I am not without hope that we shall be able to establish a system by which we can obtain all the necessary horses from our home markets.

ADMIRALTY—THE DIRECTOR OF DOCKYARDS.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, whether the Director of Dockyards, who was appointed upwards of a year ago, has yet been provided with a Chief Constructor as his assistant; has his staff been completed to its full assigned strength; and, is it now upon such a basis that the Director can be made directly responsible for the economical performance of work, and for preventing wasteful expenditure at the Dockyards?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The Director of Dockyards has not yet been provided with a Chief Constructor as an assistant; but an arrangement is in course of completion by which that addition will be sanctioned by the Treasury. The Director of Dockyards does exercise now a salutary influence in the economical administration of the Dockyards, as is shown by the savings he has effected; but his efforts will, doubtless, be greatly supplemented by the assistance of an adequate staff.

WAR OFFICE—OFFICERS OF THE MILITIA—ARMY SIGNALLING.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is possible to make provision whereby officers of the Militia may attend the course of Army signalling at Aldershot?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): This would not be practicable without an increase of the staff of the School of Signalling. For this and other expense which would be caused provision has not been made in the present Estimates. I will consider before next year whether any sum should be taken for this object.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—REMISSION OF SENTENCES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been drawn to the decision of the Middlesex Magistrates on Saturday, quashing the conviction of Mr. Williams, who, along with six other defendants, were sentenced by Mr. De Rutzen, on the 27th April, at the Marylebone Police Court, to six months' imprisonment, with hard labour, on a charge of assaulting the police in the execution of their duty; whether Mr. De Rutzen then stated that the sentence was—

> "Wholly inadequate in the case of Williams, whom he designated as the leader, and the person most to blame;"

whether Mr. Williams on Saturday called witnesses who "described the police as having been very rough indeed;" whether he is aware that the other defendants, or several of them, were prevented from appealing by their poverty and inability to obtain bail, which Mr. De Rutzen refused to reduce; and, whether, in all the circumstances of the case, he will at once order the release of all the defendants who are now in prison?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am now in communication with Mr. De Rutzen, and have asked for a Report on this case with reference to the recent decision of the Middlesex Magistrates. When I receive it I will communicate it to the hon. Member.

MR. PICKERSGILL inquired when he might expect a reply?

MR. MATTHEWS said, in the course of a few days.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, it was a very pressing case.

COMMISSIONERS OF METROPOLITAN POLICE — THE OFFICE OF LEGAL ADVISER.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee of 1879, he will now abolish the Office of Legal Adviser to the Commissioners of Metropolitan Police just rendered vacant by the death of Mr. James Davis, and thus save the salary, £1,000, of the Office?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The question of retaining the Office of Legal Adviser to the Commissioner of Police is now under my consideration. The Committee of 1879 recognized the necessity of some legal adviser; but thought that if one Assistant Commissioner were a person of legal knowledge and magisterial experience he could give the necessary advice. I have not yet satisfied myself that the other functions of the Assistant Commissioners, which yearly increase, will leave either of them leisure to discharge the duties of legal adviser.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—SIR CHARLES WARREN'S LETTER TO SIR JAMES INGHAM.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What were the terms of Sir Charles Warren's letter to Sir James Ingham, bearing date 16th October, on the subject of magisterial comments on police orders?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The effect of the letter of Sir Charles Warren of the 16th of October, 1886, was that it would be very desirable that learned magistrates, when they disagree with the orders given to the police by the Commissioner, should communicate officially either with him or with the Secretary of State, instead of only making their comments in open Courts and leaving the Commissioner to ascertain whether the Press has correctly reported the magistrate.

ADMIRALTY—EXAMINATION IN SEAMANSHIP—THE REPORTS.

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR (Lanarkshire, Partick) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether (having regard to his statement on the matter of examination in seamanship) the Admirals in command of the Mediterranean and Channel Squadrons have sent in their Reports as to the best means of improving the present system of examination in seamanship; and, if so, whether these Reports will be communicated to Parliament?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The Reports referred to in the Question of the hon. Member have been received; but the Board are waiting for a Report, which has been called for, from the Commodore of the Training Squadron before coming to any decision. There will be no objection to the presentation to Parliament of these Reports when the Admiralty have come to a decision on them; but, perhaps the hon. Gentleman will confer with me on the subject.

THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CONVENTION —RATIFICATION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any negotiations for the ratification by the Sultan of the Convention relating to Egypt are now proceeding, or likely to be shortly resumed; and, whether, if no such negotiations are to be resumed, it is intended that the ratification of the Convention already given on Her Majesty's part shall be withdrawn?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No such negotiations are now proceeding, or likely to be shortly renewed. The ratification of the Queen has not been given by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, and therefore cannot be withdrawn.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, whether on the return of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff from Constantinople, his functions would come to an end?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I think that naturally follows on the Mission being withdrawn.

Mr. BRYCE: The Convention having been signed by Her Majesty, is it not effective?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: The ratification was signed by Her Majesty; but not having been exchanged, it is of no effect, by a well-known principle of International Law. There are fully 30 instances in the last 50 years of Treaties which had been signed; but, the ratifications not having been exchanged, have fallen to the ground.

RISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF A LUNATIC IN STAFFORD GAOL.

Mr. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What is the result of his inquiries into the alleged ill-treatment of a lunatic in Stafford Gaol; and, whether the Lunacy Commissioners have taken any action in the case?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I have received a Report from the Prisons Commissioners of the inquiry which has recently been held at Stafford Gaol, and which was conducted by the Visiting Committee, assisted by an Inspector. The inquiry, as a whole, is not yet complete; but it appears from the Report to be clear that the injuries which were found upon the man were self-inflicted; that no violence was done to him by the prisoners with whom he was placed; and, generally, that the amount of the injuries has been much exaggerated. Further investigation will be made as to whether all was done that should have been done to prevent the prisoner from injuring himself. At the same time, there is no doubt but that the magistrates committed an error of judgment in sending him to Stafford Gaol, for his mental condition showed that he should have been removed at once to an asylum.

BULGARIA—ELECTION OF A PRINCE.

Mr. LEGH (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any of the Powers have signified their assent to the election of the new Prince of Bulgaria?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): The question of assent to the election of a Prince of Bulgaria does not present itself to the Treaty Powers until that election has been sanctioned by the Sultan.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—DUNDRUM CRIMINAL LUNATIC ASYLUM.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many increases of pay and allowances have taken place in Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum; what they amount to; and, what are the names and the positions of the officials who received them?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: Since the opening of Dundrum Asylum, in 1850, the following increases in the remuneration of its officials appear to have taken place:—The resident physician and governor, original salary £240 a-year. This salary was increased on five different occasions to the present scale of £400, by £10 a-year to £450 a-year. The visiting physician, original salary £150 a-year; increased in 1868 to its present rate of £175 a-year. Chaplains.—The Protestant chaplain had up to 1875 £40 a-year; since that date the salary has been £50 a-year. The Roman Catholic chaplain had up to 1875 £60 a-year; since that date the salary has been £80 a-year. The head male attendant, original salary £24, later on £40, and since 1874 £50, by £2 a-year to £60 a-year. The subordinate staff, composed of attendants and ordinary domestics, received formerly wages averaging from £12 to £18 a-year. The present increased rates for the subordinate staff shown in the Estimates date, for the most part, from the 1st of April, 1874. These several increased rates of remuneration were not assigned to individual persons; but to the different posts named. The total of the increased rate of remuneration appears to be about £450.

THE PANAMA CANAL—EXCESSIVE MORTALITY.

Sir ROBERT FOWLER (London) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the excessive mortality among the coloured labourers employed on the works of the Panama Canal; and, whether Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Jamaica, has taken any action in the matter?

The SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir Henry Holland) (Hampstead): I have not been informed of an excessive mortality among the coloured labourers employed on the works of the Panama Canal. In March, 1885, and in April, 1887, the Governor of Jamaica, having received information from the British Consul at Panama that a large number of labourers on the isthmus were without employment, issued notifications to that effect in the Jamaica Government *Gazette;* and in these notifications the magistrates, ministers of religion, and others interested in the welfare of the people were invited to warn them of the risk they would incur by going to the isthmus.

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—THE DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) asked Mr. Attorney General, whether the Treasury has applied for a writ of *certiorari* to remove the trial of the 31 men charged with riot during the collection of tithe at Llangwm; and, if so, upon what grounds?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that, in pursuance of a power vested in the Attorney General, I have caused the proceedings in question to be removed into the Queen's Bench, in order to secure a fair trial. The place of trial is a question which must come before the Court; and, therefore, I cannot say anything upon the subject.

In reply to Mr. T. M. Healy (Longford, N.),

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER said, there was no change of venue. To remove a case to the Queen's Bench did not involve change of venue.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS reminded the hon. and learned Gentleman that he had not answered the latter part of the Question—namely, upon what grounds had the case been transferred to the Queen's Bench?

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: I have already said in order to secure a fair trial.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS asked the reason why these men could not have had a fair trial at the Assizes in the County of Denbigh?

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: As the responsibility rests with me, I must decline to give the grounds for my action.

THE LAND TRANSFER BILL—REFERENCE TO A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that Lord Cairns' Conveyancing Acts and Settled Land Act were referred to and fully considered by Select Committees of this House; whether the Government propose that a similar course should be adopted with respect to the Land Transfer Bill; and, whether he thinks that it will be possible to secure a full consideration by a Select Committee of the complicated details of the Land Transfer Bill during the present Session?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was aware that the Acts referred to were very carefully considered by a Select Committee of this House; and he believed they were not the subject of debate in the House at all. If a similar course could be pursued with regard to the Land Transfer Bill, he thought it probably would tend very greatly to the advantage of the measure itself, and of the country. But he had not been able to satisfy himself that that course could be taken. He would make further inquiries, however, and give a further answer to the Question if the right hon. Gentleman would renew it next week.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: I presume, from the answer just given, that the second reading will not be moved for on Thursday.

Mr. W. H. SMITH, in reply, undertook that no further steps should be taken with the Bill until he had satisfied himself whether it could or could not be referred to a Select Committee.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE MOTIONS ON "LONDON CORPORATION (CHARGES OF MALVERSATION)."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can now fix a day for the discussion of the Motions "London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)" standing on the Paper for this day, and which Motions have already been delayed by the action of the Government?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was sorry to say that, in the present state of Public Business, it was impossible for him to name a day when the Motions could be considered, and he was afraid that the same remark would apply to other Motions. The hon. Member, however, would be certain to be able to avail himself of an opportunity at a later period of the Session.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND BILL.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, with a view to improving the efficient working of the Scottish Secretariat, he will, in the Bill now under preparation, provide for the Scottish Secretary being a member of the Cabinet, also for a Parliamentary Under Secretary for the Office of Lord Advocate being discontinued as a political Office, for the abolition of the Office of Scottish Solicitor General, for the abolition of the Fishery Department as a Board, and its removal to London, under a single Head, with power to consult individuals and bodies on fishery affairs?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The great Parliamentary experience of the hon. and gallant Gentleman must, I am sure, satisfy him that it would be altogether unprecedented for any statement to be made as to the provisions of a measure which is now under the consideration of the Cabinet; and I am, therefore, quite unable to give him any answer to his numerous Questions. But it must not be inferred from my silence that I acquiesce in the views expressed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL.

In reply to Mr. MASON (Lanark, Mid),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that he was not in a position to mention when the Bill would be further proceeded with; but he had undertaken to give sufficient notice of the resumption of proceedings upon it in Committee: it was then proposed to go through with it until it was concluded.

LONDON CORPORATION (CHARGES OF MALVERSATION) — SIR ROBERT FOWLER AND MR. HOWELL.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I desire to ask you, Sir, whether it is the case that you ruled that it was not competent for the hon. Member for the Bethnal Green Division (Mr. Howell) to bring before the House, as a matter of Privilege, the conduct of the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London (Sir Robert Fowler) who, he alleged, called him a "damned liar" in the Lobby? I wish to know whether it is competent to bring that forward as a matter of Privilege?

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think the hon. and learned Gentleman is entitled to ask me that question. Nothing has passed of late to re-open the question. I think, if I recollect aright, in March last the hon. Member (Mr. Howell) came to me and made a complaint of something that had passed in the Lobby, without mentioning anything of the terms that had been used, or anything like the expression now referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman. I endeavoured, as I always do, in the interests of the House, and I hope with the consent of the House, to make peace between the two hon. Members. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bethnal Green said, at the time, if I recollect aright, that he left the matter entirely in my hands. He has since spoken to me on the subject; but it is impossible to revive now a question of anything that happened in March last; nor has it any reference to the question which, unfortunately, arose yesterday.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to give Notice that on Thursday I shall move, as an Amendment to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, with regard to my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner)—

> "That the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London be suspended from the service of the House for a month."

SUPPLY—THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

In reply to Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), said: I am not able to say now when the House will proceed with the consideration of the Navy Estimates; but I agree with my noble Friend that when they are proceeded with it would be very desirable that Vote 10 should be taken first, and I will make arrangements accordingly.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is true that the Government, at a meeting of their supporters this afternoon, agreed to accept Amendments to the Irish Land Law Bill, involving a revision of judicial rents?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government will make their statement as to the course they may think it right to take with the Irish Land Law Bill when the Order of the Day for that Bill is called.

NAVY—COLLISION BETWEEN H.M.SS. "AJAX" AND "DEVASTATION" OFF PORTSMOUTH.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.): Can my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty say whether there is any truth in the report in the evening papers that the *Ajax* and the *Devastation* have come into collision on their way from Portland to Spithead, and that the *Devastation* has gone into Portsmouth Harbour very full of water?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I have heard that the *Ajax* and *Devastation* have collided; but I have no information as to details.

PARLIAMENT—THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (1882)—RULE 2 (ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE).

WALES—THE TITHE AGITATION—DISTURBANCES AT LLANGWM.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) said, that in consequence of the Answer he had received from the Attorney General he would ask leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the determination of the Government to try by Special Jury thirty-one men charged with riot during the collection of Tithe at Llangwm, North Wales.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified,

MR. SPEAKER called on those Members who supported the Motion to rise in their places, and not less than Forty Members having accordingly risen:—

MR. T. E. ELLIS said, he would not occupy the time of the House at any great length in discussing this question. He considered it would be unfair to the prisoners now about to be put upon their trial not to call the attention of the House to the matter. Before proceeding to the actual subject of his Motion, he should like to say that during the last two years various districts in North and South Wales had been disturbed owing to the circumstances attending the collection of the tithes. In three instances the disturbances were serious, and public attention had been called to them in various ways. The three disturbed districts were Cerrig-y-Druidion, Llangwm, and Mochdre. In the case of most of these the Government thought fit to institute an inquiry by means of a Commissioner, but in one case — namely, that of Llangwm, the Director of Public Prosecutions had instituted a trial against 31 men for assault and riot. The alleged offences took place on the 27th of May. As the Home Secretary had promised an inquiry, not merely into the disturbances at Mochdre, but into all the tithe disturbances in North Wales, there was no idea whatever as to the prosecution of any man connected with these riots. But on the 30th of June and the 1st of July, that was to say, considerably over a month after the offences took place, summonses were issued against 31 men, farmers and labourers, in the district. Summonses were issued on the Thursday and Friday, and the trials were to take place on the following Wednesday. That just left three clear days between the receipt of the summons and the trial. Instead of those men being tried at the Petty Sessions Court where the alleged offence took place, they were taken to another place 18 or 20 miles off. The result was that the counsel for the defence had only two or three sheets of brief in order to start the trial. On Saturday and Monday the solicitor for the defence asked the prosecutor for an adjournment for a few days in order to prepare the evidence. The prosecutor absolutely refused to give any time whatever. Renewed application for adjournment was made at the trial, but that also was refused. An incident occurred which gave new point to the application for adjournment. The wife of one of the defendants died, and the man asked that the trial should be adjourned, but not even then was the request granted. Last Tuesday the defendants were committed to the Assizes at Ruthin, to be held next Thursday. Since this was done the solicitor for the defendants went from St. Asaph to the district of Cerrig-y-Druidion in order to obtain evidence. He had done this at great expense and had procured four gentlemen as counsel in the approaching trial. He might state that there was so little crime in North Wales that it was hardly worth while for barristers to attach themselves to the North Wales Circuit, and the result was that for a trial of this sort one had to go outside the Circuit in order to secure competent counsel.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): The hon. Gentleman is quite misinformed.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS said, that if he was misinformed he would like the hon. and learned Gentleman to give the statistics of the number of white gloves presented to the Judges during the last 20 or 30 years in almost all the Assize towns in North Wales, and to state whether it was not the fact that the Judges had repeatedly declared that their coming to North Wales was simply a holiday for them? The preparations for the defence having thus been completed, intimation was given last Saturday morning that a writ of *certiorari* was to be moved for in order to remove the trial from the Assizes at Denbighshire to the Court of Queen's Bench, or some other place, of which the solicitor was not informed. Now, if there was so much cause for hurry in getting the men committed, he wanted to know why there should be this change of front on the part of the prosecution when the evidence had been prepared, the sureties given, and the counsel engaged? The Attorney General said to-day he had given his decision for the removal of the trial because he could not expect a fair trial at Ruthin. It seemed rather remarkable that in the very first semi-political trial in Wales the hon. and learned Gentleman by his own *fiat* should take advantage of a provision which his own Government refused to put into the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. What did the removal of the trials mean? It meant, in the first place, entailing immense expense on those men, who were but farmers and labourers, and it also meant that the Attorney General, representing either the Treasury or the Government, wished to say on the very first semi-political trial in Wales that Welsh juries were not to be trusted. He should like the hon. and learned Gentleman to tell the House plainly why he expressed his mistrust of Welsh juries when politics and religion, to some extent, came in. Then the next point was that, after mistrusting this jury, and publicly expressing to the country that he could not expect justice in an ordinary trial by jury, he wished to remove the trials to the Queen's Bench. Did he mean to remove them to any other Assize in North Wales? Did he mean to take the men for trial to Chester or to bring them to London? When the Government proposed to bring Irish-speaking witnesses from Ireland to London they shrank from their own proposal. They withdrew the clauses and promised to bring in Coercion Bill No. 2. In this case, where Welsh-speaking witnesses were concerned, men who understood very little English, they proposed, apparently, to bring them to London without the enactment of either Coercion Bill No. 1 or Coercion Bill No. 2. The conduct of the Government in connection with the trial was very ill-omened, and it was remarkable that the hon. and learned Gentleman, who had no experience whatever of Welsh juries, should offer this public insult to them by branding them as unreliable and unworthy to carry out the law of the land and to judge the men of their own race before an ordinary Judge of Assize. If the Government wished to make matters more difficult in Wales, if they wished to inflame a quiet and orderly peasantry to do acts and harbour feelings which in their normal state they would neither do nor harbour, they could not possibly select a more sure method of attaining their object. It might be of small moment to the hon. and learned Gentleman in London to sign a Paper and remove a trial; but an act of that kind sank and burned into the hearts of a sensitive people. He gave the Government fair warning that the Welsh people, no more than the Irish people, would allow themselves to be trampled upon and insulted by actions of this kind. The question of the connection between Church and State might be a different matter; but if the Government wished to make that question a difficult and complicated one, if they wished to arouse the animosities of race or make the administration of justice difficult, they were going exactly in the right way to do it; but if they wished the Welsh people to be in the future, as in the past, quiet and law-abiding, then the Government should give to them the same fair play as they gave to Englishmen in their own English counties. He concluded by moving the adjournment of the House.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. T. E. Ellis.*)

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, it was impossible for him, for obvious reasons, to reply to that portion of the hon. Member's speech which was addressed to audiences outside the House. When the hon. Member spoke about trampling on the Welsh people he must know perfectly well that no Law Officer of the Crown could reply in that strain to observations made in moving the adjournment of the House. At any rate, he thought the hon. Member might have had the fairness to remember the distinct answer which he gave to a Question the previous evening, and not to have misrepresented the intentions of the Government. There had never been the slightest intention or proposal to bring this case to London. The hon. Member also stated that it was the intention of the Attorney General to change the venue. The Attorney General had not the power to do so; it must be done by the Court upon a proper application. To suggest, therefore, with such impassioned eloquence that this power had been used for the purpose of showing that he, as Attorney General, wished to cast a slight on Welsh juries, and that the Government were aiding him in this object, was absolutely without foundation. He could not enter into the question of removal, because it was a matter which had to be dealt with by the Courts on materials properly laid before them. It would, therefore, be wrong for him to prejudge the case one way or the other. As regards the preliminary proceedings, which had been referred to by the hon. Member, his knowledge of these matters was obtained probably from the same sources as that of the hon. Member, and possibly the hon. Member knew more about the case than he himself did. He had heard the questions put to the Home Secretary, and the answers which had been given. The Attorney General had nothing to do with the committal of the prisoners or the place where the magistrates were to sit. If there was a cause of complaint against the magistrates it could be invested in another way. The hon. Member stated that it was on Tuesday last when the committal for trial took place. Then and then only did the matter come before the Attorney General. On the materials which were placed before him—which he declined to discuss in the House—he considered that a fair trial would not have been obtained at Ruthin in the state it then was, and he accordingly determined that the case should be removed to the Queen's Bench side, in order that proceedings might there be taken so that a fair trial might be secured. One result of this would be that if the Court thought it desirable in the interests of justice the trial could take place by special jury, whereas it would not be tried by special jury on the Crown side. That was all that had been done, and for it he took the full responsibility. As to what the hon. Member said about securing counsel, he had to say that his information was to the contrary effect. He was not, of course, entitled to refer to private conversations; but if the hon. Member would endeavour to obtain information from those who instructed him in this matter he would ascertain that counsel on the North Wales Circuit were perfectly ready to defend these men. The removal, however, to another place on that Circuit—Chester, for example—would not lessen the power of the defendants to get more counsel. Ruthin was a place to which counsel did not go so much as some other places on the Circuit. In reference to the expense in securing counsel, the hon. Member would find, on inquiry, that the outside expense would be a guinea each for retaining them. The suggestion, therefore, that money had been thrown away owing to the action of the Attorney General was wholly unfounded. Then as to the witnesses. It must be borne in mind that the witnesses must appear wherever they had to give evidence. The matter stood in this position:—Here was a case where there was no fewer than 31 defendants, and it was quite possible, on further consideration, that it would not be necessary to try them all. It would be seen that a person who had the responsibility of coming to a decision as to the defendants whom it would be necessary to try would naturally be anxious not to rush the case through the Court; the committal only took place last Tuesday, and they were to be tried on Thursday next, leaving the authorities only nine days to make up their minds whether or not it would be necessary to proceed against the whole of the 31 defendants or not. The course he (Sir Richard Webster) had taken had been adopted by him for the purpose of giving the authorities more time to consider the question, as it was often found, in cases of disturbances or not, that the guilt was confined really to two or three persons, and he had also the interests of the defendants in view, for he considered that it must be of advantage to them to have more time to get up their defence. He declined to follow the hon. Gentleman in his suggestion that he was acting differently than he otherwise should have done, because the subject involved a question of politics or religion. In his judgment it would be found to involve nothing of the kind. It would be found to be a riot or disturbance which sprang from the action of two or three persons, and not from wide-spread political or religious feeling which the hon. Member was rather inclined to exaggerate than underrate. He accepted the responsibility for what he had done, and protested that he had not been actuated by any other feeling than that of wishing to see that a fair trial should be obtained.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.): Mr. Speaker, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General has given an answer to my hon. Friend, which, except in point of length, is really no answer at all. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that there could not be a fair trial at Ruthin? Why could there not be a fair trial? The Attorney General would probably reply that an impartial common jury could not be empannelled at Ruthin. That view rather surprises me, because I had always thought that the impartiality of British juries was a cardinal article of faith with right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I do not know whether the Attorney General, unlike the President of the Board of Trade, has learnt to separate Wales from England in his own mind. But this I will say—that a Welsh jury is quite as likely to give an impartial verdict in such a case as this as a London jury is likely to try impartially the case of "Parnell *v. The Times*." But what did the hon. and learned Gentleman mean by saying he could not get a fair and impartial trial at Ruthin? He meant this—that he could not get a conviction. Why could he not get a fair trial? Admitting, for the sake of argument, that this was true, I would ask whose fault was that? I will tell the hon. and learned Gentleman this—if it is the case, it is because these unfortunate defendants have been so harried and worried that popular sympathy is naturally enlisted in their favour. Instead of their being taken to a Court near their own homes, a cock-and-bull story was told that there was no Court-house or proper accommodation at Cerrig-y-Druidion, and these 31 poor men were dragged a distance of 18 miles to be examined at Ruthin. It appears from the report of the proceedings there, which I hold in my hand, that there were 103 witnesses to be called for the defence; but the Bench declined to hear them. Why? Because they were unanimously agreed to commit them for trial at the County Assizes, which will be held at Ruthin on Thursday next. In order to show how these men were treated, I will ask the House to allow me to read a telegram which I received this morning from the solicitor for the defence—

"Prosecution point blank refused to adjourn for a few days on ground of Assizes being so near. Counsel had to proceed with defence with three sheets of brief. Since committal I have lived at Cerrig-y-Druidion, to be ready for Ruthin. Have incurred serious expense with counsel and law stationers, and arranged consultation for to-morrow, believing implicitly case would come on at Ruthin. I received no intimation that *certiorari* would be applied for until Saturday morning. Prosecution in opening case gave no hint. Part of counsel's fees completely wasted. Expenses from rushing proceedings incurred in vain. Witnesses have to be stopped and sureties to be procured."

Now, I ask, is that a fair way of treating these poor peasants? And yet the Attorney General, sheltering himself behind his lofty privilege, does not even deign to say when or where they are to be tried. I quite admit that he has the law on his side. The Attorney General can, without assigning any reason, obtain this writ of *certiorari;* but it is a practice, I venture to say, "more honoured in the breach than the observance." The case which comes nearest to the present was the notorious case of "Rex. *v.* the Dean of St. Asaph," defended by Erskine, when the Crown brought the case from Wales to be tried in England, because a Welsh jury could not be trusted—with what result we all know.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I beg the right hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon. The thing has been frequently done by the Attorney General of the Government of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman was himself a Member.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman tell me in what cases it was done? I do not like these vague generalities. I thought not —be that as it may, I will say that it is an odious practice, handed down from the time when the liberties of England had to be defended on the scaffold and on the battle field. Thank God, those days are over! But there are other ways of crushing out the liberties of the people. You may make a trial so expensive, that a poor man cannot defend himself; and that is what you are doing now. You have, on one side, the Attorney General, with all the wealth of the nation at his back; and, on the other, 31 labouring men, who earn a few shillings a-week. I say the House has a right to know when and where these men will be tried; and whether they can be placed in a position in which they can properly conduct their case. I can assure the Attorney General I deplore these unfortunate occurrences as much as he can do; and, as a general rule, I could wish that matters of this sort should be brought before the House in a more regular way. But whose fault is that? It is because the Government have so appropriated to itself every hour, every minute of the public time—which is our property as much as yours—for its wretched Coercion Bill, that my hon. Friend has had no other opportunity of bringing the question forward. Now, I warn the Attorney General that it is exactly these high-handed proceedings which are bringing the administration of justice in the most loyal and law-abiding part of the United Kingdom into disrepute and distrust. Do you want to have another Ireland in Wales? If so, I can assure you that you are doing your best to attain that end; and I will only add that after the unsatisfactory answer given by the Attorney General, I hope that my hon. Friend will test the opinion of the House by going to a Division, and that every fair-minded man, on whichever side he sits, will follow him into the Lobby.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, that before the House went to a Division, it was right that some protest should be made against the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down, which, he ventured to say, was a scandal to the House of Commons. [*Ministerial cheers, and* "Oh, oh!" *and* "Withdraw!" *from the Opposition.*]

MR. SPEAKER: I am sure the hon. and learned Gentleman will see fit to withdraw that expression.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: Most impertinent!

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that if he had travelled beyond the Rules of Order in this House——

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): You have; you have been told so.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that if he had travelled beyond the Rules of the House, he respectfully withdrew the expression, and apologized for using it. But he hoped he might be forgiven if he had been betrayed for a moment into any excess of language in desiring to make a prompt and vigorous protest against the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He hoped that every word of that speech might be recorded, and would be before the right hon. and learned Gentleman to read to-morrow morning; and he thought too well of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to believe that when he read it he would feel other than regret at having uttered that speech with regard to a matter now waiting for judicial decision, and that he who had made that speech had brought into the consideration of that question in the House reference to the most active and violent controversies of Party feeling. And he who had done so was one who had himself held judicial office, and known what it was to exercise the responsibility entrusted to him in a matter which might become controversial in that House, and had known what the obligation was that he should exercise his duty in that matter as his hon. and learned Friend had done simply with reference to the facts before him, and without any regard whatever to Party controversies in that House. He could not understand how the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan) could excuse himself for having, in a debate of that kind, introduced references to actions of Mr. Parnell against *The Times*, and talked about defendants in a case which had as yet to come before the consideration of a jury having been "harried and worried in the way they had been." What had his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General done? He had had the duty——

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN explained that he had not said that the Attorney General had harried and worried the defendants. That took place before.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE asked then upon whom the attack was made? Was it directed against the action of the magistrates? If so, what was the meaning of the references to the action taken by his hon. and learned Friend? The charge against his hon. and learned Friend was that he had used the power which was entrusted to him by the law in a way which would prejudice the trial of those persons, and had used it in that way, knowing what the effect of that action would be; and every suggestion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech carried the imputation that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had exercised his power in such a manner that, even if they were convicted, the conviction would have been wrongfully and improperly obtained. He could understand the value of that suggestion for Party purposes, but he could not understand how a former Judge Advocate General should get up in that House and assail the Attorney General of the day, who had an obligation to discharge in the course of his duty, without having one syllable of proof, or the smallest foundation of fact on which to base his attack. He had been unable to take down the exact terms of the telegram which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had read to the House; but it was perfectly clear to any lawyer that one or two points in it were capable of an immediate explanation. His hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General had pointed out that, as regarded the retaining of counsel for the defendants, there could not have been that throwing away of money which had been suggested; and he should like respectfully to associate himself with the position which his hon. and learned Friend had taken on that matter. It would be impossible for the function of the Attorney General to be usefully and properly discharged in regard to the Criminal Law if he were to be called upon in that House to enter into a detailed statement of the circumstances and reasons of the action he took in such a case. ["Oh, oh!" *and* An hon. MEMBER: What is he here for?] If his action were open to challenge, it might be promptly dealt with, and made the subject of censure by the House. But his hon. and learned Friend had made no change of the venue in that instance. What he had done was merely to exercise his power so that that case might be tried by a special jury; and it might be within the competence of the Court, if it thought fit, to remove it to another venue. If that was done, it would be the act of the Court, and not the act of the Attorney General. The action of his hon. and learned Friend had been simply in consonance with the action of previous Law Officers of the Crown; and it was to be hoped that when the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite read his own speech tomorrow morning, he would regret having introduced references to heated Party controversy into a discussion relating to a question which was to go before a judicial tribunal.

MR. SWETENHAM (Carnarvon, &c.) said, that he also regretted that the right hon. and learned Gentleman, as a Welshman, should have made such a speech. He, at one time, had the honour of being a member of the North Wales Circuit, and knew better than to accede to what the hon. Member for Merioneth said about the difficulty of getting counsel. He was also a magistrate for the same county as he (Mr. Swetenham) was, and ought to be zealous for the support of law in that county. The right hon. and learned Gentleman asked whether the House wanted to make another Ireland of Wales? He answered — "Certainly not on the Conservative side of the House;" but, if such arguments as those of the right hon. and learned Gentleman were persisted in, they would lead to such an undesirable result. He protested against these imputations. The right hon. and learned Member for East Denbighshire had asked, "Why could not a fair trial be had at Ruthin?" He (Mr. Swetenham) was not hampered by any official trammels that might surround the hon. and learned Attorney General, so he (Mr. Swetenham) would tell him that the reason why a fair trial could not be secured at Ruthin was that the entire district was permeated with the doctrines of the Anti-Tithe League, and from that district the jurors would have to be brought, so that if the trial took place there the prisoners would be tried by persons who, in one sense, were implicated with them. It would, therefore, be impossible to get a fair trial there, for a fair trial meant a trial by jurymen who, without bias, would give a verdict in accordance with the evidence. Had the defence called their witnesses before the magistrates, and had them bound over, their expenses would have been allowed, and he knew personally that there was no difficulty in getting counsel for the defence. He quite agreed in the remark that the farmers of North Wales were a law-abiding, quiet, peaceful people, and he would challenge anyone to say that, under ordinary circumstances, there was any class of people more so. But he deplored that a certain class of persons, whom he did not expect they would find amongst the prisoners, should have stirred them up. These were the wire-pullers, who took good care to keep out of danger, and who deserved far more to be on their trial than these 31 poor men, whom they had made their dupes.

MR. ARTHUR WILLIAMS (Glamorgan, S.) said, he had no desire to import Party feeling into this matter. He quite accepted what the Attorney General said, that in the exercise of his duty it was incumbent upon him to put the law in motion; but it was a curious fact that all this interest was taken in the prosecution of these men, whilst far more important criminal prosecutions were taken no notice of. The men were charged with riot, and suddenly, without notice, when the proceedings had been pushed forward with unusual haste, they were informed that this shameful engine of the Government was put into operation in order that the trial might be determined in a manner different to the usual Constitutional method. What was the object of this removal? They had had it from the Attorney General that it was because he did not believe that a fair trial could be had at Ruthin before a common jury. If he (Mr. A. Williams) were to be on trial for any criminal offence he would prefer to go before a jury of the people, who were the only proper persons. A special jury was not the proper tribunal to try criminal charges, and especially was it not a proper tribunal to try charges which, in spite of anything the Attorney General might say, were charges of a political character, more or less influenced by religious feeling. Such charges ought not to be tried by a particular class, and certainly, not by men selected from a body who were entirely opposed in every way to the agitation out of which the riots arose. He could assure the Attorney General that if he persisted in the course he had indicated the Welsh people would not be satisfied with the trial. He hoped the Motion for Adjournment would be pressed to a Division, in order that the sense of the House might be taken on the action of the Attorney General.

MR. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.) said, he was sorry to hear of the lamentable condition of Wales, as announced by the hon. Member for Carnarvon (Mr. Swetenham). It seemed that the people were actually agitating in Wales. He only hoped, for the sake of the hon. Member's peace of mind, that these agitators were not being paid with money from America; but the proceedings in the Principality had a wonderful family resemblance to what had taken place on the other side of St. George's Channel. The Attorney General had rather let the cat out of the bag when he said that the reason why the ordinary course could not be adopted was that there was large sympathy with the anti-tithe movement in Wales. He

(Mr. R. T. Reid), under all the circumstances, was very much inclined to share in that sympathy himself. The Government, he feared, had forgotten that it was always desirable in criminal matters not to depart from the ordinary law, in order to avoid not only injustice, but the imputation of injustice. He did not want to impute to the Attorney General any desire to do a wrong from political motives; but the fact remained that the hon. and learned Gentleman was taking steps to secure that these poor men should be tried by a Special Jury, who would be drawn from a class prejudiced in favour of property, and opposed to those who were agitating against tithes. When the Attorney General declined altogether to say why he had exercised the discretion vested in him, he assumed a too lofty tone. In the circumstances of the case, the Attorney General ought to give an explanation. A large number of persons, for a comparatively trifling offence like rioting, were to be tried by a special jury, contrary to the ordinary rule, and certainly the House had a right to know why that course was to be adopted. A judicial person, he admitted, was not bound to answer questions raised in that House; but the Attorney General was not a judicial person. He was a Minister of the Crown, and as such sat in that House for the purpose of answering questions as to the manner in which his functions were discharged.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, while he quite agreed that in all matters which partook of a judicial character, the House should be very careful not to import any Party spirit into its deliberations, he must strongly protest against the doctrine laid down by the Attorney General of non-responsibility to that House. Matters were coming to a pretty pass indeed, and it was necessary to speak out strongly. Whenever the Government were interrogated their reply now was—"*Sic volo, sic jubeo.*" What was the position of the Attorney General? In old days any prosecutor could get a *certiorari*, but the right being abused, as it was in the well-known case of the Dean of Asaph, the law was altered by 5 & 6 *Will.* IV. The power of the Attorney General, however, to obtain a *certiorari* was expressly reserved. Why? Because he was a responsible person, who could be made responsible for any abuse of the power. One of the privileges of the subject was the right to have a speedy trial before a jury of his Peers. And when the right was infringed, reasons ought to be given for that exceptional course. He did not understand how the Attorney General could refuse to say why he intended to proceed exceptionally in the case of this trial. If the reason were that Wales was in such a condition that juries could not be trusted, the state of the country must be very serious indeed, and surely the House of Commons ought to be told something about it. He did not understand the Attorney General when he said he was not bound to give his reasons for removing the venue from Wales to the Queen's Bench Division.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER denied having said that. What he had said was that he could not explain the reasons of his action to the House, because the matter would come before the Court.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT reminded the hon. and learned Member that it was he who put the Court in motion, and that what they wanted to have was his reason for doing so. He hoped that the Home Secretary would supply the omission in the speeches of the Attorney General and the Solicitor General. What grounds had he for departing from the ordinary mode of administering justice? An hon. Member who sat behind the Treasury Bench had not been as reticent as the hon. and learned Member, and told the House that the people of Wales could not be trusted.

MR. SWETENHAM observed that, on the contrary, he had said that the people could be trusted. What he had intended to point out was that it would be very difficult to find any common jurymen in North Wales who were not more or less connected with the Anti-Tithe League.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked why the hon. Member supported the procedure proposed by the Attorney General if he trusted the people? The hon. Member himself had a very strong opinion upon questions relating to land. Was it not he who had proposed to move a very remarkable Amendment to the Irish Crimes Bill, an Amendment under which it would have been possible to inflict 150 lashes upon offenders in agrarian cases?

MR. SWETENHAM said, if the right hon. Gentleman referred to his proposed Amendment it did not deal with agrarian offences, unless the maiming of cattle could be so considered.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, continuing, said, he did not think it wise that a course of this kind, which affected a great many persons beyond the prisoners themselves, should be taken without some public statement of the grounds on which it was taken. The Attorney General, it appeared, felt himself prevented by his official position from giving any explanation. But the Home Secretary was under no such restraints, and he ought to tell the House why it had been resolved in this case that the ordinary law should not be allowed to take its course. Such explanation might prevent misunderstanding, and prevent the necessity of a Division.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, the right hon. Gentleman had filled both the positions of a Law Officer and of Home Secretary, and he ought to have known these questions could not be answered categorically. Such a matter as this did not come before a Government as a Government. It was one which the Attorney General, as the Law Officer of the Government, undertook on his own responsibility. The matter was not one that came even within the knowledge of other Members of the Government, and in the present instance he did not know that any Member of the Cabinet had even heard that it was the intention to apply in this case for a change of venue. He himself knew very little of the facts of this case—he did not even know upon whom the assault was committed; but from what he did know of the case, it appeared to be a pure case of riot and assault, in which the justice or propriety of tithes was only very indirectly involved. That being so, it was only in the most indirect way that it touched any political question. There had, however, been a great deal of excitement in the neighbourhood, and probably it would be impossible to find a jury the members of which were not partizans either of one side or the other. The Attorney General, as the responsible Law Officer, had to form his own judgment as to the course he should take upon the information, and the evidence before him. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the writ of *certiorari* as a rusty weapon, but it was not at all rusty. Such applications were of frequent occurrence, and recognized as very proper where any case excited strong local feeling. The Attorney General would in a few days have to apply to the Court for a change of venue, and it would be open to grave objections that he should anticipate his argument to the Court by a statement to the House. It might, indeed, appear unfair of him to do so, and to be prejudging the case. Certainly it would be most ungenerous to the prisoners, and might, so to speak, poison the wells of justice. The proper course for the Attorney General was that which he had taken—namely, to decline to enter into an agrument in support of the application for the change of venue until that application had been made to the Court.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked if the writ of *certiorari* had been granted?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, the right hon. Gentleman surely knew that this was not a case of *certiorari* at all. The Attorney General had the right of removing the case to the civil side of the Court of Queen's Bench, and he had done so. The change of venue was another matter, dependent upon the order of the Court.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT asked if the effect of removing it to the civil side did not involve its being tried by a special jury?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: It enables the trial to take place by a Special Jury.

MR. R. T. REID said, the Attorney General was not bound to move that a case be transferred to the Queen's Bench Division. A motion for a writ of *certiorari* was not necessary.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he believed that was so in the past. The trial could be removed at the option of the Attorney General.

MR. R. T. REID: And the trial will take place before a Special Jury instead of before a common jury.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is the object.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) said, he desired, as a Welshman, to enter his solemn protest against the slur cast upon his country by the proposition to remove the trial to London. The proceedings against the prisoners in this case would be looked upon in the light of a persecution and not a prosecution. There was a growing feeling in Wales against the conduct of the Government towards Ireland, and they believed that the Government desired to pursue a similar course towards Wales. This proceeding would add strength to that feeling. To try these men by a special jury would not be trying them by their peers. He was glad his hon. Friend had called attention to the subject, and he hoped the Motion would be pressed to a Division, as a protest against the slur which had been cast upon the Welsh people at large.

Mr. BOWEN ROWLANDS (Cardiganshire) said, he must complain that the question whether the prisoners should be tried before their peers or not had already been settled by the Attorney General.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: Certainly not. All I have done is to remove the case to the civil side of the Queen's Bench.

Mr. BOWEN ROWLANDS: And that was with the express purpose of having it adjudicated upon by a special jury. No verdict had been returned in Wales which gave the Government a right to say that Welsh juries would refuse to return a fair verdict. If there was any ground for believing that the ordinary jurors would be unduly partial to the prisoners, there was also ample ground for believing that the special jurors would be unduly influenced against them. If there were any mixed and difficult questions of law and fact in a case requiring to be dealt with by more cultivated intellects, then a special jury might perhaps be a more appropriate tribunal; but this was a question upon which the commonest man could decide as completely and properly as the most cultivated members of the society from which a Special Jury was likely to be drawn. He did not know whether an application had yet been made for a change of venue, or whether that was another of the resources of civilization which the Government were prepared to apply against these poor men. If such an application were made it would be another insult cast at a country one of the constituencies of which he had the honour to represent. He desired to say that his wish was that no measures should be taken, either from ignorance or wilfulness on the part of the Government, which would be likely to create widespread disaffection in Wales. But, if the course on which the Government seemed now to be entering were persevered in, the result must be to create this disaffection, and to convert one of the most peaceful and loyal parts of the Queen's Dominions into one in which a very different state of things would prevail.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 129; Noes 198: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 310.)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £48,063, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs."

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I observe in this Vote items for the salaries of 12 Foreign Office messengers at £400 a-year, and for nine Queen's Home Service messengers. Looking at the other Votes, I see charges for a vast number of messengers who are not styled "Queen's messengers," but are simply called "messengers." For instance, there are five in connection with the Home Office, at the average salary of £150 a-year; at the Treasury, 24, at an average salary of £130 a-year; and at the Colonial Office there appear to be seven. I presume that these are messengers who fetch and carry about the office. But in regard to the 12 Foreign Office messengers, and the nine Queen's Home Service messengers I observe, in connection with them, another item of expenditure for journeys, including an allowance, in the case of the Foreign Office messengers, of £1 per day. Now, I want to know whether it is the fact that Foreign Office messengers are sent upon journeys from this country abroad simply because they happen to be here, and, if so, why the telegraphs should not be employed? I see that the expense of sending telegrams abroad increases enormously year after year; but, nevertheless, you have these Foreign Office messengers sent out once a-week or once a fortnight, as the case may be. I can easily understand the propriety of sending despatches by messengers which it is not considered desirable to send by post. But, surely, in regard to the ordinary despatches of the Foreign Office, it is not necessary that they should be sent in this way. I am perfectly aware that the number of messengers has been reduced in recent years; but I think that the staff might be still further reduced, and the rule should be that a messenger should only be sent off when there is really some important despatch for him to take, and which is supposed to be of a secret character. What I object to is that these messengers should be running from London to any particular place at stated intervals, whether they have important despatches to carry or not. I hardly know how they run at the present moment—whether, in the case of Berlin, Vienna, Paris, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople they are sent out once a-week or twice. As a matter of fact, I cannot ascertain how often they are sent; but I am satisfied that, at any rate, a considerable amount of economy might be effected in this expenditure. So far as the Home Service messengers are concerned, I really do not know what they are. I do not quite understand the Vote, and I fail to discover whether the expenses as well as the salaries of the Home Office messengers are included in the item of £3,400 which appears in the Vote for the year. As I do not see an item of that kind put down anywhere else, I presume that they are included; but I confess that I am unable to understand what these messengers are employed for at all. I propose to move the reduction of the Vote; but I ground that reduction on the Foreign Office messengers, rather than upon the Home Service messengers, and in order to elicit some explanation from the Government, I beg to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Item C, £5,980, Messengers' Salaries, be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport): I wish to have some explanation in regard to some of the other items included in this Vote beyond that which has been referred to by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere).

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Member proposes to speak upon other subjects, I think he had better defer his remarks until the question which is now before the Committee has been settled.

MR. JENNINGS: I am quite ready to defer my remarks; but all I wish to say relates to matters which apply to the present Vote.

THE UNDER SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The hon. Member has moved the Amendment of which he gave Notice, to reduce this Vote by the sum of £1,000, and he rests his proposal—first, on the ground that the Foreign Service messengers are not generally necessary, and that they should only be employed in very special cases. Now, this is a matter which has very often been brought before the House of Commons, and it has been held by successive Ministries that it is of importance to retain the services of Foreign Service messengers. No doubt the means of travelling have become more speedy, as well as cheaper, of late years; telegraphing is much more resorted to, and, in consequence, successive reductions have been made in the number of the messengers employed. Whereas in 1869 the number was 17, it was reduced in 1870 to 15, in 1873 to 12, at which number it stood until the present year, when a further reduction of one was made. After a careful investigation into the matter three years ago, it was thought that 10 Foreign Service messengers would be sufficient for the requirements of the Service; and accordingly it was decided to reduce the number to 10 as vacancies occurred. It is the opinion of those who have held the Office of Secretary of State recently that 10 are absolutely necessary to conduct the Service satisfactorily.

MR. LABOUCHERE: But, according to the Vote, there are 11.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: Yes, there are 11 at present; but the next vacancy which may arise will not be filled up, so that the number will then stand at 10; and when that reduction is made, it is considered that there will not be more than are absolutely required for the adequate performance of the Service. No further reduction could be suggested upon any other reason than that eight or nine would simply be cheaper than 10. I do not think the hon. Member has stated to the Committee any reason why a further large reduction should be made, and why the Service should be reduced below its actual requirements, unless, of course, the hon. Member differs from us in the opinion that it is important to send particular despatches by confidential messengers. I may remind him, however, that the other Great Powers employ confidential messengers also.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: How many?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I do not know. I can only say, in regard to this country, what number is considered necessary after careful consideration, both by the late and the present Secretary of State. So far as the Home Service messengers are concerned, their services are shared between the different Offices, and the messengers themselves are employed in carrying confidential papers into the country, or, rather, some of them in London and others in the country. A great effort has been made to reduce the expenses of the Home Service messengers. The mode of conveyance has been cheapened, and other things have been dispensed with, so that there has been a reduction this year of £100 upon that head. I trust that the House, after this explanation, will not agree to reduce the Vote for messengers further. I really think that no more messengers are employed than are absolutely necessary.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I should be glad to know the number of confidential messengers that foreign countries employ, because it is my impression that they use much fewer than our Foreign Office does. I have often heard—although I do not know what truth there is in it—that the Great Powers sometimes use our messengers to send their letters. Now, I do not think that that is a service we are called upon to perform. The right hon. Gentleman says that there has been a diminution in the expenditure for messengers; but if there has been a diminution in one direction there has been a vast increase in another—namely, the charge for telegrams. The expenditure in telegrams in connection with the Foreign Office is something quite gigantic. As everybody knows, everything is now done by telegrams. I know that when I was at the Home Office I used to receive almost daily telegraphic announcements that some Serene Highness had arrived at some small place, the locality of which I was not even aware of. Out of the number of telegrams received daily nine-tenths were altogether unimportant, and related to matters which nobody cared to hear. Some interesting event may have happened in connection with a Royal Family in any part of Europe; there was instantly a telegram sent, and these things were printed and circulated to all Cabinets.

The CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the right hon. Gentleman is now discussing the next item in the Vote. The Question before the Committee is a Motion to reduce the messengers' salaries and allowances, and the telegraphic expenses come next.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I only desire to submit that as the telegraph is now largely used there is no necessity for employing the same extent of messengers. Everyone who is acquainted with the Foreign Office knows that the business is not done by despatches, but that the real business and information are transmitted almost entirely by the telegraphs. I must say that I believe the weekly messengers who were sent away, it may be to St. Petersburg or Constantinople, are really a superfluity, and I will ask the Government to consider whether the system cannot be reformed altogether, and whether something may not be done in the direction of reducing the expenditure now incurred in communicating with Foreign Powers?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I can assure the Committee that the very inquiries which the right hon. Gentleman suggests have been carefully made. No doubt it is only a natural feeling that it is desirable to effect economy as far as possible in the various branches of the Public Service. The system of employing Foreign Office messengers has been carefully revised, and the number is not larger now than has been considered necessary both by the late and the present Government. As to the great expense of telegrams, I shall have to refer to that subject later on. That despatches are no longer of importance is not the case. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee that it is impossible and unsafe to trust entirely to telegrams, and that it is absolutely necessary that communications which are important, and not useless to this country, should be conveyed in full, and that reliance should not be placed upon Government telegrams, however convenient they may be.

MR. W. LOWTHER (Westmoreland, Appleby): May I point out that many despatches sent by the Foreign Office have to be sent in cypher, and it would never do to send them by telegram. Therefore, it is quite necessary that the employment of Foreign Office messengers should be continued. It must also be found desirable to employ men in whom the Government can place reliance, and, of course, it is necessary to give them an adequate salary. Sometimes voluminous papers, documents, and confidential despatches are sent away, together with masses of Blue Books which it is found necessary to make Her Majesty's Representatives abroad acquainted with. The hon. Member for Northampton has complained that messengers are sent weekly or fortnightly to certain places. Of course, it is necessary to carry on a regular communication with Foreign Courts; and, as a natural result, messengers are despatched to the large capitals of Europe at stated intervals. I, therefore, cannot agree with the hon. Member in thinking that the Vote ought to be refused. My impression is that the sum is a small one compared with the services which the messengers render.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I suppose that the number of messengers required will depend, to a certain extent, on the amount of work they have to do. But some of the work which the Foreign Office performs can scarcely be fairly classed as work for which the country ought to pay. Not only are there expenses incurred in the employment of cabs to convey these messengers home after they have finished the Foreign Office work, but a considerable item in the present Vote is one to defray the expenses of messengers engaged in distributing Foreign Office papers to the newspaper offices in London. I do not know how many newspaper offices there are in London; but this item is a very considerable one. It is perfectly true that the charges in connection with this Vote are not as high as they used to be; but that fact is owing, I believe, to the attention which has been called to the matter, and which has been the means of inducing the Foreign Office to effect some economy. My contention is that the work of distributing papers to newspaper offices is not work which ought to be done by officers paid by the State. If the newspapers want the information, there is no earthly reason why they should not send for the papers themselves and pay the expense. A newspaper is simply a commercial undertaking, and if the State undertakes to distribute valuable papers to them at the expense of the country it is simply a method of subsidizing the London newspapers. I certainly object to the charge. It has nothing to do with the salaries of the messengers who are employed in this kind of work; but it is perfectly clear that if you impose such duties upon messengers the number of the messengers themselves is necessarily increased. I am of opinion that there is ample room for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I do not wish to enter into the question whether it is possible to diminish still further the number of Queen's messengers, although I am inclined to think that the number could be reduced by taking still greater advantage than we have taken of of the Post Office, the telegraphs, and the additional facilities which the railways now give almost every day. But, as the question has been raised with regard to the need for using Queen's messengers at all, I feel bound to say that my experience, although only short, in the Foreign Office induces me to confirm what the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State (Sir James Fergusson) has stated—namely, that we cannot altogether trust the post and the ordinary channels of communication with the conveyance of important despatches. It is perfectly true that in some countries we cannot rely upon the post, and that we must have a more secure mode of communication. No doubt, a good deal of important business is now done by telegraphing, and now-a-days one does not hesitate to act upon a telegram, and even to take the most important resolutions upon it. But still there are sometimes confidential letters passing which have considerable value, because they enable our officials both at home and abroad to obtain a fuller idea of a particular matter than could be given in a telegram. Therefore, in that respect the existence of the telegraph, although it facilitates the business of the Foreign Office, by no means does everything. I believe that everyone who has been in the Foreign Office will bear out the contention of my right hon. Friend.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary whether he will make inquiry as to the way in which the travelling expenses of messengers are concocted? I do not use the word "concocted" in an invidious sense in any way; but I mean that, although Parliament may be ready to pay the legitimate expenses to which these messengers are put in going upon these journeys, I understand the practice of the Foreign Office is this—that when a messenger returns home from a particular place he goes to some individual in the Foreign Office and asks him to make out the expenses of his journey—it may be to and from Constantinople, St. Petersburg, or anywhere else, and the consequence is that there is a list of allowances kept in the Office.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Maximum allowances.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER: Yes; maximum allowances, and the messengers are paid according to a list. The messenger, however, may not necessarily have been put to anything like the expense which is actually paid. No doubt this is a small matter; but as we are in an economical mood at the present moment I think it is one well deserving the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: My hon. Friend is really labouring under a great misapprehension. I can only answer his question by saying that the Foreign Office messengers are only paid their actual outlay. Their accounts are very carefully audited. In respect of cabs and porterage, it has been found more economical to give them a fixed allowance; but as regards all other expenditure they are paid the actual outlay. In regard to what has been stated by the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), in reference to the delivery of diplomatic papers and so on to the newspaper offices by Foreign Office messengers, I may say that that practice has been done away with, and that these papers are now, as a rule, delivered through the post.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Since when?

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I cannot say exactly, but it is now the practice. My hon. Friend the Member for South Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce) says his impression is that the number of Foreign Office messengers now employed might be still further reduced. I can only say that while the administration of Lord Rosebery, at the Foreign Office, was going on the Department was carefully and economically conducted, and Lord Rosebery went carefully into the expenditure of the Foreign Office. He did not, however, leave anything on record to the effect that the number of messengers should be reduced. He carefully revised the charges of the messengers employed in the Home Service; but he made no suggestion whatever in regard to the Foreign Service messengers. After careful inquiry, it was the opinion of Lord Iddesleigh—an opinion in which Lord Salisbury concurred—that 10 was the number required.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman to make inquiry and inform the House, on the Report, whether what he has now stated is altogether correct? The reason why I ask is this. It is only within a few weeks that the question was brought before the Committee on Public Accounts, and the officials of the Foreign Office certainly did not allege that there had been any reduction.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston): I believe that new rules have been laid down under which it is to be assumed that a very considerable economy will be effected in future. It has been stated by the Public Accounts Committee that the expenditure under this head is most lavish; and, therefore, I think it would be well that the Committee should be informed if my right hon. Friend can tell us what these new rules are. I believe the Foreign Office themselves admit that the expenditure is unnecessarily high; and I think that we ought to know what steps are proposed to be taken in future to correct the evil. For my part, I do not see why, on some occasions, these messengers are not required to travel second class.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I have already given the Committee the information which I received to-day from the Office—namely, that by a recent decision in regard to Parliamentary Papers hitherto delivered by hand, they will, in future, be sent through the post. My attention has been called to the liberal way in which Papers have been gratuitously distributed from the Foreign Office, and Lord Salisbury has approved of a very large reduction being made in that system of gratuitous distribution. Since that decision was arrived at, the gratuitous distribution has been reduced; but all Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books can be procured on payment of a very small charge. It has not been thought right to withdraw the privilege of the gratuitous distribution of Parliamentary Papers to London newspapers; but that is almost the only remnant of the old system of gratuitous distribution. I think the Committee may rely upon it that in future the new system will be strictly followed—namely, that, when possible, these Papers will be distributed by post, and not by messengers.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): If I understood the right hon. Gentleman correctly, in the early part of his remarks he said that one of the important duties of these Foreign Office messengers is to convey Blue Books abroad. Now, Blue Books, as far as my experience goes, are more or less ancient history; and I think they might just as well be sent by parcel post, by rail, by steamer, or by some other mode of conveying heavy goods. There certainly can be no sufficient reason for sending books which are of no practical value. Not only so; but there are no State secrets contained in a Blue Book. They refer only to matters that have been practically settled, for hon. Members know very well that it is most difficult to obtain official information from the Foreign Office upon any question until after it has been altogether settled. Therefore, there is no necessity for secrecy, and these Blue Books could be conveyed abroad quite as well by post as by special messenger. In fact, the Blue Books are for sale in the open market, and foreign countries can readily procure copies of them. There is no necessity, therefore, for the expensive precautions which are now taken in regard to their distribution. Then, as to telegraphing. In many cases—for instance, the despatches sent to the French Government might be just as well sent through the Post Office from this country to Paris as by messenger, for this reason—that they only go through the Post Offices of this country and France, and as the communication is intended to be made to the French Government there cannot be the slightest advantage in observing secrecy. The same may be said of our communications with Germany and other Continental countries. I can well understand that on certain occasions it is desirable that secrecy should be observed; but, in the great majority of cases, the despatches sent abroad are of a perfectly harmless nature, and do not influence public affairs in the smallest degree. I certainly do not see the necessity for maintaining 11 Foreign Office messengers, when the greater part of the work performed by them at present may be done equally well by means of the ordinary post or the Parcel Post, and a substantial part of the expense saved.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I do not think the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary has quite answered the question addressed to him by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury), and the saving effected by the adoption of the new rules has not been stated to the Committee. The charge for Foreign Office messengers in this Vote is £14,000, including salaries and allowances; and it is certainly a liberal sum. The hon. Member for Preston asked my right hon. Friend to explain what reduction will be made in future upon that sum in consequence of the new rules? I should certainly like to have that fact stated generally—namely, how far the reduction will go, and also on what scale the expenses of these messengers are settled.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): Before the right hon. Gentleman replies, I should like to have some explanation from him in reference to the extent to which the new arrangements promised by the Post Office to the Committee on Public Accounts have been carried out and brought into practical operation. The Committee were told that arrangements were in contemplation, and would be carried out; and I should like to hear from the right hon. Baronet whether, on the whole, he is of opinion that the new scheme works satisfactorily?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I think I am able to give the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) the information he wishes to have. The expenses of the Foreign Office in 1885-6 amounted, in addition to salaries, to £9,152, including expenses to Vienna, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, and so on. The cost of the Home Service in connection with the Foreign Office came to £1,812. The expense of a journey to and from Constantinople is £90. The hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) says that the Blue Books ought to go by post as they contain nothing but ancient history. But apart from the Blue Books there are current Papers containing matters of the most confidential nature. It would be absolutely impossible for the Foreign Office to send papers of the most confidential nature except by very careful and trustworthy hands.

MR. LABOUCHERE: But they are printed.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: Yes, they are printed, but they are printed as confidential papers at the Foreign Office itself. An hon. Member has asked how the expense incurred in the employment of Foreign Service messengers is divided. It is estimated that there are 26 journeys to Constantinople every year, which at £90 for each journey amount to £2,340. There are 26 to St. Petersburg at a cost of £1,500, while the journeys to Paris cost £1,000 a-year. These are for ordinary double journeys; there are special journeys in addition.

MR. JENNINGS: The right hon. Gentleman has given some particulars about the travelling expenses of the Foreign Office messengers. I should like to call attention to the enormous sums charged for journeys much less considerable in extent than those to Constantinople and St. Petersburg, but for which an item of £8,400 appears in the Votes this year. A large portion of this sum appears to have been paid to messengers in excess of the regulations for cab hire and the like. Now, the charge itself is very high; but what makes it particularly deserving of attention is that the Comptroller and Auditor General has reported that a large part of it is spent without any proper authority. The last report of the Comptroller shows that there were 357 cases of journeys to and from the messengers' private residences—that is to say, that not content with the very handsome salaries they receive, these messengers seem to be in the habit, whenever they go from home, of using cabs at the public expense. One of the items they charge is from the Foreign Office to the newspaper offices in Fleet Street. Now, I suppose that if any Member of this Committee had of his own motion to make this journey, he would look upon the distance as a little under or over a mile, and would pay 1*s*. or 1*s*. 6*d*. for it. But when the Foreign Office messenger goes the distance expands to 12 miles, and the messenger charges 6*s*. for it, which sum the taxpayers of this country are made to pay. The method in which the taxpayers' money is dealt with has been distinctly pointed out by the Comptroller and Auditor General; but we have no kind of assurance that the practice has been stopped since the last Report was issued. In that Report the Comptroller says—

> "The charge seems to embrace a distance of 12 miles or more, and the charge amounts to a uniform sum of 6s., which on the face of it cannot possibly have been incurred."

I think the Public Accounts Committee ought to have given Parliament information to satisfy the taxpayers that the public money is not being squandered in the shameless manner in which it has been squandered for so many years past. Some light is thrown on this matter, I think, at page 121 of the Report of the Comptroller General. He says that on the occasion of a journey to Hatfield a uniform charge is made of 5*s*. for a fly, the distance being two-thirds of a mile, and that there is a charge of 2*s*. in addition for porterage. Sometimes five or six journeys are made, and 7*s*. is always charged from the railway station to the house. Somebody evidently gets a nice little picking out of the transaction. The Comptroller and Auditor General throws out a suspicion that the money is not paid for flys and cabs, but that it finds its way into the pockets of the Foreign Office messengers as a sort of perquisite. He implies that wherever the Foreign Office messengers go they scatter largesse around them abundantly among all the railway porters. The presence of a Foreign Office messenger at a railway station must be the signal for general rejoicing. The Comptroller and Auditor General says that they give considerable gratuities to railway guards and porters, although the Treasury have decided that such expenditure should not be charged to the public funds. Consequently, we have no security, although this Report has been made, that the practice has been stopped. The Committee have been told by the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) that upon another occasion a distinctly irregular practice was brought to the knowledge of a Committee upstairs—namely, that a large sum of money had been paid away year after year without any kind of authority. Although the Comptroller and Auditor General decided that the payment I have referred to was improper, it may still be going on. The Report of the Comptroller says that the inference with regard to these charges is that they are looked upon as more in the nature of a fixed allowance than an actual disbursement—in other words, that whenever a Foreign Office messenger faces the danger of a journey from Whitehall to Fleet Street he may pocket 6*s.* by way of perquisite, and that when he undertakes the equally dangerous journey from the railway station at Hatfield to Hatfield House he may pocket from 5*s.* to 7*s.* I believe there are a large number of unemployed persons to be found who would be glad to undertake this hazardous service for half the money. Anybody who will take the trouble to examine this Vote will see that the whole expenditure of the Foreign Office is conducted on the most lavish scale. That Office seems to be viewed as a sort of gold mine, and the men who get into it appear to scatter the money about with both hands. Perhaps there is no necessity that they should refrain from doing so, because the British public are always ready to pay everything they are asked to pay. In this Office alone I see that there is a sum of £11,744 expended for stationery and printing. Of course, I need not say that a Foreign Office messenger, costing the taxpayer a large sum of money in the shape of salary, cannot stir out of his house or office without having a cab in waiting for him. He must also have a fly at the station with porters and all the rest of it to assist him with his luggage, and all the expenditure, including his salary, is on a scale which, in the case of a clerk in a commercial establishment, would be considered not merely enormous, but profligate. The salaries of the Foreign Office clerks range from £500 to £900 a-year, and there is a general impression that no great amount of work is performed for the remuneration received. As a general rule, the time of a Foreign Office clerk is supposed to be occupied in sketching caricatures on the office note paper and reading *The Times.* For that he gets from £500 to £700 and £900 a-year, so that it may be looked upon as a well-paid occupation. The office hours are generally from 11 a.m to 5 p.m. But anyone who glances at these Estimates will see that this is by no means all that the British public have to pay, because underneath this Vote there is a statement in small type of certain charges which are called "non-effective charges"—£10,500—that is to say, that the gentlemen who are fortunate enough to get into the Foreign Office are not only sure of large salaries for doing very little, but when they leave they are provided for by the country, and receive enormous pensions. Then there is another thing which came before the Committee upstairs.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the remarks of the hon. Gentleman ought to be deferred until after the special Amendment which has been proposed by the hon. Member for Northampton has been disposed of. The hon. Member is now going at great length into other matters.

MR. JENNINGS: Then I will confine myself to the salaries and travelling expenses of these gentlemen. I wish to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary whether the charges which have been reported by the Comptroller and Auditor General to be irregular have been stopped; whether it is the practice for the Foreign Office messengers to distribute gratuities along every railway line upon which they travel, and to charge enormous sums for short journeys to Fleet Street and Hatfield? The charge of £35 for every journey to Paris is, I think, monstrous. I do not think any Member of the Committee will venture to defend it. If the right hon. Gentleman will give me the opportunity, I will undertake to go to Paris and back again for him for £5, and I do not see why the superior beings at the Foreign Office should be paid exactly seven times as much. I think that explanations are called for, and that something should be said by the Government to justify these extraordinary charges upon the taxpayers.

Mr. LEGH (Lancashire, S.W., Newton): I should like to point out that the journeys to Paris include the expense of the messengers in staying at a hotel. A messenger proceeds to Paris every Sunday and remains there for a fortnight. In regard to the lavish expenditure of a Queen's messenger upon his journeys, I may say that I have been constantly engaged in performing those journeys myself; and so far from my presence, either at a railway station or a hotel, exciting rejoicing with a view to the largesse I was expected to distribute, my appearance generally passed unnoticed, and excited no feeling of gratification whatever. I think the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) made some allusion to the heavy expense of a journey to Constantinople. Now, I have been upon that journey once or twice myself, and I beg to inform the hon. Member that the sum of £90 covers also the expenses incurred at Constantinople in a stay of 10 or 12 days. It also includes a very large amount of luggage, which naturally costs a high figure for such a journey. The messenger who is sent to Constantinople is always encumbered with a large amount of luggage in the shape of despatches and papers, circulars and Blue Books, which are conveyed in the ordinary Foreign Service bag.

Mr. HANBURY: The right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary rather pooh-poohed the suggestion I made that some of these messengers might travel second-class; but I see there is a distinct order of the Treasury that upon all journeys under 100 miles the messenger shall travel second-class.

Sir JAMES FERGUSSON: I am rather sorry that the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) did not put a Question to the Government before he entered so largely into the subject of the waste of the public money. There can be no doubt that the payments for porterage and fees to guards had grown up to an undue amount. For some years it had been the custom of the messengers to pay for such services at a higher rate than hon. Members would pay themselves, and from the uniformity of the charges it was suggested that they were regulated by a fixed tariff. The hon. Member has expressed surprise that a messenger taking papers to Hatfield House should require a cab to take them up. Of course, he has to take with him bags of despatch boxes, some of them so heavy that it would be impossible for him to carry them personally. Therefore, it is necessary for him to have a vehicle of some kind to take them about with him. It is further necessary to get them out of the railway station quickly, and he requires the assistance of a porter. In the same way the Blue Books are taken to the newspaper offices, and when you have a messenger going about London in this way, conveying a considerable number of Blue Books to the different newspaper offices, it is obvious that it is necessary for him to take a cab. I have already told the Committee that economies have been effected in connection with the Home Service expenses, with the result that those expenses have been reduced by at least £100 a-year. In the first place, we have stopped the issue of Parliamentary Papers by hand. Until a recent period they were always delivered by hand, but now they are sent through the Post Office. In the next place, the expenses of messengers, when they are travelling over a distance under 100 miles, have been reduced from first-class to second-class, and there has been a further reduction in the charge allowed to messengers for cabs to convey them to their private residences. It must be remembered that some of them are kept at the office until a late hour at night. They have constantly to deliver telegrams and so forth, and when they have been detained at the office until a very late hour, it has been the custom for them to take cabs to convey them home. That practice has now been altered, and they are not allowed to take cabs, except under special circumstances. It will, therefore, be seen that the notice which has been taken of these matters by the

Committee on Public Accounts, has been acted upon, and that the result has been a reduction in the expenses of £100 a-year. The right hon. Member for South Edinburgh seems to have been somewhat startled when I said that a journey to Paris cost £20.

MR. CHILDERS: £40, I think, is what you said.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: That would be for the double journey. I said that Paris was one of the places which are technically called stations. I cannot off-hand tell the Committee exactly what constitutes a station; but it means that a messenger is occupied in travelling between Paris and London constantly. I believe that in the course of a fortnight he goes from London to Paris and between Paris and Calais four times, or twice in each week, finally returning to London, and £40 is the entire amount expended on these journeys.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I think this discussion has proved how very desirable it is to call attention to these matters. The right hon. Gentleman commenced his remarks by saying that this Motion has been made very frequently, and then he told us that there have been considerable reductions since the year 1869. Now, I made a Motion similar to this 20 years ago, and I am glad to see that there have been reductions effected. I have no doubt, if I continue to make the same Motion year after year, that there will be more reductions still. We have been told that there has been a reduction of £100 this year in the expenses of the Home Service messengers. What we want to see, however, is a reduction in the cost of the Foreign Office messengers. I am quite willing to admit that there are times and occasions when it is necessary to send a Foreign Office messenger with confidential despatches; but the mistake is in having these Foreign Office messengers sent out at fixed times in the way the right hon. Gentleman has just pointed out in reference to Paris. In point of fact they are required to make the journey whether there are despatches to convey or not. I presume the right hon. Gentleman will admit that there are occasions when a messenger goes out without any despatches at all. I would send a messenger when it is necessary; but I would not have a system of sending messengers all over the Continent at fixed times, whether there is anything for them to carry or not. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) has pointed out that it is desirable to know what foreign countries are doing in the matter. Probably they employ a less number of messengers than we do, and it is suggested that occasionally foreign Ministers employ our messengers. I do not know whether that is the case now; but when I was in the Diplomatic Service it certainly was frequently the case. With regard to the journey to Constantinople, the right hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary says that it costs £90. Now, a ticket to Constantinople costs £38 only, and for most part of the time occupied in the journey the messenger is on board ship, and gets his subsistence with his ticket. He takes four days coming back, and I think the charge for those four days is a very extravagant one.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: He is at Constantinople for 10 days altogether; but he takes a return ticket by the Oriental express, which costs about £48.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Well, that will make 18 days, and £1 a-day for food and lodging would be £18, and that, with the charge for his fare, does not come to anything like £90. I believe the system is this—you give the messenger a certain fixed maximum allowance, and whether he spends it or not he receives the exact amount. You do not require him to make a declaration that he has spent that amount, but he gets it. It is said that sometimes a messenger has so much luggage with him that he takes a first-class place for it. I never heard before of anyone taking two places in a railway carriage because he had so much luggage. I know very well that in regard to a foreigner he will come into a carriage and take up anybody's seat with his luggage with the most reckless disregard for the comfort of his neighbours. What we ask now is that the right hon. Gentleman should look into these matters. We believe that if he would look closely into them he would be able to effect a reduction in the expenditure of much more than £100 a-year. I I believe that the discussion which has now taken place will have been useful. I do not wish to put the House to the trouble of a Division, and with the permission of the Committee I will withdraw the Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £26,524, to complete the sum for the Colonial Office.

(3.) Motion made and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £34,321, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council and Subordinate Departments."

Sir RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells): I have placed an Amendment on the Paper in reference to this Vote with the view of calling attention to the inefficiency of the present Agricultural Department, and in the hope of inducing Her Majesty's Government to consider the matter with the view of establishing the Department on a more satisfactory footing. I trust that this will be the last occasion on which we shall have to deal with a Vote so meagre in its amount as the present one. I take the liberty of making that statement, because the question is essentially one in which the question of expenditure is involved. I fully admit that in drawing the attention of the Committee and of Her Majesty's Government to this point, I am bound to show good reasons why this Department should be well arranged, and why an additional expenditure should be incurred. I do not think it is necessary that I should go through the form of calling the attention of the House to the enormous importance of agriculture; to the vast number of persons engaged in it; to the large interests involved in it, or to show that we cannot expect a return of prosperity to the various industries in England so long as agriculture remains in its present depressed condition. Those are matters which are obvious to everyone. I may be asked what good can we get from an improved Agricultural Department, and my answer is this—We have an example before us of a Department somewhat similar which is already in practical existence in another part of the Kingdom. And here I may say that England may claim to have a grievance, because we have here no Agricultural Department of the State such as the Agricultural Department of Ireland. Of course, it would not be right for me to discuss the Irish Vote now. Therefore, I will simply refer to the fact that there is a Vote for an Agricultural Department in Ireland which makes provision for dairy schools, for the appointment of a staff of professors and lecturers, and for a variety of objects in regard to which in this country we have no parallel whatever. Such institutions as the Munster Dairy Schools work admirably in Ireland; and, having regard to the condition of Ireland, it is quite certain that such schools could not have been established as private venture schools. What I propose in connection with the Agricultural Department of England is that we should have in England, Scotland, and Wales similar schools to those which are maintained by the Agricultural Department in Ireland. I am unable to inform the Committee what the expense would be; but, looking to the Irish Vote, I find that for something like the modest sum of £4,000 the Irish people are able to maintain the advantages to which I have referred. I know it will be said that it is undesirable to ask for State aid in regard to a business like agriculture, and that we ought to rely solely upon the energy which those who are engaged in it bring to bear upon it. We are now, however, brought face to face with a new scheme of technical education which is about to be introduced to the notice of the House. In that respect, perhaps, I may be allowed to point to the Report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission, which contains the following words:—

"We cannot forbear to express our opinion that the improvement and extension of scientific agricultural teaching, with the view to the improved cultivation of the soil, is an indispensable measure in order to secure the general prosperity of the people."

That passage was contained in the Report issued in 1881, and since then we have had the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, which Report distinctly points to the necessity of the establishment of an agricultural school. Looking at the condition of similar schools abroad, I believe there is no case in which they can be regarded as self-supporting; and the Royal Commission recommended that, as they cannot be self-supporting, they should be established and maintained with the assistance of the State. Consequently, we have the opinion, not only of the Duke of Richmond's Commission, but of the Royal Commission upon Technical Education, that agricultural schools ought to be established, and that State aid ought to be given to them. There can be no doubt that if that were done great benefit would result. We know what has been the effect of the precedent set by Denmark. We all know that a few years ago the agriculture of Denmark was at a very low ebb; but by the system of dairy schools established there such a change has been brought about in the condition of things there that, in a time of agricultural depression, Denmark was able to pass through its trials with greater advantages than any other country. The people had been so admirably taught by the State dairy schools that they were able to make better butter, and to obtain a higher price for it when imported into England, than the agriculturists in other localities. It is hardly necessary to call the attention of the Committee to this fact—that, under the existing condition of agriculture, it is only under exceptionably favourable circumstances that the growth of cereals—wheat, barley, and oats—may be carried on at a profit. That renders it necessary that we should turn our attention to the products of the dairy. There are, however, many other things which the Agricultural Department might and ought to do. Experiments might be made in many directions, if there were only proper machinery and an adequate staff — experiments which can only be undertaken by a Department which has at its disposal a certain amount of funds, in order that the experiments, when undertaken, may be carefully conducted, accurately recorded, and their success duly announced, so that the whole country may reap the advantage of such experiments. Of course, the tenants of England cannot afford to do the work themselves, and the impoverished landlords are in very much the same condition. It is, therefore, impossible to get these things done without, as the Royal Commissioners have already reported, State aid being given. For instance, experiments conducted by the Agricultural Department may be of great value in the case of disease among animals. In the present Vote I see an item of £200 put down under the head of "investigations in regard to cattle disease" and "incidental expenses." In many parts of England the agricultural industry has been paralyzed by a disease which has committed great havoc—I mean swine fever. About a year or a little more ago an investigation was made in reference to swine fever by the Privy Council. But when the officers of the Department came to deal with it the Home Office stepped in, and when it was proposed that certain animals should be brought here to be dissected and subjected to medical operations the Home Office stood in the way; the Agricultural Department were snubbed; and when they required the use of some building in which the experiments might be carried on, the answer received by the Agricultural Department was that there was a difficulty in obtaining such premises. We were, consequently, placed in this position. There was a scientific Department quite ready to undertake an investigation, when another Department of the State stepped in, and, by refusing the necessary accommodation, brought the matter to a dead-lock. I believe that what happened in consequence is that the matter is still waiting investigation. May I point to another instance in which the Agricultural Department not only failed to obtain encouragement, but actually met with opposition from the Government? This very year there was a meeting of statisticians at Rome from all parts of Europe, who proposed to undertake an investigation into questions connected with the tenure of land, small holdings, and so forth. The Agricultural Department invited certain eminent statisticians to represent them at Rome, and having accepted the appointment, the representatives of the Department went there, but because the sanction of the Treasury had not been previously obtained to the expenditure involved, the expenses of these gentlemen have been disallowed. Now, my contention is that if this were a real instead of a sham Department presided over by a Minister, as we were given to understand it would be, and if it were a really responsible Department, it would never have been treated in this off-hand manner. I should like the Committee to consider what the Agricultural Department is, and how it was established. It was established in consequence of a vote in this House in the year 1882 upon a Resolution proposed by Sir Massey Lopes, which, somewhat to the surprise of himself and those who supported him, was accepted by the Government of the day. It was impossible to do anything that year; but in the following year an Agricultural Department of the Privy Council was established, but it obtained no Vote; it received no grant of money, and therefore it did no work. It got nothing and it did nothing. Some years afterwards, in regard to a question as to the nature of its proceedings, its days of meeting, and what it did, I was informed that it never met, that there were no proceedings in connection with it, and that no information was obtained by it. In point of fact, the Agricultural Department, after a serious and solemn vote of this House, was a sham, is a sham, and has remained a sham ever since. I will not say for a moment that some good work has not been by the Veterinary Department in grappling with the diseases which affect animals. That Department has done admirable work, but it was in existence before the establishment of the Agricultural Department, and is really only doing the same work now that it did before. My contention is that the business of agriculture is so great and important, and is suffering so severely from depression, that something ought to be done to stimulate it. The sum we ask for is very small. I myself believe that a Vote of £25,000 would go a long way towards the establishment of the scientific investigation that is now asked for. It must be borne in mind that this expenditure has been already distinctly recommended. The Royal Commission on Technical Education, which traversed Europe in order to discover what provision is made in other countries for technical instruction, have distinctly recommended in their Report that the attention of the Government should be directed to the matter, and that an Agricultural Department should be established for scientific investigation and research. My belief is that we should have in England two or three such branches. I would have one in the North, another in the Midland Counties, and a third in the South, and I should like also to see a branch established in Scotland, and another in Wales. Those countries are certainly entitled to consideration equally with ourselves. I should like to see the Munster dairy schools in Ireland repeated and increased in number. I am satisfied that if such schools were established in a practical way, much advantage would be derived from their establishment. These farms and dairies might be established one by one, and might be associated in some way with the Royal Agricultural Society. I would also suggest that if the Department were organized in this way, there are other Departments which might be grouped and amalgamated with it. For instance, there are the Reports of the Enclosure Commission and the Land Commission. I think if the Vote for those Departments were carefully studied it would be found that there are a number of highly-paid officials connected with them who are by no means overworked. Then, again, there is the Department of Woods and Forests which might be included in the amalgamation. In that case I think it would be found that there is a large staff which might find a little more healthy occupation in the work of the Agricultural Department, which I desire to see undertaken. I merely throw this out as a suggestion. If the work were taken boldly in hand, I have no doubt the Agricultural Department would soon be placed on a satisfactory footing. There are precedents to be found at home in what has occurred in Ireland; and if you go abroad, you cannot see a country, be it little or be it great, which does not incur a large expenditure in connection with an efficient system of State-aided agriculture. The farmers of this country are accustomed to self-help, and they are anxious to go on to the best of their ability as far as they can. Five years ago this House was certainly under the impression that something ought to be done, and since then a Royal Commission has reported in favour of State aid. All precedents are in favour of my proposal. The farmers of England are a long-suffering race, and they have had a bitter and hard time of it; yet I think they ought not to ask in vain that Her Majesty's Government should give the matter their serious consideration. At present the Agricultural Department is a sham. No more work is done now than was done before it was established, and there are no more officials employed. The work now done was equally well done before the Department came into existence. In the hope that I may induce the Government to give their serious attention to the matter, I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £100.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item F, £12,567, Salaries of the Agricultural Departments, be reduced by the sum of £100."—(*Sir Richard Paget.*)

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.): I hope that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) will be able to give a satisfactory answer to the appeal which has been made to him upon this very important question. Everyone admits at this moment the depression which agriculture is passing through, and it is very little that is asked from the Government by my hon. Friend, who has gone so closely over the whole question. What is required is this—that we should have a proper Department to which we can apply upon all agricultural questions—a real Department to which we can go, and to which we can explain all those wants and requirements which are perpetually arising in the present condition of agriculture. I do not think there are many Gentlemen on the Front Bench—there are some I know—who realize the present position of agriculture, particularly in the present year. Last year it was bad enough, but this year it is even worse. The depression at this moment is extraordinary. You have already given State aid to an Agricultural Department in Ireland, and you have established schools and dairy farms in that country. Why should you not adopt the same principle in reference to England? When we come to deal with questions of that kind we are invariably left out in the cold, while the people of Ireland always get what they require. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] The hon. Member says "hear, hear!" but if he comes to analyze the tenure of land and the whole question of agriculture he will find that exceptional legislation has been applied to Ireland and to Ireland only. I certainly do not say that such legislation is required for England, or ought to be given to England; I only ask with regard to this particular case that the same principle should be adopted in connection with other parts of the country. What we are in want of now is the establishment of some system which will enable those who are engaged in agriculture to acquire a practical and technical education. We see how necessary it is that every young man who desires to become a practical farmer should have a real education in regard to agricultural pursuits, which certainly a good many of them do not get now, although they have constantly to study what they ought to do to make both ends meet. I venture to express a hope that my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury will give a favourable answer to the appeal which has been made to him. There is only one other point which I desire to refer to. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), when he received a deputation the other day, said—and I am sure the country felt relief when they heard his statement—that he had the interests of agriculture very much at heart, and would endeavour to help those engaged in that interest. I am sure, therefore, that he will not grudge the very small amount of money which would be required this year in order to carry out these arrangements.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I hope the hon. and gallant Gentleman will allow me to remind him that the Irish people established the Munster farm for themselves.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Although I do not represent an agricultural constituency, I have some interest in agriculture, and I desire to endorse the statements which have been made by my hon. Friend the Member for the Wells Division of Somerset (Sir Richard Paget), especially with reference to the dairy interest. Coming from a dairy district, I know a great deal can be done by teaching people to make better dairy produce than they do at present. What happens now, unfortunately, is that the education given in our country villages does not give the lads and girls of those villages any interest in farming occupations whatever, and their first step is to migrate into the towns. I have certainly found that to be the case in Derbyshire and Staffordshire. In order to show the advantage which may be derived from teaching these people properly, I may, perhaps, be allowed to state to the House what happened to myself. I found my rents going down, and my tenants not making good butter and cheese. In order to give them proper instruction I obtained the services of two good dairymaids from the Cheddar district, and the result was that cheese and butter were better made, the cheese fetching 25*s.* more per cwt., and the butter 2*d.* more a lb. There is no reason why what has been done in that case should not be done by dairy farmers in other parts of England. I am quite sure that a great deal can be done both in the interests of the tenants and of the landlords to teach these people to make more out of the land. It only takes a gallon of milk to make 1 lb. of cheese, whether it is made well or badly, and a difference of 2*d.* or 2½*d.* a lb. in the price makes all the difference between profit and a serious loss.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.): I think it is nothing short of a scandal that there is no school of technical education in agriculture in the whole of England. I cannot understand why there should be so much indifference, when we all know how the agricultural interest is depressed. I hope the hon. Baronet (Sir Richard Paget) will press his Amendment to a Division, in order to show the House and the country that we agriculturists are in earnest in endeavouring to obtain from the Government some practical amelioration of our condition.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I regret that my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Lord John Manners) is not present. As my hon. Friend the Member for the Wells Division of Somerset (Sir Richard Paget) is aware, he is detained abroad by a serious illness, or he would have replied much more effectively than I can to the speeches of my hon. Friends behind me. The Government are deeply concerned at the very serious depression which prevails in agriculture, although they are too much occupied to have much personal knowledge of details. Yet I can speak myself from personal suffering, because I have had more acres thrown on my hands than I wish to have; and, therefore, I have experienced directly the results of the depression of agriculture, so far as my own property has been affected. I have already stated to my hon. Friend, in answer to a Question which he put to me a few days ago, that it is the wish of the Government, and the interest of the Government, to do all that they can, not by the creation at once of a great Government Department, but by building up a Department, to do everything that can be done to extend the knowledge that is required in the processes of agriculture, and to give such encouragement as it is possible to give to the development of land by the adoption of the best agricultural systems. We have much to pride ourselves upon in this country in regard to the skill and knowledge and enterprize of our farmers. I am sure that any Gentleman who compares the agriculture of this country with that of almost any foreign country will be surprised at the skill and knowledge of our farmers. I am ready to admit that there may be, and probably are, many subjects, which require more investigation, more inquiry, and more exhaustive treatment than they have received up to the present time. The Royal Agricultural Society has done a great deal for agriculture by example, by examination, and by experiment, and by carrying out different methods of treatment and different modes of cultivation; but it is possible, I admit, that something more may be done, and any encouragement it is in the power of the Government to give, within reasonable limits, which afford any expectation of a profitable and satisfactory result, they are ready to give. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) referred to the improvements which he has himself effected in the management of his own affairs by the exercise of skill, judgment, and discretion. I think there are many others who might do a great deal of good in their own neighbourhood by the exercise of the judgment which the hon. Member for Preston has shown. I myself have introduced a good dairymaid into my neighbourhood with the most beneficial results. I could not understand why butter should be so much better made on one farm, and should obtain so much better a price in the market than another, until I came to see that it was due to the care, skill, and the attention of the dairymaid. We have yet, I confess, a great deal to do in dealing with the difficulties of agriculture. They are difficulties, I am afraid, which no Government Department can altogether remove; but we confidently expect that good results will follow from the technical education scheme which will shortly be brought before the House. I am not sure that the immediate expenditure of £25,000 a-year would be an entirely satisfactory way of dealing with the subject. There are causes of depression which no Government can modify, such as climate, foreign competition, and, it may be, the appearance of some new fly. At the present moment the English farmer has to compete with the whole world; and there are facilities by which food and produce of every description can be brought cheaply to this country from other parts of the world. There is also another cause of depression in the competition, which is the result of an abundance of capital which seeks employment at a very low rate of profit indeed. As far as the Government are concerned, it will be our aim and purpose to provide the information which my hon. Friend desires to obtain by giving to the farmers that technical education which will place them and their labourers on a par with those who are being so ably instructed in other countries. I repeat again that we are deeply sensible of the serious depression which has overtaken the most important interest of this country. When we speak of any other interest—that of iron or cotton, for instance—it must not be forgotten that the agricultural interest employs a much larger number of persons, and, therefore, demands a larger amount of consideration on the part of the State, seeing that it is altogether of greater importance than any other interest. It would, therefore, be a gross mistake, if it were possible, for the Government to be unconscious of the present circumstances of depression, or unwilling to acknowledge the conditions which now exist, or disinclined to do anything which lies in their power to assist in restoring the agricultural interest to its proper position.

MR. C. W. GRAY (Essex, Maldon): I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that it is the intention of the Government to pay some attention to agricultural matters. I have stated before in this House that the English farmers have shown the greatest patience under circumstances of the greatest gravity and of the most deep distress, and I trust they will find that Parliament is really anxious to do all it can to remedy the ruinous position not only of the landed interest, but of the farmers and farm labourers. If the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury will pardon my venturing to say so, I would suggest that there is not very much to be done in the way of teaching the farmer how to make jam, or how to make butter. We want something that will go a little deeper into the matter than that; and I hope that Parliament will be able to establish a more efficient Department in reference to British agriculture than we have had up to the present moment. I believe that the taxpayers of England will not grudge a reasonable amount of money for that purpose, because, after all, agriculture is one of the most important, if not the most important, of all our industries. The number of trades which depend upon the prosperity of agriculture are innumerable. An hon. Member the other day spoke of 12,000,000 of acres of land not being cultivated; and another hon. Member said that there was a very large amount of land out of cultivation which ought to be utilized. In those remarks I entirely agree; but I think it will be necessary to go much deeper into the subject before we can get that land cultivated. There is a cure for it all; but I am afraid that I should be ruled out of Order if I were to enter into it to-night. I hope that the Front Bench will give us an opportunity of discussing the subject at length on some other occasion. I hope that the patience with which the English farmers and their Representatives in this House have borne the depression which now exists will induce the Government to see their way to give us, before long, a night in which we may be able to go thoroughly into our grievances, and to suggest, in a straightforward way, what we consider to be the only remedies.

MR. MORE (Shropshire, Ludlow): As the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury has expressed a desire to give effect to the views of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Wells Division of Somerset (Sir Richard Paget), I would venture to suggest to him that the most practical way of doing it, and that which would give most satisfaction to the farmers, would be to establish schools, not for dairy purposes only, but for general instruction in agricultural matters. I think it would be well, in experiments of the kind suggested, to see what can be done with farms of different sizes, say, from 50 up to 200 acres. The object in view would also be assisted, in my opinion, by the Bill which was introduced last night, which, when passed, would assist in showing what can be done with very small holdings. It is to be hoped that the proposal which has been made will be carried out as soon as possible; and I am convinced that it would be a most satisfactory way of enabling the British farmer to deal with this matter of foreign competition.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr): I rise for the purpose of supporting, as far as I understand it, the suggestion made by the hon. Baronet the Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) with regard to establishing an agricultural school in this country. I was very glad to hear the excellent remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), and I can quite confirm what has fallen from him, and I can say from my own knowledge that the example which he has shown is one which I should like to see copied. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of the impossibility of spending £25,000 per annum in this direction. I will go to the extent of saying that £250,000 would be economically spent in this work. Anyone must see that something of this sort will have to be done if the agricultural interest in this country is to maintain anything like a profitable competition with foreign countries; but the hope of competition with America is altogether fallacious. The competition in America arises from two causes. The first cause of competition is, that the soil of America is more productive than the soil in Europe; and, secondly, the transport is cheaper. Anyone who examines into the matter will find that, so far from the present rates in America breaking down, they are likely to become cheaper every year. At the present time there is flour coming into the English market from San Francisco, and selling 6*s*. per barrel cheaper than it can be produced in Ireland. The machinery in America is the same as is used in Ireland at the present time; but it is the transport that kills the Irish, as it also kills the English manufacture. It is not a question of railway rates in America, because the railways which compete with us are really not Railway Companies, but Land Companies, who can, if they like, bring the whole of their freights for nothing, and still pay a dividend on their capital, which arises from profit out of land that extends four or five miles on both sides of the line. Villages are springing up, and the need of railroads is increasing every year; and, as I have said, they are able to compete with us by bringing flour into this country from San Francisco without its having to pay a charge of one single cent for transport. Now, inasmuch as this cheapness of transport cannot be broken down, the hope of English or Irish agriculture competing with America is a very small hope indeed. But there is one direction in which we can improve. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to take some glory to the farmers of this country with regard to the excellence of their farming. Now, I have examined into this question, and I am able to say that the system of farming adopted in this country is far inferior to the system in Belgium and Holland, in both of which countries the land is poor; but farming has succeeded there by reason of the agricultural schools which have been established. The right hon. Gentleman may not accept that comparison; but I am sorry to say that it is exactly true that those countries I have mentioned are far in advance of us in their knowledge of the principles of farming, as an instance of which I may mention the principle of the succession of crops, which, although considered a new one here, is, in Holland and Belgium, as old as the hills. Unless you have schools you will never introduce into the farming system of this country those economies which are necessary to success, for there is a parallel between agriculture and the system which obtains in commercial houses; that is to say, it is not the amount of sales which gives the profit—it is the internal economy of the establishment. And I say it is the internal extravagant system in England and Ireland which causes the great loss to the farmer. If you had a system of agricultural education in this country you would alter all that, and that which is now loss would become profit in the future. For that reason I strongly advocate the establishment of agricultural schools. Farming is different from all other pursuits. When a man fails in everything else he turns his eyes to farming, and I know acquaintances of my own who have left the Bar and other occupations to become what are called gentlemen farmers. I know that in Ireland every man thinks himself capable of becoming a farmer; and these are the facts that account for the bad farming in this country. It is entirely due to this want of education and want of training in the dairy farms of the country that France and other countries are able to compete with us and outsell us in our own market, notwithstanding the means of transport which we have at our disposal. Some endeavours have been made in Ireland, with success, in the matter of dairy farming; but that only goes in one direction, and what we require is a large system of instruction not limited by the outlay of £25,000 to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes, but resting on a grant of such a sum as I mentioned—namely, £250,000, which outlay, I say, in the end would become a source of very large profit. I think the English Government —and especially this Government which has brought in a Land Bill—should make it their special duty to introduce the system we are advocating; and if they succeed in that one thing alone, they would leave behind them a record far more valuable than nine-tenths of the Acts of Parliament which have been passed in other times.

Sir RICHARD PAGET: The assurances which I have received from my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) are to a large extent satisfactory; but I am bound to say it would have been better if there had been a more clear and definite statement that the money which is required would be forthcoming from the public funds, because I again venture to say that the essence of this question is that funds should be found to set up an efficient Agricultural Department, and that one of the necessities of the Agricultural Department is the establishment of at least one school of agriculture. I am glad to find that my right hon. Friend is fully alive to the fact that agriculture is carried on in these days as a matter of science. It is not stationary; you cannot farm to-day as you did in times gone by; you must keep your mind open to progress; and, in endeavouring to enable our farmers to meet competition in the New World, you must furnish them with the means of carrying out their endeavours successfully. In all other countries farmers have a strong protection; they have the advantage of cheap railway rates and a complete system of agricultural education. We have none of those advantages; our railway rates are higher than the rates paid by foreigners who come into our markets to compete with us; we have no system of agricultural education; we have no protection; and if, with all these disadvantages, we have to fight our battles, it is no wonder that we go gradually to the wall. I understand my right hon. Friend to say that he is prepared to take steps in the direction of improving the present Agricultural Department; but allow me to point out that it is not long since that a Minister was obliged to say to a large deputation from Scotland, asking that scientific investigation should be made into pleuro-pneumonia—"I cannot help you; I have not the money." Thus the disease had to run its course; no investigation could be taken by the Agricultural Department, simply because there were no funds to enable them to deal with it. Now, I think I know the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) sufficiently well to say that, if there is a disposition on the part of the Government to give effect to what is proved to be the universal demand in this House, he will admit that the ways and means should be found that are necessary to do what is required. I do not ask you to spend one sixpence without getting full value for it; I want you to be careful that nothing shall be done which will not produce a valuable return to the nation; but I entirely agree with the hon. Member who has just addressed the Committee (Mr. Molloy), and I hold with him that £10,000, £20,000, or £25,000 is not in it. If you are going to get an advantage which is necessary, you must furnish the funds necessary to obtain it. I hope I have interpreted rightly what my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House has said, that in directing these steps to be taken he does so with the clear intention and knowledge that those steps will require expenditure of public funds, and that he will not shrink from finding the necessary funds to enable this branch, at any rate, to be set on foot. If I have rightly interpreted my right hon. Friend, perhaps he will be good enough to signify assent; in which case I will ask leave to withdraw my Amendment.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I can assure my hon. Friend that there will not be any hesitation on the part of the Government in carrying out our engagement to inquire into this matter, and, if possible, proceeding step by step to make such an arrangement as in our judgment may be satisfactory. My hon. Friend not having given me Notice that he was about to raise this question, I have not had an opportunity of going into the circumstances as fully as I could have wished; but I give him the engagement heartily that we will examine into the question, and that we shall not be behindhand in the matter of any expense which may appear to us to be necessary to bring about a satisfactory result.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I wish to say a few words on a question alluded to by the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Richard Paget), and which is all-important, not only with regard to this Office, but also with regard to a number of other Departments throughout the Service. The question might, perhaps, have been more conveniently raised on the Vote on Account; but, unfortunately, the discussion on that Vote was closured before it was complete, and in the discussion on the Vote for the Treasury the Chairman decided that that Vote was not the proper one on which to raise the question, but that it could be brought up on the specific Vote immediately concerned. Now, the question is as to the distribution of work between several Departments. I would remind the Government that the Education Office at one time was under the Privy Council and intimately connected with it; it has been separated from it for some years, and the Department is now under the Vice President of the Council with a separate Office and a separate Vote. But provided for under the present Vote are such matters as the Burial Boards and the official work connected with them, although the inspection of Burial Boards is in the hands of the Home Office. Similarly, with regard to merchant shipping, all the work connected with pilotage, lighthouses, and tonnage dues are dealt with by the Privy Council. But those matters are intimately connected with the work entrusted to the Board of Trade; and, therefore, you have work of a cognate nature and almost of identical character being performed in a number of different Departments. Now, I submit that that can only result in unnecessary correspondence, in the multiplication of duties, and unnecessary expenditure. I believe there is room for very considerable economy as between this Vote and the Votes for the Board of Trade, Home Office, and Local Government Board, and I throw out the suggestion in order that I may get the views of the Government on this question. I know that you will say there is a Royal Commission sitting to inquire into this matter; but it will be many years before it reports the result of its labours.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): In the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, I think all we can say is that the matter referred to by the hon. Member for East Donegal will receive consideration. I quite agree that at first sight it does appear that the work is not altogether well distributed. As the work has arisen it has been shifted from one Office to another without sufficient consideration. This is a matter which would come under the consideration of the Royal Commission; but I am aware there is a difficulty owing to the delay which may arise before the question is reached, and, therefore, if on further inquiry it is found that it is not likely that these points will be soon brought under the consideration of the Commission, then I think I may promise on the part of the Government that they will be considered.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): It is announced that cholera has broken out in the South of Europe, and I ask whether it is intended by the Government that any further precautions will be taken in view of that fact?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I point out to the hon. Member that the subject he refers to does not come within this Vote.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £63,107, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Subordinate Departments."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): It will be in the recollection of the Committee that in the last Parliament there was a unanimous Resolution of the House for the appointment of a Bureau or Department in connection with labour statistics. I want to know from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) exactly what has been done with reference to giving effect to that Resolution, and I will ask him these questions, upon the answers to which will depend whether I feel it necessary to offer further opposition to the Vote. I ask, what officials are actually employed to carry out the Resolution of the House; what are their expenses, salaries, and duties; when those duties actually commenced, and what they have each done? We were told that a large number of inquiry schedules had been prepared by the Board of Trade, and some very glowing promises were made as to the issue of those schedules. Now, I want to know how many of such schedules have been sent out; in what trades; in what proportion in each trade; and how many replies have been received from each trade and between what dates? Then we were told to believe that by the appointment of some gentleman who had been connected with one of the Trade Societies—Mr. Burnett, connected, I believe, with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—inquiries might be made outside those in the schedules. I want to know what inquiries outside the schedules have been made; by whom and in what manner; and if any inquiries have been made of Trade Societies, and the kind of response that has been given to them; and, especially bearing in mind the promise made, what labour statistics have been collected? I believe that some of these are contained in a volume which exists at the Board of Trade, but which has not been published; and I want to know whether any of these have been published, and, if not, whether any of them will be published? Then we had rather a definite promise made by the Vice President of the Board then in the House of Commons, of some cheap kind of publication which was to be issued containing labour statistics at frequent periods. I think that would have been very useful, but there is no trace of anything of the kind; the Board of Trade does not fulfil, or pretend to fulfil, any of these objects. If the Labour Bureau is to report once in every seven years, it will not in any way fulfil the intention which I think the House had when it unanimously assented to my proposal, and it would be a farce as compared with what is being done in this respect in the United States of America and also in Canada. I want to know what is the cause of the great delay there has been in carrying out the promises of the Board of Trade? I do not want to make any attack on the present Government, and I am bound to say that the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston) has treated me with the utmost courtesy in communicating to me what were the plans of the Board; but I should like to see some more realization of these plans, because if the statistics are to be of any use they should be published rapidly and periodically. If this Labour Bureau is to be of use it ought to be useful to the extent of preventing a strike of the kind we had in the county of Northumberland, where there was a body of men more intelligent of their class than any other in the United Kingdom—strong men and industrious men, who showed good temper on the verge of starvation, in a contest in which there was an absolute disagreement between the employers and the representatives of the employed as to prices. I do not wish unduly to press the Government on this point, if I see by their answers that steps are being taken to realize in practice that which the House adopted in theory, my object being to insist that the Resolution of this House should not result in a sham.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I must acknowledge the great courtesy of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr.

Bradlaugh) in giving me Notice of these questions. To the first question of the hon. Member the answer is, that the officials actually employed in carrying out the Resolution of the House are three lower division clerks at salaries of £90 each, one lower division clerk at £190, and a Labour Correspondent at a salary of £300 a-year. These are all the officials engaged exclusively on the work, but one clerk of the upper division is partially employed upon it with a salary of £300. The whole of the work is under the Heads of Departments of the Board of Trade. These are the only officials engaged in the work. Mr. Burnett gets £300 a-year. To the second question the answer is, that the number of inquiry schedules sent out was 46,000, and the number of replies received 6,000. The 46,000 schedules sent out apply to 57 different trades, each of which have one, two, or more forms of a special character prepared for it, which arrangement involves, of course, a great deal of labour. The sending out of these schedules commenced in October last, and has continued to the present time; and there are about 14,000 schedules still remaining to be sent out. The third question of the hon. Member is answered partly in the reply to question No. 2. When the whole of the schedules have been sent out, and the replies received from the trades, I shall be happy to communicate the result to the hon. Member. Then as to inquiries other than by schedule. The Labour Correspondent has made and is now making inquiries as to immigration in the East End, Trade Unions, short time in Lancashire, wages in tailoring shops, and expenditure in working-class families. The Labour Correspondent's Report has already been published in a Parliamentary Paper. The Report on Trade Unions is in the Press, and will be circulated; others will follow in due course. The Labour Correspondent has also been engaged in examining into the question of the Manufacturing Departments of the War Office, and from time to time given the Government information as to the state of employment in different trades. Question 5 is partly answered in the reply to No. 4. In addition to the compilation of wages statistics of the last 50 years—a very bulky volume—which will be published, there will be an analysis of wages in different districts. With regard to the periodical publications, we have hardly had sufficient experience yet to decide; but information as to wages has been published from time to time by the Board of Trade in *The Monthly Journal*. Now, as to the delay which the hon. Member appears to think is rather excessive, I must point out that there has been no real delay in carrying out the promises of the Board of Trade; the programme is being steadily carried out without incurring undue expenditure. I do not wish to detain the Committee by reading the statistics of the Bureau; but if the hon. Member likes to have them I shall be glad to place them at his disposal. The Department, although young, has been engaged in useful labour; and although the work has not, perhaps, progressed as rapidly as it is desired, it is to be accounted for by the fact that the Department has worked on an extremely wide basis. There must be great labour and correspondence, as well as expenditure of time, in a work of this kind; no undue delay has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this Labour Bureau may became a useful adjunct in the hands of the Board, and be of great utility to the working classes themselves.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I am not at all satisfied with the answer of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade, and I will point out why I am not satisfied with it. The compilation with regard to wages for the last 50 years is one of extreme interest; but the whole of that material was in the hands of the Board of Trade at the time when I made my Motion, and I cannot help thinking that 16 months is time enough for the publication of the volume. Then with reference to the information on trades unions, which Mr. Burnett was specially fitted to obtain, the bulk of the information as to our trades unions is already in print, either in America in the Reports of the Labour Bureaus or elsewhere. Therefore, I cannot help thinking that there is some ground for complaint that the publication has not yet appeared. I can say that the American Reports with regard to the trades unions of this country are extremely full and accurate. There is one difficulty which occurs to me with regard to the schedules. I understand that the bulk of 46,000 of these have been sent out, and that there have been only 6,000 copies received. If that is so, then it is clear that the system has failed, so far as getting voluntary replies is concerned, and on that subject I shall have a suggestion to submit to the House. Then I find we have three lower division clerks at salaries of £90 a-year each, one at £190 a-year, and one Labour Correspondent at a salary of £300 a-year, and practically there has been nothing issued in the year. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, in every one of the Labour Bureaus of the United States, with, possibly, the exception of that at Washington, the movement was initiated as a perfectly new thing; and yet within a year, with much less expense than has been incurred here, there were issued to the country statistics which, although not complete, showed a beginning. Now this information will serve no purpose for the people if it is only to reach them two years after the event. Unless it is possible promptly to communicate to the people the amount of wage which ought to be earned in particular trades, the whole of this expenditure will be utterly useless. It is of no use to go on year after year with a kind of red-tape establishment, supplying old information; and, unless we are to get something useful from it, I shall regret having put the country to the expense already incurred. Then I infer that, with the best intention, the Board of Trade has given too much occupation to Mr. Burnett outside the occupation intended for him. I think his sole occupation should have been to attend to the labour statistics; but he has been put to other duties which, although very useful, do not at all fit him or enable him to fulfil his office. Then, with regard to the Emigration Office, that is an office which should be attended to separately and distinctly. I admit that this has been exceedingly useful during the year; but it is impossible for Mr. Burnett to attend to it, as well as the one thing which ought to occupy him. Then, looking cursorily at the figures which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade has placed in my hands, I am afraid that the trades organizations themselves have not supplied on their own account the information which they ought to have supplied; and unless there is a concurrence on the part of employers and the employed in furnishing information, it is clear that, as a voluntary scheme, the whole thing has broken down. In reference to the schedules I am afraid that it has broken down, because, in some cases, the number of replies is ridiculously disproportionate. We have, for instance, only 24 replies from the printing and dyeing trade—it is an extreme case; but there are others in which the proportion of replies to schedules is one-quarter. I submit to the Government that it would be well to consider whether there should not be a short enactment, such as was found necessary in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and other States of the Union, which would have the effect of bringing forth replies which have not been obtained voluntarily. I am bound to say that the Government have met me fairly; but it appears to me that the work has been wrongly commenced, and that Mr. Burnett has been overburdened. He certainly has not performed his duty here, and I see no evidence that anyone else has done so.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I am bound to admit the amount of the information has not been collected which was desired. Mr. Burnett's duty was at first confined to the collection of labour statistics; but it was found that there was not sufficient work of that kind for him to to do, and he was therefore employed in other duties, one of which was to find out the various employments of foreigners who settled in the East End, and to check, to some extent, the information given by the Boards of Guardians. The hon. Member has called attention to a very important point—namely, that out of 46,000 schedules only 6,000 have been returned, and I quite admit that if this small proportion is all that we are to get the result will be useless. The question, then, would be, how are we to get this information? The schedules are sent to all the employers of labour; they are very carefully compiled, and if they were properly filled up the information obtained would be of the most valuable kind. But not only are they not properly filled up, but only a small proportion is returned at all. It will be a matter of serious consideration whether we ought not to introduce some sort of compulsory power with regard to these schedules, which would enable us to get a reasonable number of answers, otherwise I can only repeat that the Labour Bureau will fail, the information being too scanty to be useful. I can promise that we will endeavour to devise some scheme by which the return of the schedules can be better obtained.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: I think some pledge ought to be given to me that Mr. Burnett's duties will be confined to the Department for which he is paid.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I can certainly give the hon. Member that pledge.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I desire to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) for some information as to whether the Board are prepared to reconsider the decision lately announced as to the lighthouse experiments at the South Foreland? I think I am in Order in raising the question on this Vote. The facts are exceedingly brief. Mr. Wigham, of Dublin, has for many years carried on a struggle against the Trinity House and the Board of Trade in regard to lighthouse illuminants. He was engaged, first, in ascertaining the superiority of gas over oil, and after that he has been engaged in fighting the battle of gas *versus* electricity. I believe there is no doubt that in foggy weather that gas is superior to electricity. Mr. Wigham, I understand, was not allowed to show his best light, and the electric light was unfairly used, the beam having been localized and not thrown upon the horizon. Mr. Wigham's claim is supported by the shipowners of Glasgow, who, with our seamen, are deeply interested in the question, and I hold in my hand a Memorial signed by the former calling for a repetition of the experiments under independent authority. The objection raised to this is on the ground of expense; but I would point out that the Mercantile Marine Fund is the property of shipowners, and I cannot see why, if they are willing that the experiment should be performed, it should not be paid for out of their own money. The question of lighthouse illuminants is of enormous importance to the Mercantile Marine, and I do not think the opinion of the House will stand in the way of the experiment being repeated, or that the Board of Trade ought to continue to resist the appeals made to them by the shipowners of the country.

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): I rise to say that the statement of the hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. T. W. Russell), that amongst the shipowners in Glasgow there is an opinion that there has not been a fair trial of Mr. Wigham's light, is true. There is a feeling that too much power is in the hands of the permanent officials, and that it is impossible to get any trials without their approval. I trust the Government will look at the Memorial presented, and that they will gratify the owners of ships to the extent of having a fair and impartial trial. The subject of lighthouse illumination is one of the greatest importance both to shipowners and seamen. The Trinity House and the Board of Trade ought to be ready to receive any useful suggestions for the improvement of lighthouse illuminants, as new inventions are always taking place from time to time, and our object ought to be to secure the very best illuminant, no matter at what cost.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I can assure the hon. Member that the question relating to Mr. Wigham's invention has received the fullest consideration at the hands of the Board of Trade, and it is not due in any way to caprice on the part of the Board that we have to say that we cannot entertain the proposal for fresh experiments, as neither the Scotch nor Irish Lighthouse Authorities have asked that they should be undertaken. The function of the Board of Trade is not to initiate, but to sanction or decline to sanction what the Lighthouse Authorities suggest. Again, I would point out that the experiments which Mr. Wigham proposes to make, at a cost of £2,000, would, in the judgment of those capable of forming an opinion on the subject, cost a great deal more than that sum. The Committee will be aware that the cost of the experiment is not confined to the one light, inasmuch as this has to be tried in comparison with other lights, and the expense must be measured by the number of competitive lights against which it has to be tried. Admitting that the experiment with one light would not cost more than £2,000, we must assume that three or four times that amount would have to be expended in arrangements for the other lights against which it would be tested. The impression seems to be that Mr. Wigham has been badly treated; but I beg to assure the Committee that this is not the case. Mr. Wigham has received £5,000 in recognition of his improvements in lighthouse illumination—that is to say, £2,500 in 1876, and £2,500 in 1884. In addition to this, his firm has during the period of 17 years ended September, 1886, made manufacturers' profits on orders from the Lighthouse Authorities, amounting on the average to upwards of £3,500 a-year, besides other indirect advantages in being advertised at the public expense in numerous Parliamentary Papers. I have asked the Trinity House to give me their views on the question. I do not propose to weary the Committee by reading their Report; but there are two or three paragraphs which I think will answer the remarks of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell). It appears from this Report that the experiment at the South Foreland showed that three oil lights held their own against four gas lights in moderately thick weather up to 10 miles; it was found that the oil light was simplest in production, and quite easily managed for all lighthouse purposes, and that the expense of another experiment must far exceed Mr. Wigham's estimate of £2,000. A comparison of double quadriform gas with simple quadriform in either of the other illuminants would not be conclusive. Each must be allowed the right to show on equal terms with the other two in point of power. The Report goes on to say that—

> "Without disparaging the opinions of the Chambers of Commerce who have urged another trial, we may urge the opinion of European and American officers, who as experts have watched the South Foreland experiments, and whose Reports practically confirm the conclusion arrived at here."

The Report proceeds—

> "If there were any real advantage to the mariner to be gained by the gas light, no thought of expense ought to interfere with its adoption; but when we find that it is a question between ten miles and ten and a-half in hazy weather, we think that the safety of navigation is well cared for, and the question of expense ought to be considered in the interest of those who are taxed to provide it."

It was not thought, under these circumstances, that additional expense ought to be incurred in the interest of the country. I would point out that the only means we have of defraying the expense of experiments in the illumination of lighthouses is the Mercantile Marine Fund. I think the Committee will bear me out in saying that that fund is not in a flourishing condition, and that it is not desirable to charge upon it the cost of the suggested experiments. I think also the hon. Member for South Tyrone will agree that there has been no wish on the part of the Board of Trade in any way to prevent the due testing of Mr. Wigham's inventions; that we have tried them; and we find, on the authority of the Trinity House, that the whole question is between 10 miles and 10½ miles in hazy weather; and in view of the fact that the experiments are calculated to cost a very large sum, and further, taking into account the condition of the Mercantile Marine Fund, I hope the Committee will agree that the Board of Trade has exercised a wise discretion in not sanctioning further experiments.

MR. DWYER GRAY (Dublin, St. Stephen's Green): The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade has stated that the Irish Board has not made any application for further experiments. I happened to be a member of the Board, and I can say that for years we pressed the matter on the Board of Trade, and that we were met by constant objection to give effect to our views. I am inclined to think that if no further application has been made, it is because long experience has convinced the Board that it is utterly useless to do so. I think I am right in saying that Lord Meath resigned his position on the Board in consequence of the action of the Board of Trade in connection with this very business. I should like to ask one question with reference to the competition between these lights. The hon. Gentleman has said that the experiment would involve, perhaps, five times the cost suggested, because there might be five competitors. I take it that the only competition would be as between oil and gas, so that, at most, there would be twice the expenditure calculated by Mr. Wigham. But I hope that some explanation with regard to the public Company, with a very large capital, which, two or three years ago, was formed and promoted by the engineer to the Trinity House, for the sale of his own inventions, in competition with those of Mr. Wigham, will be given. Can the hon. Member tell us how much money Sir James Douglas received for the concession of his patent rights to the Company I refer to? Sir James Douglas is engineer to the Trinity Board, and practically they are guided by his advice; and his brother, who is one of the Irish Board, takes good care to look after the interest of oil in that position. I should like the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade to inform the Committee what is the present position of the Limited Liability Company promoted by Sir James Douglas, and the amount of trade which that Company has done with the Government, and whether Sir James Douglas is still connected with it or not?

Mr. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.): The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade appeared to me himself to make out a good case for further experiments. It was stated by my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) that a gas burner of the greatest power was not tried in the last experiments, and this has been admitted by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade; and he also says there were oil and gas lamps of greater power than those tried, and yet not experimented with. I therefore urge that the further experiments asked for should be made, in view of the fact that they will be made for the benefit of the Mercantile Marine of the country. One objection to the experiments being made is on the ground of expense, which the hon. Gentleman says would be four or five times as much as the amount estimated by Mr. Wigham. But I point out that Mr. Wigham has offered to guarantee that the expense shall not exceed £2,000. Under these circumstances, I ask, with confidence, that some inquiry should be made with a view to having the experiments repeated. I am certain that this would give satisfaction to the Mercantile Marine, who are by no means confident that the best means are at present being used for illuminating our lighthouses; and, moreover, I think that what has fallen from the hon. Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin (Mr. Dwyer Gray) shows that there are many weighty reasons for dissatisfaction.

Mr. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I hope the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade will be able to insure to hon. Members facilities for obtaining the Reports on Private Bills. Only a few extra need be printed for the use of Members of the House.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: The hon. Member for the St. Stephen's Green Division of Dublin (Mr. Dwyer Gray) has dissented from my statement that the Irish Lighthouse Authorities were not in favour of a renewal of the experiments. I will read the letter of the Commissioners of Irish Lights of the 21st of December, 1885, which runs thus—

> "Mr. Wigham having asked the Commissioners to adopt this system of illumination (*i.e.*, the double quadriform gas light) at Tory Island, they referred the matter to their scientific adviser, in consequence of whose Report they have decided not to adopt the light at that station, and have so informed Mr. Wigham."

I would point out that the Irish authorities have never asked for a renewal of the experiments. With regard to the question whether the experiments will be repeated, the Trinity House say that the expense would be over £2,000, and I can only repeat that the only fund available is the Mercantile Marine Fund, the condition of which is such that I should not feel justified, in view of the expressed opinion of the Irish and Scotch Commissioners and that of the Board of Trade itself, in charging upon that fund the cost of further experiments. With regard to the question of the hon. Member for the North-East Division of Bethnal Green (Mr. Howell), I would point out that the reprinting of Reports is a question which concerns the Treasury rather than the Board of Trade.

Mr. HOWELL: What is desired is that the Reports for Members of the Committee shall be available for Members of this House. Only a very few extra copies will be wanted.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I will make inquiries.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: The hon. Gentleman has said that the Irish Lighthouse Commissioners have not recommended that these experiments should be re-opened, and they are not in favour of Mr. Wigham's plan being tried at Tory Island. The hon. Gentleman has said a good deal about the amount of Government money that Mr. Wigham's firm has received. Mr. Wigham's firm have erected lighthouses and gas works all round the Coast, and I suppose that if they have received a large sum of

Government money they have given value for it. I am so much dissatisfied with the reply of the hon. Gentleman that I beg to move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000, being the salary of the Assistant Secretary in charge of these lighthouses.

Motion made, and Question put,

"That the Item A, £55,175, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,000 in respect of the Salary of the Assistant Secretary in charge of the Harbour Department."—(*Mr. T. W. Russell.*)

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 56; Noes 127: Majority 71. — (Div. List, No. 311.) [10.0 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough): The first Report of the Inspector on Sea Fisheries opens out the subject of the relations between the Government and the sea fishing industry of England. I think everyone who looks into this matter will agree with me that the fishing industry is a most important one as affecting our country generally besides the men engaged in it. It is a matter of sincere congratulation that the recommendation in the Report of the Royal Commission brought to this House in 1864 has at last been carried out in the Report which is this year presented to the House, and it is a matter also of great satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government have collected and published the figures which are now before the House and the country upon this important matter. May I ask, Sir, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade that in the future two or three distinct improvements may be made in the way in which this information is laid before us? The present year brings to us three distinct documents containing information in regard to the fisheries of this country. There is, first of all, the Report of the Inspector of Salmon Fisheries, which affects also to some extent the sea fisheries; secondly, there are the statistics, and the Memorandum attached to them, with regard to the sea fisheries; and, thirdly, there is the first annual Report of the Inspector on Sea Fisheries. It is manifest that it is not a convenient way of bringing information before the House that there should be three separate documents of different dates and size. I hope that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade will see his way to publishing one Report relating to the fisheries of England, which will be much more valuable for the purposes of reference afterwards; and that, secondly, he will see his way to give further details with regard to the sea fisheries of England. I believe that now Her Majesty's Government receive Returns from the Customs Authorities, or from the Coastguard, or from other persons in all the different fishing ports in England, with regard to the different kinds of fish brought into these ports. Now let us take the East Coast, which embraces not less than six-sevenths of the sea fish supplies of England. It is clear that the figures so lumped together, the figures from the North to the South of the East Coast, give exceedingly little local information as to the localities where the fish are, and also as to the results of the fishing along the different parts of that Coast. Then, if the different kinds of fish brought into each port were given, it is clear we should have information which would be most valuable for the purposes of comparison in future years with regard to the supply of fish and the different kinds of fish obtained at the different parts of our coast. There is a most serious statement contained in the Report of the Inspector. He speaks of the scarcity of fish, especially of flat fish, along the Coast, and of the great complaints made at some parts of the coast as to trawlers working among the inshore fisheries. I do not want to enter into the contentions as between the different kinds of fishing; but it is an undoubted fact—and I think every hon. Member who looks into the matter will agree with me—that sooner or later this question of inshore trawling along the Coasts of England must be looked at and faced. A very striking conclusion is to be drawn from the statistics which are now published. I say that the East Coast of England supplies six-sevenths of the whole of the sea fish brought into England from our own fisheries. Let us take that part of the Coast with which I am most familiar, the North-East Coast of England, which the North-Eastern Railway touches. The figures show a very remarkable state of things. During the last four years 187,000 tons of fish have been brought inland by the North-Eastern Railway; but during the four preceding years no less than 194,000 tons of fish were brought in by the same Railway Company; 7,000 tons more fish were brought inland by the North-Eastern Railway Company in the first four years than in the last, and that is in spite of the fact which is well known to all hon. Members who have looked into the matter, and which is confirmed by the Report of the Royal Commission of 1885, that in no single industry in our country has there been such progress made in the means adopted for the carrying on of the industry. The size and the power of the vessels have greatly increased, and vast improvements have been made in the fishing gear. In spite of the additional power of the fishing vessels and of the improved implements, we see on the North-East Coast of England a distinct falling-off in the total amount of fish brought inland by the North-Eastern Railway Company. If we look into the figures more closely, we find that the Report of the Inspector as to inshore trawling is borne out in a remarkable manner. The figures relating to the small fishing ports where there are no trawlers, but where fishermen rely upon the line fishing upon the seine net fishing and the drift net fishing, are very striking. I will only trouble the House with three instances, which are well within my own knowledge. Two are the instances of three fishing villages in Yorkshire, the populations of which largely depend upon the sea fishing industry. In 1880 no less than 557 tons of fish were brought inland by the Railway Company from Flamborough. In the year 1886 the amount of fish from that place had fallen to 267 tons. In 1880, 1,046 tons of fish were brought inland from Bridlington; but in 1886 only 348 tons were brought in. In 1880, 1,103 tons of fish were brought inland from Filey; but in 1886 the amount had fallen to 407 tons. These figures show a falling off varying from a-third to one-half the amount of fish brought to shore. The effect upon the population is far more serious than the figures quoted indicate, because not only is the fish so much scarcer, but the bait the men have been in the habit of using is practically non-existent now. They formerly used some of the poorer kinds of fish, which are practically no longer to be had; and, consequently, there is serious distress in the fishing villages along the North-Eastern Coast. Now, no English Member begrudges the loans which have been given to the crofter population along the Coast of Scotland, or the loans which have been given to the Irish fishermen; but I am sure all hon. Members will agree with me that English fishermen ought not to be entirely overlooked in such legislation as may be found necessary, not only for the good of the fishermen, but for the whole of the country. The fact is becoming more apparent daily that the Coasts of England are becoming impoverished through the falling-off in the supply of fish, and surely this is a matter which affects the whole country as well as those engaged in the fishing industry in our villages and towns. The Commissioners appointed in 1878 recommended that the Secretary of State for the Home Department should have power to issue a Provisional Order stopping trawling in territorial waters; but no attention has been paid to that recommendation by this House. In 1885 another Royal Commission was appointed, and it went most exhaustively into this question. It traversed our coasts, and gathered a great amount of most valuable information. That Commission brought back the recommendations that a central authority should be created to supervise and control the fisheries of Great Britain, and that a sum of money be granted annually to such authority for the purpose of conducting scientific experiments and collecting statistics, and that in the meantime powers be given to the Scotch Board similar to those of the Irish Board, enabling them to make bye-laws for the regulation or suspension of beam-trawling within territorial waters, and that similar powers be created for England, and that in the meantime such powers be conferred on the Secretary of State, or the President of the Board of Trade. I submit it is rather hard that when the Commission has made such a Report, and when these powers have been granted to the Scotch Fishery Board, and that the Irish Fishery Board already possess them, nothing has been done to carry out the recommendations as regards the English sea fisheries. I believe that some hon. Members are under the impression that the Scotch sea fisheries are of greater extent and value than the English sea fisheries.

I have not the least wish to depreciate the great importance of the Scotch sea fisheries; but the fact is that the value of the sea fish brought into English ports is much greater than that brought into the Scotch ports. Well, now, I must respectfully ask from the Board of Trade that the recommendation of the Royal Commission should be given effect to, as regards the English sea fisheries, as it has been given effect to in respect to the Scotch fisheries. I am quite aware that the Scotch Members may tell us that the Scotch Board, as at present constituted, does not meet all the requirements of the Scotch fishermen; but it will be noticed that the Royal Commission suggested that a Fishery Board should be created for Great Britain, and I cannot but think the time will soon come when this recommendation may be usefully carried into effect, because already you have Yorkshire boats fishing on the West Coast of Ireland, and you have Scotch boats fishing all along the Coasts of England. There is much greater interchange than there used to be, and there is very little reason for the issuing of separate Reports, and for dealing in a different manner with the fisheries of the different parts of the United Kingdom. The only other argument I will venture to advance is, that at the Sea Fishery Convention which met this spring, and which was presided over by the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck), a resolution was passed, almost unanimously, asking the House that in view of the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1878 and of the Royal Commission of 1885, powers should be conferred upon the Fishery Authorities of England to regulate or suspend trawling, where it was desirable so to do. So far from there being any likelihood of any serious opposition on the part of those actually engaged in trawl-fishing on the East Coast, I know of my own knowledge that those engaged in trawling in my neighbourhood heartily support these recommendations. They believe that the inshore fisheries are being impoverished to a most serious extent, and they are thoroughly prepared to endorse the action which I respectfully ask for on behalf of the sea fisheries of our Coast. All we ask is that the powers which were conferred a year ago upon the Scotch Board should be given to the Fishery Department of England. If they are, I believe that a great advantage will be conferred on a most important industry, and that we shall be enabled to, at any rate, satisfy the fishermen of England that the justice which is dealt out to the fishermen of Scotland and Ireland is dealt out to them. I beg to move the Resolution which stands in my name.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item A, £55,175, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £100, in respect of the Salary of the Chief Inspector of Fisheries."—(*Mr. Rowntree.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I am sure the Committee are very much obliged to the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree) for the information he has supplied them as to the fisheries of this country. There are two points to which the hon. Gentleman has specially alluded. He first of all spoke of the fishery statistics. I think I understood him to say that the statistics might be put into a more practical form than they are now. With regard to that, I beg to call the attention of the hon. Member to the Report on the Sea Fisheries of England and Wales, published in 1879, in which it was stated that the Commissioners had been again and again struck with the enormous difficulty of obtaining any reliable statistics and facts relating to sea fisheries. Now, of course, the hon. Gentleman thoroughly understands the subject, and no one knows as well as he does how extremely difficult it is to obtain correct statistics. He will, however, admit that in the last Return the statistics have been to some extent improved, though, of course, they are still capable of greater improvement. This is really a question of expenditure, as the hon. Gentleman knows. The only amount we had available last year for statistics was the sum voted last year for the purpose—namely, £500. That is not a very large sum for the purpose of compiling statistics and obtaining full particulars in regard to the fisheries all along our Coasts. But the Board of Trade is fully alive to the importance of the subject; and we shall endeavour, as far as we can, to improve the statistics which we shall present to the House next year. Now, I come to the more important question of trawling. The subject of regulating trawling within territorial waters is at present engaging the attention of the Board of Trade, and the Assistant Secretary to the Fishery Department and one of the Inspectors have quite recently been sent down to Morecambe Bay to make investigations into the matter, and we intend to send two other gentlemen down to the North-East Coast for the purpose of making experiments and reporting to the Board of Trade. The hon. Gentleman is quite correct in stating that in regard to Scotland there are other regulations than those which govern the fishing on our English Coasts. The Board of Trade are now considering the advisability of assimilating the regulations existing on the Scotch, Irish, and English Coasts. Of course, I cannot promise that that will be done at once; but I can give the hon. Member the assurance that we are considering the matter very seriously. I do not think I should be justified in saying more than that, or in making a more definite promise. It is a matter the importance of which we fully realize, and I promise that it shall not be lost sight of. The Board of Trade will set to work with the view of giving practical effect to the suggestions which have been made.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.): The question of trawling is a most important one, and I think the Committee are under a deep debt of obligation to the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree) for the very able manner in which he has brought it under notice. At any rate, if the entire Committee do not express their obligation to the hon. Gentleman, I think that those who are in any way connected with fishing operations will be prepared to do so. Every single fisherman who does not use a trawl has assured me that trawling injures fishing very largely indeed, and I believe all scientific evidence is against unlimited leave being given to trawlers to fish our bays. I do not think that trawlers can do much harm far out at sea; but our law respecting trawlers ought to be assimilated as much as possible to the French law. On the French Coasts people are not allowed to trawl without special permission. The presumption is that boats are not allowed to trawl in the bays or close to the coast; but the French Fishery Boards can give leave to boats to trawl in certain bays, and I think that ought to be the law in England. It stands to reason that, in the first place, trawling must sweep away the fish from the inshore boats. That, I think, does not require any words to prove. They have large boats, otherwise they could not cover the distance they do. The inshore fishermen have only very small boats. They are men without capital, and I think it is only right that two or three miles of fishing ground near the shore should be preserved to them. If you allow the gigantic machines which trawlers use to sweep the ground there is very little fish left for the smaller boats to catch. The trawlers are not now merely sailing boats. I hear that on the East Coast of Scotland steam trawlers are now at work, and that such boats will soon be at work upon every other coast. They are able to fish seven days in the week, and, as I say, they sweep away the fish from the inland bays, so that there is nothing left for the smaller fishermen. That they sweep the fish away requires no proof; but now we come to a more contentious matter. The trawlers take large quantities of immature fish. These fish are of no use in the market, and though, I believe, the trawlers do throw them overboard, they very often are not thrown overboard until they are dead, or until they have been some hours on board the vessels, and, therefore, when thrown back into the sea are in such a state that they never grow up. Now, it is acknowledged that the evidence concerning trawling is very inadequate. Why is this the case? Because trawlers are so very jealous of anybody going on board them, and it is quite evident that their jealousy arises from the fact that when they trawl they destroy large quantities of immature fish. The only evidence obtained is got from men discharged from the trawlers. The question of evidence is one to which I think the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade (Lord Stanley of Preston) would do well to direct his special attention, with the view to the adoption of a rule by which trawlers should permit an Inspector to board them to witness their operations. Trawlers not only destroy the immature fish, but I think they destroy spawn as well. I acknowledge that this point is not altogether clear, and that some people say that spawn cannot be dragged up. Evidence on this point should be collected from the fishermen along the Coast. I think there ought to be established some system whereby every owner of a registered boat should have power to vote upon the question whether there should be trawlers or not in his neighbourhood. There ought to be a popular vote on this question, which is undoubtedly one in which owners of registered boats ought to have a voice, and I would give the President of the Board of Trade the power of confirming the decision. If there were this popular vote, I am convinced that a very large number of English, Irish, and Scotch bays would be closed to the beam trawlers. The Irish Members have frequently endeavoured to draw attention to this question, but their representations have been completely neglected, and the fishermen, who are anxious to prevent trawling in their bays, have been treated as if they had no right to a voice in the making of the bye-laws under which they are to pursue their vocation. Now that the English fishermen have found in the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree) an advocate of their cause, I have some hope that this question of trawling will be dealt with properly by the Government, and that there will be some approach to the present French law, which is a very good and simple one—namely, that trawling shall not be allowed in territorial waters without special permission. I may also point out that it is the universal practice of every foreign country to prevent boats of other nations coming into their territorial waters to fish. I hope the noble Lord the President of the Board of Trade will turn his attention to this subject, with the view of protecting an industry of so much importance not only to the men engaged in it, but to the country generally.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): As the Representative of a fishing population, I take very great interest in this question. I am very much disappointed at the answer the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) has given to the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree). What I understand the Board of Trade to have done is to send some people to make inquiries at Morecambe Bay and other places on this question. If there is one question which has been inquired into *ad nauseam*, it is this question of trawling. Everybody knows that trawling does great injury to the inshore fisheries; enormous Blue Books have been published dealing with the question, and a large amount of evidence has been taken on the subject, with the result that a very clear and definite opinion has been formed that trawling does injury to line fishing and does lessen the number of fish in our bays. I trust the hon. Gentleman will look into the question, and legislate in regard to it at no distant date. It is perfectly monstrous to suppose that when it has been found necessary to confer power upon the Scotch Fishery Board with the object of preventing trawling nothing should be done as regards the English fisheries. In my own case I have had great trouble with the Scotch Fishery Board to get trawling prohibited in the Moray Firth. At last I have been successful, with the result that great benefit has been conferred upon the population. It is an absolute necessity that there should be power to regulate or suppress trawling; and I trust my hon. Friend (Mr. Rowntree) will carry this matter to a Division for the purpose of protesting against the supineness on the part of the Government respecting a question which everybody acknowledges is of the utmost importance. I hope we shall hear something more satisfactory than we have heard up to the present. What is the use of further inquiry when everything that can be said on one side or the other is perfectly well known? What the Government ought to do is to say at once that they will legislate on the lines of the recommendation of the Convention to which reference has already been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough, and which was presided over by the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck). The Government, as a matter of fact, have known all about the question for months, and yet put the matter off and off. I certainly do feel very much disappointed with the way in which the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade has treated this question. No more important question has been brought before this Committee upon these Estimates, and I trust my hon. Friend will go to a Division.

Mr. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): I rise to support, in a very few words, the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree). Hon. Members who have spoken up to this represent fishing constituencies or seaports. As the Representative of one of the most inland constituencies of the country, I wish to say that we who live inland and represent inland places are as much interested in this question as those who represent or reside in fishery districts. Anything which can cheapen the food of the people or increase the facilities by which food is carried to the people is a matter which ought to receive the best attention of the Committee. I endorse all that has been said by the hon. Member for Scarborough; and I do earnestly trust that the Board of Trade will not allow this year to go by without taking some action in the matter.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin, Co., S.): I quite agree with hon. Gentlemen who have spoken in this matter as to the necessity of dealing with this subject immediately. We have had enough of inquiries, and they have led to no practical result. I have not the slightest doubt that everyone in the House believes that trawling does injuriously affect inshore fishing, and, therefore, the interests of the population upon our Coasts. I hope the hon. Gentleman will see his way to some reform.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS: I can only repeat the assurance I gave to the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree), that the question is engaging the most serious attention of the Board of Trade, not with the view of putting it off, as hon. Members seem to suppose, but with the view, if possible, of giving practical effect to the various recommendations which have been made. The Board of Trade is perfectly alive to the arguments used against trawling in territorial waters; but I cannot pledge myself that trawling will be absolutely prohibited. The matter is being considered most carefully, and I have no doubt the result will be most satisfactory to all parties.

Mr. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): The explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) is not at all a satisfactory one. There is no doubt that he, individually, is anxious to mitigate the evils which are complained of; but we have no guarantee that his desires will be carried out. I happen to have been brought up in a maritime part of the country, and very frequently in my younger days I spent hour after hour in trawling boats fishing along the Coasts. I am perfectly aware of the fact that nothing is more injurious to the ordinary Coast fishing than beam trawling. I happened to be concerned in a case where trawlers made a very serious encroachment upon spawning beds, and in which, in addition to that, so recklessly did they carry on their work, that they dragged their boats and the implements they employ through the lines which had been set across a portion of Bantry Bay in the South of Ireland. The unfortunate local fishermen were so infuriated that, armed with sticks and hatchets, they boarded the trawlers, attacked the crew, and inflicted very serious wounds upon them. The occurrence resulted in a very expensive trial, so far as the fishermen of the locality were concerned, before the Judge of Assize. I know from the knowledge I possess that there are within certain limits of the Coast places where trawlers could ply their vocation with perfect impunity, or without doing any damage to fisheries. I agree with hon. Gentlemen who have spoken that it is very necessary indeed, in the interests of the inshore fishermen and trawlers alike, that some definite line should be marked out beyond which trawlers should not go.

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I propose to make a few remarks on a subject of equal importance to this—namely, the condition of the salmon fisheries. The change of jurisdiction from the Home Office to the Board of Trade has made many people ask what improvements have been effected in the salmon fisheries by the salmon legislation of the last 27 years. It has been remarked by Professor Huxley, when he was Inspector, in his Report for 1885, that the improvement since 1861 has on the whole been a small one, and by no means such an improvement as might have been expected. It seems to me that such a remark as that must occasion serious doubt as to the wisdom of our present legislation, and as to the way in which it has been carried out. It has, in fact, thrown the salmon fisheries not only in our rivers, but in public waters, into the hands of the riparian owners and gentry. Now, how have these people used their power? The first thing they invariably do is to require that fishermen in public waters shall take out a licence costing £5. This is the case whether the river is a large and productive one or not. I know that in Wales, in the case of small rivers and streams like the Dovey and Dysynni, the cost of the licence is the same—namely, £5—as it is in the case of the Dee or the Severn, or some of our best fishing rivers. Much of this sum goes to water watchers, or, in other words, to private gamekeepers. When riparian owners once get bye-laws what do they proceed to do? They proceed to restrict the seasons from late in December to early in September, which makes two or three months difference; and then they keep the fishermen from the mouth of the rivers, and further make them use nets with far larger meshes than heretofore. They also prevent them taking turbot or any other sea fish, and if any of the fishermen break these bye-laws they are brought before and heavily fined by the magistrates, who themselves are the men who enacted the bye-laws. The result has been that our fishermen in small villages have been in many cases nearly crushed out. What I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) is, whether he does not think the time has come for the increase of the powers of the Board of Trade? Fishermen in public waters have no representative, in many cases, on the Board of Conservators, so that they have no voice whatever in the making or the working of the bye-laws. The fishermen, for instance, of Aberdovey and Towyn have already complained to the Board of Trade, who say they have no power to cancel, or alter, or modify bye-laws relating to salmon fisheries. Will the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade say whether he is satisfied that a licence of £5 should be exacted from poor fishermen for the purpose of paying river watchers? Inquiries are from time to time made in different localities; but these are of very little value, because the Inspector restricts his inquiry into the specific and often technical change of the new bye-law, and refuses to listen to the case of the fishermen when they bring complaints against the operation of the existing bye-laws. Is the hon. Gentleman satisfied with the power possessed by the Chief Inspector, and if he is not satisfied with that power, is he prepared to take some steps in order to get the grievance remedied?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: The powers in regard to the salmon fisheries were transferred from the Home Office to the Board of Trade in 1886; but these powers simply related to the inspection of fisheries. The main question referred to by the hon. Member relates to the administration of fisheries. Local regulations in no way concern the Board of Trade, no more than they formerly concerned the Home Office. The salmon fisheries are administered by local Boards of Conservators, and over these Boards the Board of Trade have very little power indeed.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: Are you satisfied with them?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I am not prepared to say that it would not be an advantage if the powers of the Board of Trade were increased; but at present we can only act according to the powers we have. We have the power of inspection, but the main powers in regard to salmon fisheries are vested in Conservators, and in Conservators alone. I think with the hon. Member it may be advisable to extend the powers of the Board of Trade; but further than that I am not prepared to go.

MR. ROWNTREE: After the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) I have no wish to divide the Committee. I can only express the hope that the Board of Trade will take steps to protect such an important industry as that of our fisheries. Many of our fishermen are starving, and I trust we shall not keep them long in an inferior position to the fishermen on the Scotch and Irish Coasts.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(5.) £172, to complete the sum for the Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I desire to call attention to the enormous cost of realizing the assets in bankruptcy estates. I do not want to put the Committee to the trouble of dividing; but I have here a number of cases which seem so clear that I think the Committee will agree with me that the matter is one which requires to be dealt with in some way or other. In one case a lady was made bankrupt for a debt of £350. Her assets realized £885; but when that was realized, not a farthing of the surplus reached the bankrupt. Now, that seems to me to be an extraordinary method of dealing with assets in the administration of an estate. But I will take a list of cases which have occurred since the last Bankruptcy Act, and which, though since separately verified, were furnished to me by Messrs. Stubbs. The first case I will take—and I may say that I have furnished the Board of Trade with the references to these cases—is a case in which £677 were realized, and the costs were £313 2*s.* 11*d.*, and the trustee took £100. In the next case the amount of the assets realized was £1,728, and the cost of realizing was £955 12*s.* 7*d.* There is in the statement of accounts in that case a peculiar entry that occurs over and over again—namely, an item of £210 15*s.* 6*d.* for incidental outlay. It seems excessively difficult to deal with these incidental outlays, and to find what they represent in each of the cases. Sometimes these "incidental expenses" seem only a convenient way of covering a leakage which is not covered by any legitimate item of costs. In another case the amount realized was £569 8*s.* 6*d.*, and the cost of realizing it was £318 17*s.* 5*d.* In another case the assets realized were £446 7*s.* 8*d.*, and the costs incurred £244 19*s.* In another case the assets were £714 10*s.*, and the cost of realizing £308 13*s.* 10*d.* Then, again, in another case, where assets of £2,423 were realized, the costs were £949 0*s.* 1*d.* I submit to the Committee that this shows an extraordinary waste of the creditors' money, and that the Board of Trade, having some authority in the matter, ought to devote its attention to preventing that waste. In one of the cases in regard to which I communicated with the Board of Trade, they replied to me that the charges had been taxed, and that it was impossible to go behind the taxation. These taxations I hold to be simply farces on expenditure of this kind in connection with these small estates. Instead of the Bankruptcy Act proving a benefit either to the debtor or the creditor, when a debtor is honest, as is shown in the case of this unfortunate lady I have mentioned, although the debt may be £350 and the assets £855, not a single penny may reach the bankrupt; and in the case of dishonest debtors it merely encourages them to act in collusion with, I suppose I must say, honest solicitors and trustees to get rid of the property which ought to be divisible amongst the creditors. I will not move the reduction of the Vote, but will wait to hear the reply which will be given on behalf of the Department.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The cases the hon. Member brought before my notice I have carefully examined into, and, if the hon. Member will allow me, I will deal with two of them. The first case I will deal with is that of Roberts. I think that was the one to which the hon. Member alluded. The point the hon. Member refers to there is the fact that the incidental expenses amounted to £135 odd. The trustee in this case was a solicitor, and the sum charged, I believe, includes a number of perfectly legal charges, such as auctioneers' fees, rent of rooms, carriage of goods, and other items such as might well have appeared under other heads. In the other case the facts are very similar, charges being made for travelling expenses, &c. These expenses should not really be called incidental expenses, but ought to be specified under the various heads to which they refer. This observation applies to both the cases quoted. In the second case referred to, the trustee was appointed in 1882; the assets realized £460, and the cost of realizing was £339. No dividend was paid. In 1885 the trustee himself——

MR. BRADLAUGH: I think I am right in saying that he became bankrupt himself, and so got off in that way.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I was just going to say that. He became bankrupt, and the Chief Official Receiver took up the case. He paid creditors 20*s.* in the pound and 5 years' interest, and his expenses amounted to £20. About 75 per cent of all the cases in bankruptcy are administered by the Official Receiver, and for them the Board of Trade is responsible. But in cases where the estates are valued at £300 or under, unless three-fourths of the creditors appoint a trustee, the Official Receiver is the trustee. I fancy that if the hon. Member would look carefully into these cases, he would find that with those cases with regard to which he complains the Board of Trade have little or nothing to do. It is those in which there is no official trustee that this disparity between the amount of the assets realized and the amount of the costs of realizing them occurs. We have, as a matter of fact, no power to force the Official Receiver upon any bankrupt, unless under certain conditions. It would have been better, perhaps, if we had had that power. In that case the Board of Trade would have been responsible; but I believe the discrepancy between the realized assets and the amount of the money expended in realizing them very often arises from following up the very questionable principle of throwing good money after bad. There are certain expenses, in the first instance, at the very outset of the bankruptcy, which deprive the creditors of the chance of obtaining a good dividend. It frequently turns out that the expectations of the creditors turn out to be illusory, because the assets get expended, and it is only when they are expended that the disparity between their amount and the amount of the cost of realizing them becomes apparent. If the hon. Member will look carefully into the facts, and will thoroughly acquaint himself with the action of the Board of Trade, he will come to the conclusion that, so far from its encouraging excessive expenditure, it has always been their desire to reduce expenditure to a minimum. The cases in which this is not done are those to which I have called attention—that is to say, where the trustee is not the official trustee, but where the trustee is appointed by the creditors themselves. With regard to the Board of Trade disallowing costs, there are three cases in which costs are refused—in the first place, where there are no vouchers; in the second place, where the proceedings have not been taken under statutory authority; and, in the third place, where the bill has not been taxed by the Master in Bankruptcy. These are the checks against excessive charges. It is in the power of everyone who assumes, rightly or wrongly, that the costs are excessive when the bankruptcy is under the Board of Trade, to raise either of these three points before the Board of Trade, and complain of the manner in which the expenses have been incurred. I think the Committee will agree with me that these are sufficient safeguards. Whether the trustee should be compelled to be the official trustee is a question for the law to decide; but so long as he is not, it is impossible for the Board of Trade to be responsible, inasmuch as the expenditure of money in these cases depends not on the Board of Trade, but on the trustee appointed by the creditors themselves. I trust that statement will be satisfactory to the hon. Member.

MR. JAMES ELLIS (Leicestershire, Bosworth): I should just like to say that, from our experience of the present Bankruptcy Law, it is an immense improvement on the old law. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) mentioned one case which would not come under the law; and our experience has been that the present law works with satisfaction. There are much fewer bankruptcies than there were before, and the realization of assets per cent is much greater than it has been in the past. I do not think the creditors have much to complain of, either with the Board of Trade, or with the official working of the Bankruptcy Law.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £20,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): I rise to move a Resolution for the reduction of this Vote, and in moving that Resolution I desire to call in question the policy of the Charity Commissioners in regard especially to one or two of their proposals. This Resolution is not brought forward in any opposition to the Charity Commissioners necessarily, but in opposition to a part of their policy. I am free to acknowledge that recently, at any rate, the Charity Commissioners have done all that they could to meet inquiries, and have acted with great courtesy towards all, so far as my experience goes, with whom they have come into contact. It is the policy they pursue to which we take exception, and it is under two particular heads that I think the public are beginning to be of opinion that their policy must be altered. In the first place, the policy of the Charity Commissioners is to destroy free schools wherever they find them. They seem to have a peculiar aversion to free education of every kind. In the next place, the Charity Commissioners have a practice, in their new schemes, of appropriating the endowments, privileges, and property, or whatever else it may be called, of the poorer classes, in order to form or create institutions for higher education for the benefit of those who are better off. Now, with respect to the policy of the Charity Commissioners on free education, I would like to quote a letter that was sent to the trustees of the Free English School at Rochdale—and I am taking this case in order to spare the time of the Committee, because the policy illustrated in one case is pretty much that generally carried out, or attempted to be carried out, by them. The letter to which I refer runs thus—

> "They cannot admit that it is a proper use of the funds of an educational endowment to employ them in paying the educational fees of the children of poor persons. Even in the case of the poorest, who might be unable to pay the fee, the law has made other provision chargeable on the rates."

That letter explains the whole proceedings hitherto adopted by the Charity Commissioners. They think that because poor people have had free education from time immemorial in many cases, it must be regarded as merely a privilege; and it is held that because under the Education Act of 1870 the poor people are enabled to come upon the rates for education, that fact is a reason why free education should be taken away when that education is given by the endowments. Well, that, I think, is a thing which we must dispute altogether. Simply to say to poor children who have hitherto received free education—"You are to come upon the rates," is, in their minds, to class them with paupers—not legal paupers, I grant, but the situation is allied in the minds of the poor, to a great extent, with pauperism. I was for some time connected with the School Board of Birmingham, and I always found that when the poor had to get payment of their fees out of the rates, though they were assured they were not paupers, yet the taint of pauperism clung to them. Besides that, I think the Charity Commissioners are exceeding their duty in laying down the law in this fashion. It is for Parliament to say in what manner free education is to be given or withheld. The manner in which this policy is carried out in many parts of the country presses very hardly, not only upon the poorer classes themselves, but also upon that which is very valuable—namely, the sentiment of the locality. In many places the people value their free schools; they value the management of them, and are proud of their good management. I may mention, as a typical case, the case of Scarning, in Suffolk, which had a free school—a school which had been free for, I am afraid to say how many generations—indeed, for some centuries. Under the scheme of the Charity Commissioners that school is no longer free. There was no complaint as to the character of the education or the efficiency of the school; and so strongly did the inhabitants resent that transaction, that there was something like a riot for a considerable time in that neighbourhood. I am aware that the Charity Commissioners say that they gave scholarships and exhibitions tenable, to a certain extent, by the class of children who were deprived of education in the free schools, in schools of higher education. Now, let me dispute altogether both the propriety and the efficiency of such compensation. We see that that compensation does not, as a rule, reach the poorer classes at all, or to any great degree. Take this Scarning scheme, for instance, where all the children had hitherto had a free education. The district is a poor one—an almost entirely agricultural district, where the sum of 1*d.*, 2*d.*, or 3*d.* a-week is a matter of great importance to those who are sending their children to school. These poor children have been deprived of free education, and the scholarships given in its place in 1884, 1885, and 1886 were 35 in number. Well, who received these scholarships? The children of labourers in the district received 14, valued at £28; whereas the children of parents of other occupations gained 21, which were equal in value to £42 in all. Out of 35 scholarships, the children of the labouring classes only got 14, the other 21 going as I have described. I find that amongst labourers' children there were five belonging to one family; and I also find that of the scholarships given to the children of persons of other occupations, seven were secured by the children of the schoolmaster. I should say nothing against these scholarships if they were provided for in some other way; but we see that all the children who attended Scarning School are deprived of free education, and that, in return, they receive 35 scholarships in three years, 14 only of which are won by the class of children most in need of free education—that is to say, the children of the agricultural labourers. I know that the Charity Commissioners, and also those who support their views, are making desperate efforts to make out that the word "free" does not really mean free at all. They say that to suppose that free education has been given for 300 years under the old system is all a mistake. Mr. Richmond, one of the Charity Commissioners, states that the word "free" means something like "untrammelled," and "without restriction;" and in other places he says it means "a certain freedom and independence conveyed by Royal Charter." Well I do not think it is worth while to detain the Committee in trying to prove that the word "free" really does mean gratuitous. People have not been making mistakes so long, receiving free education where free education was not meant. Then we have other cases—for instance, that of Kendal, where we have a free elementary school, intended by the founder to fit poor children to avail themselves of the education given in the Grammar School. It is evident that if that education was not intended to be free, it was a mockery to ask poor children to obtain an education to fit themselves for higher schools, because they could not possibly do it. But there is another argument held by the Charity Commissioners which, to a certain extent, has great force in it. They say that these free schools are bad schools. Very often, no doubt, they are. In such a case, there will be no objection to reforming them; but, what we contend for is, that where the schools are unsatisfactory, if the children are forced to go to the board schools, or any other elementary schools, then the endowments ought to be used in paying the fees of the children so far as those endowments will go. We say they ought not to be taken away altogether. But, unfortunately for that argument, many of these schools which have been abolished have been good schools; so far as their examination and the judgment passed upon them by the Examiner are concerned, there is nothing against them. So much, therefore, for free education; and I hope the Government, when they reply, will give us some assurance that that policy of abolishing free education where it exists will no longer be persevered in. Now, the next part of the policy of the Charity Commissioners which we object to, and which is objected to throughout the country more largely than appears on the surface, is the taking away of the endowments of the poor and the working classes in order to found high-class schools for the middle classes or for those better off. I am in favour of high-class schools and of superior education; but we must not carve them, or appear to carve them, out of the heritage of the poor. To illustrate what I mean I will take one case—and one case is as good as a dozen—I will take the case of Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire—a case I know very well, and the particulars of which foundation I am intimately acquainted with. Now, the poor people there have enjoyed these charity funds ever since the time of Henry VIII. They have had a form of free education; they have had clothing and medical attention free of charge, besides other benefits. The original gift was in "exoneration of the poor." But setting aside the original intention of the charity, there was an order in Chancery, made in 1825, which is comparatively recent, and about which there seems to me to be no mistake, which ought, in my opinion, to have made in the eyes of all respectors of poverty, if I may so classify them, these endowments sacred as belonging to the poorer classes. This order in Chancery begins—"This Court doth order," and goes on to state the manner in which the money is to be spent. Amongst other things, it is to be spent upon medical attendance; assistance to poor women during confinement; loans of bedding, clothing, and so on; free education; almshouses for the poor; and then there is a very curious suggestion to the effect that in cases where there is any margin, the wardens—that is to say, the trustees—are recommended to loan out a certain number of cows to the poor people in order that they may provide milk for their families, which the Court says they believe will be a good way of spending the money. So that the House will see the extreme care and tenderness with which, in parochial districts, matters affecting the poor were looked after. It is in conflict, no doubt, with the somewhat narrow political economy of the present day which seems to leave out of sight the necessity of warmth, clothing, and such matters when put into the scale against wealth. But the objects specified by the Court of Chancery have been carried out with great benefit to the poor, particularly in regard to this question of education. There has been no charge of corruption in connection with this school. The elementary schools have been reported upon in the highest terms by the Department, they have won above the average of everything in the way of school grants, and altogether everything has been very satisfactory. But in 1877, by a scheme dated 1879, the Charity Commissioners came to the parish and took £15,000 out of the endowment fund for the purpose of enlarging and maintaining an ancient grammar school, which had existed in the parish for a considerable time. They not only took that money for the school, but they raised the fees of the grammar school itself, and thereby kept out the poorer classes from the benefits of that higher education. We see a large sum, something like £5,000 or £6,000, spent upon a building in which the master can receive boarders for the high school and grammar school, and the effect has been that whereas the school formerly had 100 pupils, at the present time in consequence, I suppose, of the higher fees, it has not 50. Therefore, even supposing that the money was not taken away from the poor, the scheme seems to have been a great mistake. But the objection I have to the scheme is this, that this sum of £15,000 should be taken out of a fund which from time immemorial has been enjoyed by the poorer classes for certain objects, in order to devote it to people of the well-to-do classes. People would think that the inhabitants of Sutton Coldfield should now be let alone in regard to these endowments, but this is not the case. A short time ago, another scheme, which happily has not become law, and which I hope never will become law by the sanction of this House, made preparations for taking £17,000 more from the endowment of these poor people for the purpose of establishing a high school for girls. The result of this scheme, if it becomes law, will be that altogether £32,000 will have been taken from this endowment fund. No doubt, the object in view—namely, that of establishing a high school for girls, is a very good one in itself, but I maintain that we have no right to establish, or to think of establishing, it by funds taken from an endowment which has been enjoyed by the poorer classes. Now, I have dealt with the question of free education so far as regards Scarning, and with the question of endowments so far as regards Sutton Coldfield, and I have illustrated the two points in the policy of the Charity Commissioners to which we object. I have designated it as a "Plan of Campaign," and I do not hesitate to designate the action of the Commissioners by those words again, because it is a system by which a few Gentlemen, with the best intentions, I grant you, go down and cast their eyes about them, and take away money belonging to the poor. You cannot get it out of the minds of the poor, and you ought not to get it out of their minds that that which they had a prescriptive right to for centuries really belongs to them—you cannot make them believe that it does not belong to them, but belongs mainly, if not altogether, to other classes besides themselves. You cannot reconcile them to that view of the question. You cannot reconcile them or those who take the trouble to examine into these matters with that view of the subject. Now, I have great hopes that the Government will give us some assurance on this head, for they are the first Government that have given sympathetic attention to the representations which have been made to them upon these subjects. The other day, they stopped the progress of the Dauntsey scheme which the Commissioners had prepared with the object of diverting money at West Lavington, from its original purpose, for doing, in fact, exactly what I have described, and what I have complained of. Their action in connection with this question entitles them, I am bound to say, and I say it the more freely because we have appealed to both sides of the House on this matter—to commendation. We have appealed to both sides of the House for six or seven years past; but this is the first time we have secured any success, and have succeeded in checking the Charity Commissioners, and of stopping interference with the original object of educational endowments in the interests of the poor. In the case of the Dauntsey School, the Government are entitled to the thanks of all the poor people of England who have endowments not yet taken away; because I think the action they have taken will put a stop to schemes of a similar kind to those which have been referred to. Of course, we are not against reforms where there are endowments which require reform. ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Member says "Hear, hear"; but I would remind him that it is a very different thing from reforming a charity and taking it away altogether. It will take hon. Members a great deal of time, and it will require a great deal of eloquence, I think, to convince the poor people who have endowments, that the Charity Commissioners have a right to take away their endowments, in order to establish schools for girls and boys of the middle class. The establishment of such schools is a point that the Government, in defending the Charity Commissioners, will have to answer; and I scarcely think that they will be able to do it successfully. But with regard to the reform of the charities where their character does not approve itself to modern ideas, or where it is not likely that they will prove of adequate benefit to the recipients; by all means reform them—there are plenty of ways by which they can be reformed. But one thing I do not believe—namely, that taking away those charities and giving scholarships and exhibitions can in any way meet the case. In fact, my own opinion in regard to exhibitions, if you except technical and scientific exhibitions, is that if every one of them was abolished to-morrow, the cause of education would be advanced considerably. I know cases in which these exhibitions have simply taken people of very little talent and sent them up to the Universities, and when they have got there they have not known what to do with themselves. The founding of exhibitions appears to assume that there are a certain proportion of clever children; whereas Providence does not always produce them, and some of the exhibitioners are spoiled for useful walks in life. The idea is that if you have 20 scholarships, you must make 20 clever fellows; but the supply is not always equal to the demand in the matter of clever people. Whatever scholarships or exhibitions are given, I hold that they ought not to come out of those endowments; because if hon. Members will read the evidence given before the Select Committee, and if they are at all acquainted with the governorship of grammar schools and other institutions of that kind, they will find that as a rule, or at any rate to a large extent, the poorer classes, those whom we ought to consider first, do not get any benefit. I know that there are a certain class of modern educationalists, who look upon the country as a kind of educational machine, and provided they can turn out a certain number of educational athletes, they do not care how many wasters they make, or what happens to the general average child. Well, let those people get support for the education they advocate from other sources than those which are the property of the poor. I would ask the House to excuse me for having detained it so long on this particular point; but I assure hon. Members that I could bring a great many more instances in support of my contention before them. The two points I want to ask the Government to give me some assurance on are these—that they will take steps to see that the Charity Commissioners will not destroy free education where it exists, and will not alienate educational endowments wherever they may be found for any purpose whatever from the benefit of the poor. At present these endowments are in many cases devoted to higher education, and that, I submit, is a process which is unjust to the poor, and is incapable of justification in any way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member move the reduction of the Vote?

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Yes, Sir; I move my Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £15,525, be granted to Her Majesty for the said Service." —(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): The hon. Member who has just sat down has raised many very serious points of controversy, and I know there are a number of hon. Members who desire to take part in the discussion. A Committee sat last year in order to consider the subject dealt with by the hon. Member, and it has sat again this year and presented a Report. I therefore feel constrained to appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to allow us to report Progress now. I move this the more particularly, because there stands upon the Orders of the Day a very important Government measure relating to technical education. I feel certain that the Government will consent to the proposal to report Progress, rather than slurring over this debate now, in order that we may proceed to consider the measure to which I refer.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. J. E. Ellis.*)

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I think the hon. Gentleman is hardly wise in moving to report Progress at this period. The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) has made an important speech, and it would hardly be fair to him that the question he has raised should not now be considered, and disposed of by the Committee before the adjournment. If this should happen that my right hon. Friend on my right (Sir William Hart Dyke) is not able to make his statement at the proper time this evening, then it would be fitting that his statement should be made to-morrow, and as we have already entered upon the question before the Committee, I think the hon. Gentleman will see that it will be of advantage to Public Business that we should proceed with the subject on which we are now engaged.

Mr. J. E. ELLIS: The right hon. Gentleman will excuse me; but I do not quite gather what he proposes. Does he propose that the discussion should proceed to a considerable length, and then if an unreasonable period for the discussion of the Technical Education Bill is reached, the Vice President of the Council should postpone his speech with regard to it until to-morrow.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I mean to say this, that we should give due consideration to the Vote before the Committee; and that then, having given that consideration to it, if it should happen that the hour is too late for proceeding with the Bill of my right hon. Friend, he should make his statement to-morrow.

Mr. J. E. ELLIS: Under those circumstances, Sir, I will not press my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Question again proposed, "That the sum of £15,525 be granted to Her Majesty for the said Service."

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I cannot help expressing my regret, Sir, that the First Lord of the Treasury has not thought it desirable to postpone the further consideration of this very important subject; because there are a great many Members of the House who feel very strongly with regard to the policy pursued by the Charity Commissioners, and if I rightly judge, there are several Members of the Committee who are desirous of speaking upon this very important Vote. The hon. Member for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottingham (Mr. J. E. Ellis) has alluded to the fact that a Committee sat upstairs last year, and during a portion of the present year, instituting a rigid inquiry into the conduct of the Charity Commissioners, and those Members who have read the Report of that Committee, and the recommendations which it made, will have seen what diversified opinions were entertained by the Committee, and how they proposed ultimately to restrict the powers the Commissioners now exercise. I have nothing, Sir, to say against the character of the Charity Commissioners. I believe all of them are high-minded and honourable men, but it happens that they all of them belong to a particular section of society, they all represent that high-class education which adorns so many of our countrymen, but there does not happen to be sitting amongst them anyone representing the poorer classes. It is very natural that they should carry out the policy which has distinguished them, because the position in society and the high character of the education which they have received tends to warp their judgments, and induce them to act as they have done. It is human nature, and I do not myself sneer at or blame them for the course they are pursuing. I think the Commission ought to contain other elements besides those of which it is now composed. It seems to me that there ought to be Members sitting upon that Commission representing the labouring classes of our countrymen. Until a Commission of that kind sits and decides upon the policy which is to be pursued, I have very little hope that the present policy of the Commissioners will be materially changed. Now Sir, perhaps, the Committee will permit me to say that I fear there are very few Members of this House, and perhaps I may add that there were very few Members of the Committee upstairs, who agree with me in regard to the application of endowments. I think that when the Education Act was passed, a very serious mistake was made. I believe that school boards, wherever they are established, ought to have been empowered to take possession of and to utilize for purposes of elementary education, all the educational endowments to be found in the area within which they exercised jurisdiction. Unfortunately that was not done. The school boards were established, and they began by imposing an additional burden upon the ratepayers in the shape of a rate, and no sooner was that effected than the Commissioners commenced to swallow up the educational endowments of the country, for purposes not of elementary education, but of higher education. In fact they began to lay hold of those endowments which we had been told, prior to the passing of the Education Act, were sacred in their nature and character, and that we must carefully respect the wishes of the "pious founder." However, from the moment the Education Act passed the wishes of the "pious founder" disappeared from sight, and the Charity Commissioners immediately commenced to swallow up the endowments for the purposes mentioned by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings). It is, I fear, too late to retrace our steps; but so far as the endowments that are left in the country, I am anxious that they should be used for the purposes of elementary education, for which purpose they were intended by the founders. I feel compelled to complain of the conduct of the Charity Commissioners, and in order to justify my statement that they have one policy for the rich and another for the poor, I will refer to two typical cases. The first is the case of St. Katherine's Hospital in the Regent's Park; and the other case to which I shall call attention will be that referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham. The St. Katherine's Hospital in the Regent's Park was established in 1148, on the site where St. Katherine's Docks have since been built, or rather excavated. When the Dock Company took this land they paid the trustees £125,000 for the site, and built a new hospital in the Regent's Park. I have been at great pains to ascertain the nature and character of the duties which the Master has to discharge. So far as I can ascertain he preaches some five or six times in the year in the chapel connected with the Hospital, and he attends some three meetings of the Chapter which are held during the year. He has a magnificent house or mansion provided for him in the Park, in which he does not live. His salary is £1,200 a-year, and he receives in the shape of emoluments £792; because he does not live in the mansion which I have referred to, but lets it to somebody else, and pockets the rent. He receives a total therefore of £1,992, simply for preaching five or six sermons and attending five or six meetings of the Chapter in the course of the year. Then there are three brethern and three sisters connected with the Hospital. The brethren receive £300 a-year each, and have also a house, which in imitating the example of the Master they do not live, but let for £100 a-year and pocket the rent. I have heard these people called paupers. I will not apply that epithet to them; but I will say this, that if a poor man pursued such a course, I think it is very likely that he would be called by some such name. Then the sisters also receive £200 a-year, and have a house which some of them let in a similar way, and pocket the proceeds. There are a few scholars — boys and girls who are educated and clothed, but they are comparatively few. The income of the Hospital in 1886 amounted to nearly £7,000 per annum, but since then it has very greatly increased. In that year the Charity Commissioners instituted an inquiry into the charity. The facts that I have stated had become somewhat notorious, and the Commissioners thought it was high time to institute an inquiry. They appointed one of their body to make the investigation, and in considering the matter this gentleman brought to light the facts I have stated. He made a report to his brother Commissioners recommending certain reforms, but from that day to this, Sir, the reform have never been carried out. No attempt has ever been made to give effect to the recommendations of the Charity Commissioners. I should like to ask the Minister for Education, or the Vice President of the Council as he is called in this House, to tell us why the recommendation of this Charity Commissioner to his brother officers has never been given effect to, and why this shameful expenditure of £1,200 per annum, as well as the sum of £799, is still being swallowed up year by year by the Master, while the other payments I have mentioned still go on year by year unchecked. Well, Sir, I have pointed out the course which the Charity Commissioners pursued in regard to the wealthier classes. Is there a Member of this House who will stand up in order to justify the continued existence of such waste and extravagance as goes on in this hospital to which I am referring? It cannot be said that they have not been able to find time to carry out the reforms, but perhaps the game was rather too high for them; there are, however, other endowments in regard to which they deal in a very high-handed manner. For instance, they went down to Norfolk to a place called Scarning, where they found a school, which had been in existence for more than 200 years. During the whole of that period the labourers in the village have enjoyed the advantage of free education. Nobody asked the Commissioners to interfere. The Rev. Arthur Jessop, who gave evidence before the Committee, told us that there was not a shadow of discontent in the whole neighbourhood or district as to the way in which the endowment had been administered. From the rector downwards, everyone was satisfied with the nature and character of the education given in the village. But the Charity Commissioners thought otherwise, and they formulated no less than three schemes. Those who have read the evidence taken upstairs will have noted that wherever the Charity Commissioners have formulated schemes, they paid little regard to the wishes and wants of the inhabitants of the localities, and that frequently, in opposition to the wishes of a large majority of the people in the districts, they ultimately succeeded in forcing their schemes upon the people. This was the case in Scarning; they formulated two schemes, and ultimately forced one of them upon the people, and compelled those wretched labourers, the average earnings of whom are something like 8*s.* a-week, to pay 1*d.* a-week in the shape of school fees; 1*d.* a-week is a small sum, and some hon. Members may be inclined to sneer at it, and to treat it with contempt; but, in many instances, as I learned from the evidence received before the Committee, those labourers have three, or four, or five children of school age, so that it is not only 1*d.* a-week that they have to pay, but sometimes as much as 6*d.* a-week, and that is obviously an enormous sum out of the pockets of those poor people. When we find the Charity Commissioners refusing, in the manner I have just now indicated, to interfere with the authorities of S. Katherine's Hospital, leaving untouched the funds of that institution, and allowing them to be swallowed up as I have described; and when I find them pursuing a course that is full of hardships against the poor labourers of the village of Scarning, I feel that hon. Members ought to endorse my protest against the conduct of the Charity Commissioners, and vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) to reduce the Vote by £5,000. I feel very strongly on this subject, and I cannot help expressing myself in a strong manner. In conclusion, I only have to say that I hope the Members of this House will read the Report of the Endowed Schools Committee, because it contains some exceedingly valuable recommendations. If Members of the House will read that Report carefully, they will see that recommendations are made by that Committeee to curtail the powers now exercised by the Charity Commissioners, and they will find that the Committee recommend the Government to compel the Commissioners to consult the wishes and wants of the people of the various localities to which the schemes are to apply, that, in other words, schemes shall not be forced down the throats of the inhabitants. The Vote given in respect of these recommendations was by no means a Party Vote. Both the noble Lord the Member for Bury St. Edmunds (Lord Francis Hervey) and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Kingswinford Division of Stafford (Mr. Staveley Hill) gave their support to the recommendations I have referred to, and I hope that when the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) replies, that he will say whether there is any probability of the recommendations of the Committee being carried into effect.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I hope the Committee will allow me to make a few observations on this subject, because I had the honour of being a Member of the Committee referred to, and I felt it to be my duty to give close attention both to the taking of evidence and to the whole subject brought before the Committee for consideration. First of all, I desire to make a remark as to what has been said about St. Katherine's Hospital. It is true the Charity Commissioners sent an Inspector to that hospital to make inquiries; but it is also true that immediately after that instruction was given, the authority of the Charity Commission was entirely superseded by a higher authority; because, under the direction of the Lord Chancellor of the day, other proceedings were taken, the effect of which was practically to entirely oust the jurisdiction of the Charity Commission. The Charity Commissioners are not responsible either for the past history or the present state of St. Katherine's Hospital. I admit that the condition of that institution is not satisfactory; but the remedy rests elsewhere and not in any degree with the Charity Commissioners. Now, the conduct of the Commissioners, as the Committee is already aware, was carefully investigated by a Select Committee of the House which sat during two years, and it is only fair and just to the Commissioners that the House should be reminded that the Report of that Committee was on the whole favourable to the Commissioners. The Committee made certain recommendations as I believe all Committees do; but I am sure that I am within the recollection of hon. Members of the Committee, and I shall be supported by Gentlemen who have read our Report when I say that the general tendency of our Report was strongly in favour of the Commissioners. If I may take a solitary passage the Report says—

> "That the principles laid down by the Schools Enquiry Commissioners, and embodied in the Endowed Schools Acts, while in some respects they must be modified by altered circumstances and increased experience, are on the whole sound and just; and, secondly, that the Charity Commissioners have in their procedure faithfully attempted to carry out those principles."

Now, I call attention to the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, because under the Act of Parliament which constituted the Endowed Schools Commission, that Commission is especially directed to adapt their policy to the recommendation of the previous Commission. I agree that it is a most rare case in the history of legislation that a Commission is appointed by the Government and the House with direction to carry out the suggestions of a previous Commission, but that direction is clearly set forth in the Act of Parliament of 1869. Then I may make one observation in passing on the work done by the Commission. Great complaints have been made as to the progress of the Commission. The Committee of this House say in the present year—

> "The Commissioners have now got the bulk of the educational endowments of the country well in hand. The period within which their work in framing schemes may come practically to a conclusion is within a calculable distance."

That entirely disposes of much of the criticism levelled against the Commissioners that they have been slow in progress and that they have not done their work satisfactorily. No doubt there has been some cessation of labour in the Welsh counties; but that circumstance is owing to no fault of the Commissioners, but to the conduct of the Government and the action of the country generally in desiring to postpone educational reforms in Wales. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) referred to scholarships and exhibitions. My experience has been that these scholarships and exhibitions have been the ladder by means of which many young people in humble positions have risen to occupy positions of great dignity and of importance in the country, and others who have not risen to any particular height of eminence have occupied positions of considerable influence, and have proved that the exhibitions and scholarships have not in their case been wasted. I do not wish to be too discursive; but I may make some allusion, I think, to what has been stated by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division, and by the hon. Member for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch (Mr. Cremer) to the effect that these endowments were meant for the poor. There is the strongest evidence that whatever may have been the case in comparatively recent times, the old endowments in most cases were meant for the inhabitants generally. These endowments were made at a time when there was scarcely any education in the country worth naming, and the intention of the founders was to light the lamp of learning in dark districts by which anyone was welcome to be guided and to seek the benefit of the illumination. As to the swallowing up of the endowments for the benefit of the somewhat wealthy classes upon which comment has been made by the hon. Gentleman who preceded me, I may remind the Committee that there is an express direction in the Act of Parliament under which the Commissioners proceed, that due regard must be had to the interests of persons who were previously deriving advantage from the endowments. And, although it is quite true that there is a recommendation in the Report of the Committee that the words "due regard" should for the future be considered more liberally in favour of the working classes, it must be remembered that the interpretation of those words was not made by the Charity Commissioners, but by the Law Courts, and that the Commissioners are absolutely bound to interpret the words according to the decisions of the Courts. Then, as regards the complaint that the working classes have been excluded from these endowments, may I remind the Committee of one statement made by the Committee in their Report, and that is—namely, "out of 2,989 scholarships and exhibitions in schools of higher grades, 1,145 were held by children from the elementary schools." That is to say, children of the working classes have in that large proportion derived advantage of absolutely free education from these scholarships and endowments, and many others although not having the advantage of that free education are, nevertheless receiving benefits from the endowments which the school have placed within their reach. Perhaps the Committee will permit me to remind them also of this circumstance. All higher grade schools are, no doubt, dealt with by the Commission; but the great majority of the schemes deal with schools of a more elementary class; so that it is not only the 1,845 children who hold exhibitions who are benefited by the schemes, but also all children who attend the elementary schools and the higher grade schools which have been reformed. Then, with reference to what the hon. Member said as to free schools, I must remind the Committee that the recommendation of the Schools Inquiry Commission were highly adverse to free education. A short statement is made in the Report of our Committee in respect to the judgment of the Schools Inquiry Commission, and our summary is in these words—

> "Gratuitous instruction, so far as limited to secondary education as then existing in endowed schools, if indiscriminate, they regarded as mischievous."

[Mr. CREMER: Secondary.] I am dealing rather with higher grade schools, which really form the great majority of those with which we have to deal in this branch of the discussion. The objection made by the Schools Inquiry Commission amounted to this—that the endowment is very soon exhausted, and that without the endowment there is no stimulus to improvement, either on the part of the teacher or the pupil, and the competition becomes languid. We have clear evidence that the case of Scarning was one of the cases in which education was not intended to be purely and wholly elementary. I shall not follow the observation of the hon. Gentlemen (Mr. Cremer) as to the meaning of the word "*liber*;" but I believe the word "*liber*" never meant absolutely without payment, that however must remain a moot point. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jesse Collings) has referred to the Sutton Coldfield scheme. I am sorry I cannot go into that question in detail, because I have not the papers at hand to enable me to do so. I may refer, however, to the paragraph in the Report of the Committee which deals with the subject. The Committee say—

> "It was shown, however, that the original gift contemplated the benefit of all classes of the inhabitants; while the scheme of the Charity Commissioners, proposing to devote a limited share of the endowments to the promotion of the higher education in the place, appropriated the larger part to the support of elementary schools, and otherwise for the express benefit of the poor."

It is thus seen that the poor derive a large advantage; indeed, I believe that if it is carefully considered in all its details the scheme will be found to have the most ample regard to the interests of the poor. Then I next come to the school at Kendal, which was referred to by the hon. Member, and which was also dealt with in the Report of the Committee. That school I happen to have personal acquaintance with, and I am, therefore, able to speak of it more fully than I have been able to in the other cases. What do the Committee say in reference to Kendal School? They do not say that the working classes of Kendal have been injured by the scheme; on the contrary, the Committee say—

> "This scheme is now in operation, and it is found that these prizes are won by boys of the same class as those who formerly received the benefits for which scholarships have been substituted."

One hon. Member of this House is a member of the Trust, and I know his personal experience entirely bears out the statement that the poor are not injured, but, on the contrary, benefited by the reforms made in the Kendal School. I do not wish to occupy the time of the Committee any longer. I have ventured to go through these details and lay down certain principles. The details must be more or less wearisome, as details always are; but the principles, I believe, are sound. The principles, in a word, are to make these schools more useful to the present generation, to reform them in such a manner as to adapt them to the wants of the time, to increase and develop largely technical education in connection with them, and to take care that the endowments so reformed are valuable to deserving children of all classes of the community.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead): I will endeavour to compress the observations I wish to make within the smallest limits. There is no doubt the Charity Commissioners are a most unpopular body. There is hardly an official body in the country against whom it is possible, with so much ease, to raise a storm. On the one hand, they are much restricted in their action, owing to the power of trustees; and, on the other hand, there is always the general public to complain of them when they lean too much to the cause of private interest and not to the general interests of the people. Judging from the various attacks I have heard at different times made in this House on the Charity Commissioners, it is not quite clear that they have positive jurisdiction. In the first instance, hon. Members deal with charities, and then they turn to endowed schools. The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) frequently used to make attacks upon the Charity Commissioners in regard to their management of charities; but he has now directed his missiles against the endowed schools. This is an illustration of how often these matters get mixed up. The hon. Member for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch (Mr. Cremer) has spoken of St. Katherine's Hospital. Those who read newspapers form a very vague and imperfect conception either of the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, or of the real bearings of the extremely complicated cases which are brought under notice. I sincerely hope that, notwitstanding the hostile Motion of the hon. Member (Mr. Jesse Collings), no great alteration in the policy of the Commissioners will take place, and that the views which are embodied in the Report of the Committee will be strictly adhered to. I must say that I do not think it is quite fair to the Commission that you should raise, on the Estimates, an extremely vague and general statement which it is perfectly impossible at this hour of the night to investigate. If hon. Members are anxious to raise the whole question of the policy, why do they not raise it when it can be more regularly and satisfactorily disposed of than upon a Motion in Committee of Supply? I must say that the views expressed by the hon. Member (Mr. Jesse Collings) on this subject appear to be of the most reactionary kind. The hon. Member wishes to reverse, by casual Motions in Supply, the whole course of legislation which has been pursued for the last 25 years by the Charity Commissioners, and which was founded upon the Report of some of the ablest, most powerful, and greatest intellects of this country. The object of the Charity Commissioners, acting as Endowed School Commissioners, is gradually to raise the standard of education, not merely of the middle classes, but also of the working classes. The classes are certainly not clearly defined; but the object is generally to raise the standard of education. The hon. Gentleman wishes to go back to the old state of things, in which a few children received food and clothing, and very unsatisfactory education perhaps at the hands of the clergyman or the parish beadle. We know that the hon. Member's intentions are the very best; but I do not think he can have ever given himself the trouble of reading the Reports. Being so much occupied with the interests of the Scotch crofters, and now with Imperial questions, it is impossible for the hon. Member to devote his energies to these enormous subjects and to the proceedings of the Charity Commissioners as well. I have no doubt that if, in the course of the next few months, he has a little leisure, he will have an opportunity of studying the Reports of the former Commissions on this subject, and I hope his view may be thereby somewhat modified. At any rate, I trust the Committee will pass this Vote—certainly, I shall take no part in bringing about its rejection.

Mr. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E): I will not detain the Committee more than a few moments; but I must say I differ entirely from the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) in regard to the opportunities we have of discussing the action of the Charity Commissioners. I should like to have brought before the House the details of a scheme affecting my own borough, if any opportunity had been afforded me. The only opportunity we have of discussing this question seems to be in Committee of Supply. [Mr. F. S. Powell: What charity is it?] St. Luke's. The immediate charge against the Commissioners is, that they do not pay that respect to local opinion in regard to the administration of charities which, I am sure, would tend to better administration. In the case I have mentioned there was no charge whatever that the charity had not been administered in the best interests of the inhabitants of the parish; but when the Commissioners brought up their scheme it was seen that they entirely altered the qualifications of the persons who were to have the administration of the charity. The qualification of the few representative trustees provided was fixed so high as virtually to disqualify all persons resident in the parish itself. When we went before the Commissioners and stated our case to them they modified the scheme a little; but we could not get them to reduce the qualification to such a level as would enable persons resident in the parish to be trustees for the administration of their own charity. I think that the sooner we take the whole of these charities out of the hands of a centralized body the better it will be. I differ from the hon. Member for Gateshead entirely; it may be going back; but I am prepared to go back. I do not believe in a central body having the administration of parish charities. I notice that charities gradually disappear out of the hands of the working classes, and are absorbed by the middle and upper classes. All our best educational endowments have disappeared; and I should like to know what opportunities there are for those who rise from the ranks to get the full benefit of such charities now. It is not for me to go into many details; but the case of one charity recurs to my mind now. I should like to know from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. F. S. Powell) some particulars concerning the Wells Charity in Hoxton. Will he tell us whether the people of the neighbourhood are getting the full benefit of the increased value of that charity? I intend to follow the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) into the Lobby, as a protest against the way in which the Charity Commissioners ignore the local opinion in the framing of all their schemes.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I beg to move that you do report Progress, Mr. Chairman.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Hunter.*)

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I venture to make an appeal to the Committee. We have been discussing this Vote now for an hour, and I think we have made considerable progress. I hope the Committee will consent to dispose of the Vote now. When we have disposed of it we shall be very glad to report Progress. Having regard to the period of the Session, and the very large amount of work which remains to be done, I trust the Committee will accede to my request.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): If there was any chance of finishing the discussion within a reasonable time to-night, I should agree with the right hon. Gentleman. But I know there are many hon. Gentlemen extremely anxious to speak upon this Vote, and to hear the opinion of the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke). I think that, on the whole, if the Government would consent to report Progress now they would be acting in accordance with the wishes of the House.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Considering the time of year, and that it is now only half-past 12 o'clock, and that we have been considering the Vote for some time, the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) will, on reflection, agree with me that it is scarcely reasonable to report Progress now. I fully admit the importance of the Vote and the interest of the question; but in view of the late period of the Session at which we have arrived, and the necessity we are under to make progress with Public Business, I trust we shall be allowed to proceed.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I think that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House scarcely understands the appeal of my hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock). There is an impression on this side of the House that the Vice President of the Council intends to introduce to-night his Bill for the promotion of technical education. [Mr. W. H. SMITH: To-morrow.] We did not understand that. If the introduction of the Bill is to be postponed till to-morrow we shall be glad to know at what hour to-morrow it is likely to come on; some of us have attended to-night in the hope of hearing the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Hart Dyke).

MR. W. H. SMITH: Nearly an hour ago the Committee were engaged in the consideration of this Vote, and it was then suggested that Progress should be reported, in order that my right hon. Friend (Sir William Hart Dyke) might make his statement; but as the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) introduced an important subject upon the Vote, it appeared to the Government desirable that the question which had been raised should be concluded at once by the Committee. Under these circumstances, it was thought desirable that the Vote should be disposed of now, and that the statement of my right hon. Friend in regard to technical education should be postponed till to-morrow.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): There is a Bill of a very important character referring to Scotland to come on to-night—the Earlier Closing Bill. I should like to know if the Government intend to take that measure?

MR. STORY-MASKELYNE (Wilts, Cricklade): I hope the Government will listen to this appeal from Members on both sides of the House. This is an important question, and it appears to be taking a much wider scope by the manner in which it is being treated. I think it would be a great pity if we were to hurry over it. The question has been threshed out in two Sessions by as hard working a Committee as I ever sat on, and I think that hon. Gentlemen who have not read the Report of the Committee should do so, and should come down here charged with the results which the Committee arrived at. I am quite sure that if we continue the discussion it will be very late before we reach the other subject which is to come before the House. I do hope that even now the Government will relent, and will allow us to have a short discussion on this Vote on some other occasion.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): I would add my appeal to the Government in this matter. I regard it as of great importance that the statement of the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) on this subject should be made at an hour at which it can be reported. The question is creating the greatest amount of interest throughout the country. It has been the subject of a Select Committee, that Select Committee has sat for two Sessions; and, under the circumstances, it is most important that the debate should come on, or should be continued at a time when the public will have a chance of knowing something about it.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have no desire to place myself in opposition to the general desire of the Committee; but I think it would be a fair compromise if this debate is adjourned, that my right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council should proceed with his Bill.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: When?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: To-night. If the Committee agrees that Progress should be reported on this particular Vote, then my right hon. Friend will proceed with the Bill for Technical Instruction, and make his statement. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] Then I will move that you, Sir, report Progress.

Mr. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.): The Scottish Members desire that their Bill should be brought on at a reasonable time. Does the right hon. Gentleman desire the Scottish Business to go on at such an hour that it cannot be discussed?

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): The Scotch Bill to which reference has been made is a Private Member's Bill, but it was the subject of the conference of Scotch Members yesterday. At the conference it was agreed, with the concurrence of the Lord Advocate, who was present, that it was desirable to have the one question involved in it, about which there was no difference of opinion, settled as soon as possible. The result is, that all the Scotch Members are here to express their views on the matter, and I believe that many more Members are present to give expression to the opinions they entertain upon the subject. There is a large number of Members interested in these matters who have come down especially to express their views. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House knows very well that I myself have always endeavoured to act in the way he suggests—that I have always used every endeavour to advance the Business of the House; but I must say that I think it would be a great convenience to a section of the Members of this House, who do not often intrude their views on the right hon. Gentleman, and are always prepared to meet him in every way, if he would not throw back the discussion upon this Earlier Closing Bill. It would be a great convenience to have the debate on the Charity Commission postponed, rather than take any long discussion on the matter, and then proceed with the Scotch Bill.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I have not heard anything of the hon. Member's proposal until this moment. The hon. Member must be aware that it is necessary for the Government to go on with Government Orders of the Day. I think it is only reasonable that we should be allowed to report Progress, in order that we should take the Bill of my right hon. Friend dealing with technical education.

Mr. HUNTER: I moved to report Progress because we have got some Scotch Business lower down on the Paper to discuss to-night. Now, I have to complain very strongly of the way in which the Government treats Scotch Business. It is intolerable that we should be brought here, and kept here, until 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock in the morning — morning after morning — never knowing when our Business is to come on. Here we are, in large numbers to-night, waiting for Scotch Business; and we do not even yet know when it is likely to be taken. I cannot consent for a moment to Progress being reported in order that Government measures should be taken. I cannot consent to the understanding that the block should not apply to Government Bills; and if a Division is demanded, I shall go into the Lobby against the Government.

Mr. R. T. REID: I do not desire to see the time of the House wasted; but I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury opposite whether it is likely that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council in introducing his Bill will be a very long one?

Mr. W. H. SMITH: No.

Mr. R. T. REID: Well, if that is the case, I think the best course we could adopt would be to allow the right hon. Gentleman to make his statement.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. FIRST READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th July], "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to facilitate the Provision of Technical Instruction."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): In the observations I am about to make, I shall endeavour to be as concise as possible, because I know that hon. Members are waiting to deal with other important matters, and it does, I confess, appear to me that I am guilty of something like cruelty at this time of the Session, considering all we have gone through and with the labours still before us, in introducing to you fresh matter of legislation. But, however, I do venture to plead this in extenuation—namely, that the topic I have introduced to the House is not only not a new topic, but is one which has for a long time stirred up amongst the artizan classes in this country a considerable amount of feeling. When I say that it is no new subject, I venture to allude, for one moment, to the vast voluntary efforts which have already been made with regard to technical instruction. And, Sir, if I am asked why it is I am asking the House to supplement by legislation all that has been done, I reply that it is because I believe in the reality of this movement, and because, for many years, I believe that not only amongst the artizan classes, but amongst our large employers of labour in industrial centres, it has been recognized that although all the commercial depression we are suffering from may not arise from lack of technical and commercial education in this country, yet some part of it is due to the fact that foreign and Continental nations have had great advantages over us in regard to the technical training and special industrial training they have had for their youths. They have for years past outstripped us in this race, and have gained very material advantage thereby. I am encouraged to hope that these proposals I am about to submit will meet with some acceptance from the House; and if, by these proposals, we enable the best material which is now turned out by our schools to continue longer in their school life, and to start into some new educational groove for the benefit of themselves and of the industrial localities in which they live, and for the benefit also of the community at large, I think, Sir, I may venture to urge that the time of the House will not be wasted in discussing such proposals. Well, Sir, it is perfectly true that it may be urged that, as I have not long held my present Office, I am rather rash in introducing this subject, and still more so in view of the fact that a Royal Commission has been sitting for some time considering this great educational question. But I think the House will agree with me that this is somewhat outside the question which the Commission which is now sitting is inquiring into. There was a Royal Commission on Technical Education which reported in 1884. That Commission, which I am only just alluding to, let in a flood of light on this question of technical instruction, and, Sir, I should like for one instant to refer to their special recommendations as regards this country. As the House is aware, that Commission extended its labours to Continental countries, and conducted an exhaustive inquiry in connection with this subject. Well, Sir, this Commission pointed out that there was a considerable difference between our treatment of the educational question and its treatment in other countries. They also pointed out that, with the exception of France, there was no European country of the first rank that has an Imperial Budget for educational purposes comparable to our own; and they further pointed out that with reference to existing educational institutions in this country—alluding to the Science and Art Department at South Kensington—they will not alone accomplish the objects aimed at, and that the localities must depend more than they have done hitherto on their own special exertions. I am fortified, also, by the statement of Mr. Forster, in 1878, when moving his large Budget. He said he desired to have a margin in the matter of expense. It seemed to him that the grant for education then was as high as could be given for such purposes, and that if they went further they would be doing out of the Imperial taxes what ought to be undertaken by local resources. There are two authorities in support of one of the principles of this Bill—two authorities agreeing in the view that the onus of such a measure as this should be borne by local resources. I may quote further from the Report of the Commission in reference to the advisability of introducing technical instruction into the schools. The Commission said, amongst other matters, that already, in Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and several of our large centres, a considerable step had already been made in this direction, and they ask this very pertinent question—

> "If we introduce needlework into girls' schools, why should not grants also be made for manual instruction in boys' schools?"

I will not quote further from that Report except in so far as this—that before I touch on the details of my Bill, I will draw attention to the fact that, as the result of the vast inquiries made by the Commission, they recommend, amongst other things, that rudimentary drawing should be continued throughout the Standards, and that instruction should be given in the use of tools for working in wood and iron after school hours. That may be done under this Bill, and they make certain recommendations with regard to object lessons. I do not take such a sanguine view of the proposals I have to make to the House as to think that they will carry out all the recommendations of the Royal Commission. My proposals are these—to enable the Local Authorities to rate for the establishment of technical schools, or to assist in the establishment of technical schools, and also to give Local Authorities power to supplement existing teaching in public elementary schools by technical instruction, whether by day or evening classes. There will also be a proposal in the Bill with regard to the ratepayers, to whom the power of vetoing any proposal under the Bill will be given. Before the Bill comes into operation the ratepayers will be consulted, and in certain circumstances a poll may be demanded. We propose that the Bill should be administered by the Science and Art Department—that is to say, that it should be administered subject to the directorate of that Department. We also propose that the Bill should have its limitation, that no scholar, until he has reached the Sixth Standard, should come within the operation of the Bill, and we propose, further, that the Local Authorities that administer the Bill should be the School Boards, where they exist, and where they do not exist, the Town Councils. I should like, if I am not detaining the House too long, to say one or two words further with regard to these proposals. I should like to allude to Clause 4—and here I think I shall be met with something like general agreement when I urge that if there is anything essentially unpopular in this country at the present time it is the rating power. We all dislike rates, and I think, therefore, in a measure of this kind, if you are to get a fair chance of success, you must be careful to show not only that the ratepayer has some adequate protection, but also that it would be valuable if we could show that the Bill is essentially a cheap Bill so far as its working is concerned, and that great consideration in some respects is shown to the ratepayers in regard to the actual expenses which this Bill may inflict. In the first place, Clause 4, which I may call the operative clause of the Bill, enables Local Authorities to provide technical schools. Well, it is obvious that that provision would involve building, and I should like to point out to the House for one moment a further sub-section under this Clause 4. The next sub-section under this clause enables two Local Authorities to combine with each other for the purpose of providing a technical school common to any one district or to two or more local bodies. It is obvious to us that this will enable a system of combination to be adopted which will prove a great saving to the ratepayers; and, further, the next sub-section provides that the Local Authorities may contribute towards the maintenance or provision of any technical school which has been established by any other Local Authority. I believe that that sub-section will also conduce to great saving. I am not sure whether it is worded correctly as it at present stands; but it is intended to enact that, as in many instances is the case under the Public Libraries' Act, the Local Authorities should be empowered to levy rates for the purpose of supplementing any existing institution. These provisions I think the House will admit are provisions which will enable the Bill to be worked cheaply. In the first place, they allow combinations, which, of course, must be combinations as to the incidence of the rate; but there is a further sub-section of the Bill, which I wish, however, to allude to—namely, Sub-section D—

which enables the Local Authority to make such arrangements as it may deem necessary or expedient for supplementing by technical teaching the instruction at present given in our elementary schools. This I consider one of the most valuable provisions in the Bill. It will enable a course of technical education to be at once given without saddling the taxpayers with expenditure for building; it will enable evening classes to be held in any elementary day school receiving a grant from the Department at Whitehall. This proposal will, I think, be found most valuable for saving the money of the ratepayers. Then let me refer for an instant to the limitation of the Bill to children in the Sixth Standard. I think all those interested in the question of education will admit that at first we should wish this Bill to apply to the pick of our scholars, and I think it will be the best and surest test of the measure that it should be so applied. It will obviously be an advantage, before we apply the technical education proposed by this Bill, that a good foundation in general education should be laid in each individual case. I am perfectly ready to admit that this limitation as to Standard VI. does considerably restrict the operation of the Bill. From the number who stand at Standard VI. and those who have reached VII., it will be necessary to deduct a large proportion of girls, for it is fair to assume that much of the instruction given will be limited to boys. We must also take out a considerable number of scholars who have passed Standard VI., and take advantage of the instruction at South Kensington in science and art. This does very much restrict the number to which this Bill will at first apply. Here I must allude for an instant to the question of instruction in agriculture. I am free to admit that as the Bill is drawn—as it now stands—it would extend very little instruction for agricultural purposes. But the Bill is capable of considerable development, and when the new Local Authority under the new Local Government Bill is established, I believe by the sub-section that applies to the combination of Local Authorities for the purpose of technical instruction, indeed it is obvious that under this subsection agricultural instruction may be afforded under the Bill. And now I must allude for an instant to another point—the question of rating. I have chosen—naturally chosen—as the rating authority, the School Board authority, and, as I have stated, where that authority does not exist, the Town Council will be the rating authority. I have proposed, as I have said in the Bill, to insert a provision that when a Local Authority passes a resolution to establish a technical school, then 50, or a third, of the ratepayers may demand that a poll on the question shall be taken; and here I am at once met with a difficulty as regards the Metropolis. I think it would be wrong to bring into existence the enormous voting power of the Metropolis for the purposes of this Bill, nor do I believe it would work well. Just as in the Education Bill of 1870 London was exceptionally treated, so I propose it should be exceptionally treated in this Bill. Of course, I shall be asked how I propose to protect the ratepayers of the Metropolis as regards rating expenditure? Well, I have had placed before me a proposal carefully drawn up by the Vice Chairman of the London School Board—my hon. Friend the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcester (Sir Richard Temple)—a proposal which has been considered and approved by the present Chairman of the London School Board. That proposal is nothing more or less than that contained in Sub-section D of Clause 4 for supplementing existing elementary instruction by technical instruction. From all I can gather, I believe this proposal is popular with the London School Board, and with those they represent. After all it is these that ought to be consulted, and it is for Representatives of London constituencies to say if they will accept this, subject to the undertaking that this policy alone shall be carried out by the London School Board until the next elections in November. This would securely safeguard the interests of the Metropolitan ratepayers. I am assured by the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham, as regards his scheme, that it would involve no extra charge for building upon the ratepayers; expenditure will be reduced to a minimum. I am prepared to consult with hon. Members for Metropolitan constituencies, who must be considered in this matter, and if they so demand, thinking that further security for the ratepayers is necessary, of course it will be possible, in deference to their wish, to insert an additional clause that no action shall be taken until after the next School Board elections. But I believe it would be a mistake to do anything of the kind. I believe that the interests of the ratepayers and of the great mass of the working classes may be safely trusted to the provision of the Vice Chairman to which I have alluded. Then, I shall be asked this question, and I think a very pertinent one. It is perfectly true that a vast amount of voluntary effort has already been expended in the cause of technical instruction, and I may be asked—"If you once establish the principle of rating, do you not thereby lessen the amount of voluntary effort?" I believe we shall do nothing of the kind, and this for several reasons. I believe this measure will be essentially popular among the working classes; and I believe, further, it is impossible to check voluntary effort in a cause such as this by supplementing these efforts from the rates, for I believe that those who are spending money voluntarily for this are doing it in a cause they know to be the best one in which they can spend their money, and where for all the money spent more than compound interest will be paid in the result. There are numerous instances in regard to this matter. Only the other day I noticed that in Lambeth the Public Libraries Act was adopted by a vote of the inhabitants. What was the result there of adopting the principle of rating? I notice that at the concluding meeting, which the result of the first made necessary, and when arrangements had to be made for applying the new system of rating, the first announcement made by the hon. Member for Barrow-in-Furness (Mr. Caine), who occupied the chair, was that he was glad to state that a friend of his had not only given the ground for the new library, but had undertaken the whole building at his own cost. Numerous other instances of the same kind have come under my notice. Therefore, I do not think that in establishing a rating power under this Bill we shall check voluntary effort in any sensible degree. One more point I have to deal with, that is the administration of the Bill. We propose that the Bill shall be administered by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. I have been anxious that the Bill should be so administered, because I think that there we have a Department whose educational capacity has been thoroughly well tested. I know that among some hon. Members the Department is talked of as rather an expensive toy. Now, I am anxious, so far as I am concerned, that the House should be put in the position of knowing what the annual expenditure is at South Kensington, as regards administrative expenditure, and its results. With the leave of the House I will lay on the Table a document I have had prepared, showing for the last five years, in a concise form, what the actual expenditure at South Kensington has been as regards the administration and conduct of the Department, and the actual expenditure as regards results. Hon. Members will be surprised when they see how vast an increase there has been as regards payments by results and how small the increase in adminstrative expenditure. I do not say but that the strictest economy should be pursued in this Department; and, having said as much, I should like the House to bear with me for two minutes while I read the account of what the Department is now doing as regards science and art instruction in the country. During the season of 1886-7 there were 1,936 schools, or separate institutions, in which instruction was given in one or more branches of science, and 6,976 classes in different branches of science. At the May Examination 127,900 papers were sent up. I should like to give one more instance in regard to chemical instruction to show the vast strides made in scientific education in the country. In chemistry, 21,085 papers were worked for examination by the Department. It shows the vast change that has been made when I say that about 30 years ago there were only one or two places existing where students could obtain laboratory instruction, and that only at very high fees. The Royal College of Chemistry was started in 1845, and another institution of a like type was started, I believe, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair), in Craig's Court, about the same time. Now there are 234 chemical laboratories in connection with the Science and Art Department where students can obtain laboratory instruction at very low fees. There were no less than 4,257 separate benches at the last examinations for the accommodation of 16,155 candidates who were examined in that branch of science. I will not go further into this topic; but I can assure the House that not for a moment would I have thought of putting the administration under this Department if I did not thoroughly believe in its ability to conduct every detail and carry out the work with economy and efficiency. I thank the House for its attention to these somewhat desultory remarks. I do not think I need again go through the provisions of the Bill—I think I have explained them. All I wish to urge is this, that as, happily, this question cannot be tortured into a Party question by any possibility, it is one that plainly interests all; and although I do not submit the Bill as one that covers all the gronnd that hon. Members wish to see covered on this difficult question of technical education, yet I do believe it is a Bill that will do, and quickly do, an enormous amount of good as regards the industrial population. If the proposals of the Bill that provide for a system of continuity of schools, that enable a child, instead of going away from school into idleness, if that and the provision for evening classes were the only clauses in the Bill, these alone would make the Bill worthy of the serious consideration and support of the House. Of course, I am perfectly well aware it is not a perfect measure, that inequalities may be pointed out; but I plead this for the success of the measure, that if hon. Members approve of the principle they will not at this period of the Session overload the Bill with Amendments. I thank the House again for the extreme patience accorded me. Such as the proposals are, I venture to humbly submit them to the calm consideration and judgment of the House.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I rise rather to deprecate discussion than to continue it, and for two reasons, that we can hardly fairly discuss the measure without having the Bill in our possession, and also because Scotch Members are waiting here for a special purpose, and have a claim upon us for their forbearance in allowing the introduction of this Bill. I am very much obliged—I am grateful to the right hon. Gentleman (Sir William Hart Dyke) for introducing the Bill, and I hope it may realize his expectations to the full. He has our best wishes for it, and so far as we can help him we will give it our assistance. I can assure the right hon. Gentleman he will meet with no opposition from these Benches; on the contrary, I can promise him the utmost support. But there were one or two points raised in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that I am bound to say fell on my ears with something of surprise and disappointment. The right hon. Gentleman said the whole of the expenditure under the Bill is to come out of local resources——

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I think I ought to have explained further what I meant when I adopted the expression from the Commission in regard to this point. It is a subject I would rather deal with on the second reading; but as it is referred to, I may say I did not mean that under no possibility would any grant he made from the Science and Art Department.

MR. MUNDELLA: This only proves the disadvantage of discussing the measure any further at this stage. I hope, however, that the right hon. Gentleman will guard himself against one provision, and that is the power of veto. Although you empower the Local Authority to establish the system, you allow 50 ratepayers to question it.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: To summon a poll.

MR. MUNDELLA: But does the right hon. Gentleman know what this means? Does he know what this will cost in a large town? Why, it would mean in Sheffield an expenditure of £1,000. More, probably, than we should expend in three or four years on the Bill. You will always find 50 cantankerous ratepayers who are opposed to everything in this world, and who would oppose this Bill. But I will not continue the discussion, though I feel tempted to do so. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not suppose it is a continuation school if he confines it to children of the Sixth Standard. I agree that technical education should be given to children who are well prepared; but we want continuation schools for the tens of thousands of children who are turned out of school at and below the Fourth Standard. He knows that that is the standard at which children are exempt throughout the rural districts, and there is one recommendation of the Royal Commission to which he has not referred, that is that we should raise the standard throughout the country and make it uniform with Scotland, that no child shall be exempt from attendance until he has passed the Fifth Standard. But I will not detain the House any longer. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will make his Bill a thorough and efficient Bill, and not allow any impediment to be imposed against its operation. I can assure him, from this side of the House, he shall have all the assistance we can render to make it a good Bill.

Mr. MASON (Lanark, Mid): I do not rise to continue the discussion, but only to ask if the Bill applies to Scotland?

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE: As the hon. Member knows, there is a different system of education throughout Scotland, and it has been thought better to introduce a separate Bill for Scotland.

Mr. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I did not hear what the right hon. Gentleman said; but if he will remember, I asked him a short time ago if the Bill would apply to Scotland. His reply was somewhat enigmatical, that he would endeavour to make the Bill satisfactory to all Members. Will the Bill apply to Scotland or not?

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE: What I said was that the Scotch Department are drafting a Bill of a similar character, to apply to Scotland. There are certain inequalities that require different treatment.

Mr. BUCHANAN: Will it be introduced this Session?

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE: I hope so.

Mr. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I presume the Scotch Bill will be brought in as soon as possible, and will proceed *pari passu* with the English Bill.

Sir RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham): Only one word to confirm what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council as to the effect of the arrangement made by the School Board. It will absolutely impose no extra burden whatever on the ratepayers of the Metropolis. I say this with a full sense of my responsibility as a Member of the House and Vice President of the School Board.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Mr. Mundella

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir William Hart Dyke, Sir Henry Holland, and Mr. Jackson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 332.]

TEMPORARY DWELLINGS BILL.

(*Mr. Elton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Caine, Mr. Matthew Kenny, Colonel Makins.*)

[BILL 256.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. ELTON (Somerset, Wellington): I hope the House, although the hour is advanced, will allow me to take the second reading of this Bill. I am sure the House will be satisfied of its salutary object. It is intended to extend for the benefit of a large and neglected class, gipsies and others, who travel about this country in caravans, the principle the House adopted in the Canal Boats Acts of 1877 and 1884. Not to detain the House, I will only say the details are strictly in accordance with that principle. No doubt, it will require some further consideration, and this I propose it shall receive from a Select Committee.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee.

LICENSED PREMISES (EARLIER CLOSING) (SCOTLAND) (*re-committed*) BILL.—[BILL 153.]

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Provand.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 8th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, severally *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Alteration of certificate forms).

Colonel MALCOLM (Argyllshire): I venture to move the Amendment of which I have given Notice, and which must be taken with the Schedules that stand later on. It is expedient, I think, that the closing hour in the larger towns should be so early as 10 o'clock, and, therefore, I have placed the towns with a population over 15,000 in Schedule A, and in these I propose that the closing hour should be 11, leaving them practically untouched, so far as the closing hour is concerned. Schedule B includes a certain number of coast towns, in which it seems to me it is expedient that hotels should be allowed to keep open until the hour at present fixed — 11 o'clock— during the months when the population is largely increased by visitors. Elsewhere, I propose to make the closing hour 10 o'clock throughout Scotland. At this hour of the morning, I will not detain the House with a speech, but simply move my Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 7, leave out all the words after "Act," and insert the words,—"The hours of closing of the licensed premises in Scotland hereinafter specified shall be:

"(*a.*) In the case of inns and hotels, and of public houses situate in towns or burghs specified in Schedule A hereto annexed, eleven of the clock at night;

"(*b.*) In the case of inns and hotels, and of public houses situate in towns or burghs specified in Schedule B, eleven of the clock at night during the months of June, July, August, and September, and ten of the clock at night during the other months of the year;

"(*c.*) In the case of all other inns and hotels and public houses, ten of the clock at night;

"(*d.*) In the case of premised licensed in respect of a certificate for dealers in exciseable liquors, and of a certificate for table beer licences granted under the seventeenth section of 'The Publicans' Certificates (Scotland) Act, 1876,' ten of the clock at night of any week day during the months of June, July, August, and September, and during the other months of the year eight of the clock at night of any week day except Saturday, or any day immediately preceding a public holiday, authorised by the magistrates, on which days the hour of closing shall be ten of the clock at night."—(*Colonel Malcolm.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'The form of certificate' stand part of the Clause."

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): As the hon. Members for Scotland are aware, this Bill was yesterday the subject of a conference as to the points of difference regarding its provisions. There was no diversity of opinion as to the expediency of an earlier hour of closing, but there was as to what that hour should be. On one side—and I think the preponderating side — the opinion expressed was that there should be a uniform hour of closing, and that that hour should be 10 o'clock, thus altering the present time of closing by one hour—namely, from 11 o'clock to 10 o'clock. It was also held that the hour of 10 o'clock should be universal throughout the country. The views of the other side are embodied in the Amendment. Now, Sir, the proposal of a uniform hour of 10 o'clock is that contained in the clause. I may mention that the Bill as it present stands does not provide for absolute uniformity; because it makes an exception in the matter of grocers' licenses. I need not enter into the reasons for that. The preponderance of feeling at the conference was against that exception being made, and it was proposed to simplify it by making a provision for the hour of 10 o'clock to be uniform, and to apply to all cases; and I propose, therefore, if the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Argyllshire (Colonel Malcolm) is rejected, to accept the Amendment in the name of my hon. Friend the Member for West Fifeshire (Mr. R. Preston Bruce), which provides for what I will describe as an absolutely uniform hour of closing for all licensed premises in Scotland. Now, Sir, so far as I am concerned, I believe that as to the original proposal it was a remarkable fact that at the conference there was no representative of the larger towns who got up to oppose the earlier hour of closing, and since the conference I have received protests from several places proposed to be excluded in the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member from the benefits of the earlier hour. The case is, therefore, that those who vote against the omission of the words proposed to be left out will vote for a uniform hour of closing throughout Scotland, that hour being 10 o'clock, while those who vote for the omission of the words will vote for a sliding scale of hours throughout the country.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.): I wish to say one word in support of my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and I wish to point out to the Scotch Members here how far reaching the Amendment is. The places included in this Schedule are the large Scotch boroughs, and I have taken the trouble to look through the population returns. I find that the total population of Scotland is 3,500,000, and in these large towns named in the schedule the population numbers over 1,500,000, and so that you have from one-third to one-half of the population of Scotland excluded from the benefits of this Bill. That is my first point as regards the far-reaching character of the hon. and gallant Member's Amendment. Then, Sir, I want to point this out also, that the very population which he proposes to exclude from the operation of this Bill is just the population which, unfortunately, figures most largely in the returns of drunkenness in Scotland. If you look at the returns for the year ending the 31st December, 1886, you will find that all the towns mentioned in the schedule—with only one exception, that of Coatbridge—are named in these Returns. There is an aggregate of 40,316 cases returned, and of these no fewer than 27,870 occurred in boroughs included in the hon. and gallant Member's schedule, so that practically the operation of the schedule is this—you will withdraw from the operation of the Bill nearly one-half of the population of Scotland, and just that part where cases of drunkenness are most prevalent. Now, I have only one other word to trouble the Committee with, and it is this. One point discussed yesterday is worthy consideration now, and that is as regards the opinion, so far as it can be gathered, of the large towns on the subject. Various statements were made yesterday on the subject, but I will quote to the House the only authority I can get, and which can be recognized by the Committee. It is the authority of the last Parliamentary investigation of the subject—the authority of the Lords' Committee on Intemperance. That Committee, about nine years ago, reported unanimously in favour of the proposal of my hon. Friend—namely, that the hours of business should be reduced by one hour in Scotland. If you take the trouble to look at the evidence, you will find that the opinion was unanimous in all large towns. I will not trouble the Committee with any of the evidence at this hour; but I may point out that the witnesses included many of the leading public men of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other large towns. The opinion was absolutely overpowering throughout all the large towns in favour of the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow. One point more, which also you will be able to gather from the evidence is, that this very hour of 10 to 11 o'clock at night is just the time when the worst cases of drunkenness take place, and which so largely increase the returns. Therefore I hope that the Committee will bear in mind that if they accept the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member, they will practically cut out from the Bill half the population of Scotland, and just that half which most earnestly desires to come under the provisions of the Bill. If it is desired to make it a Bill really to promote the diminution of drunkenness, and to consult the opinion of the communities directly affected, the Committee will support my hon. Friend the Member for the College Division of Glasgow.

Mr. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright): I want to say one word on the subject of the almost unanimous opinion on the earlier closing movement. All the evidence I can collect in agricultural districts is to the effect that it is advisable to reduce the hours of opening by one hour. I do not venture to give an opinion as regards the large towns; but all I can speak from leads me to think that the way in which the Bill is drawn, will most usefully meet the circumstances, and is most suitable.

Mr. FINLAY (Inverness): I hope, Sir, the House will not adopt the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Argyllshire (Colonel Malcolm). I object to the principle of schedules on broad grounds. I think it is perfectly impossible for this House to legislate by schedules, and supposing that it can accurately appreciate and gauge the requirements of each locality. I can understand leaving it to each locality to decide for itself; but I think it is impossible for this House to attempt to do so. I see Schedule B includes the places where public-houses are to be allowed to be open till 11 o'clock during the summer months, though they are to be closed at 10 o'clock during the other months of the year. Now, these towns consist solely of watering places on the West Coast of Scotland, and I would remind my hon. and gallant Friend that there are watering places in other parts of Scotland. I do not suggest that the schedule should be extended. I merely refer to that fact as illustrating the danger of attempting to legislate in matters which involve knowledge of so much detail in order to properly grasp the facts. It seems to me that this House should legislate on very broad lines, and personally, I am prepared to accept the hour of 10 o'clock as the closing time for all parts of the country, and for publicans and grocers alike.

SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL (Renfrew, W.): I rise to support the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Argyllshire (Colonel Malcolm), not because I am hostile to the hour of 10 o'clock being fixed as the closing time for Scotland, but because there are some parts of Scotland which really do not come under the same category as even the large towns. I more especially point to the places named in Schedule B. The population on the West Coast is a continually changing one, and the fact has been brought before me by those most affected by this Bill, and though, in the winter months they close their houses at 10 o'clock, during the summer months when there is such a large influx of population from the large towns, and when there are so many travelling about, they would not be able to carry on their business properly if they closed at 10 o'clock. Therefore, I have the honour to support the Amendment.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I think it would not be right to allow this matter to go to a Division without my saying a few words upon it. I have long held a very strong view that any system which fixed one hour for the closing of public-houses in all parts must necessarily constitute a bad arrangement, for you cannot possibly fully appreciate and provide for all requirements in that way. The manners and customs of respectable people in large towns will necessarily be different to a certain extent from the manners and customs of the people living in less populous places in the country, and to fix one hour absolutely for the whole country results in this—that if you are successful in fixing a suitable time for one set of people, you choose an unsuitable hour for the others. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Inverness says this House is a very bad tribunal for the purpose of legislating in such a matter as this, and for deciding what places shall close at one hour and what places at another. I think that that practically is the only reason he gave for his opposition, but I am afraid that if the House of Parliament is not to be considered a fit tribunal for such a purpose, the functions of the House and of this Committee would be very considerably narrowed. There are matters in which this House must be guided by principles of common sense, and I, for one, hold that common sense points strongly in this direction that the hour for the closing of public-houses and licenced premises of all kinds should be hours reasonably akin to those which are ordinarily adopted in the daily life of the inhabitants in the localities affected. Therefore, I for one shall have great pleasure in supporting the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Argyllshire. I should also like to point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Inverness Burghs, who attacked Schedule B, on the ground that it only included watering-places on the West Coast that if he can point out any places on the East Coast of Scotland which it is desirable to add to the Schedule, my hon. and gallant Friend will no doubt include them. But the circumstances of these places on the West Coast, are eminently different to those of many towns on the East Coast, for you have on the West Coast land-locked waters, in which there is an immense number of steamers running at late hours at night, excursion steamers bringing in numerous visitors, and this necessarily makes the inhabitants keep later hours than prevail at other places. Now, Sir, on these grounds I shall certainly support my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Argyllshire, for I think it would be a bad arrangement to have a uniform hour. Though we all admit that the Forbes Mackenzie Act has worked fairly well, but it has not given complete satisfaction, and I think we have ample evidence, on which to agree to this Amendment. Again, everyone must know perfectly well that anything now done in this matter must be of a purely tentative nature, for in a short time you will have the establishment throughout the country of means by which the exact requirements of each individual locality will be settled according to the necessities of that locality.

An hon. MEMBER: When?

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD: The hon. Member asks when? Well, I cannot prophecy, but I expect and hope it will be in the immediate future. I think the country is not prepared for an absolutely universal closing at 10 o'clock, and I think hon. Members should well consider before they reject the Amendment whether they have really ascertained the opinions of their constituents on the subject.

Mr. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): I would not venture to argue against the opinion of the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate on many subjects; but, in regard to this licensing question I claim to have had even more experience than he has had. He has made references to the East Coast of Scotland, and to the difference which exists between that part and the West Coast. But neither he nor the hon. and gallant Member for Argyllshire have taken into consideration the fact that on the East Coast we have a very large influx of visitors at certain seasons. They come in by thousands. Again, what are we going to say with regard to the fishermen who come to Wick, Fraserburgh, Peterhead, and Aberdeen? They are to be allowed to get beer until 11 o'clock at Aberdeen, but at other places they can get none after 10 o'clock. Nothing I am sure could give less satisfaction to the country than this picking out of incidental places, and legislating for them in a different manner to the rest of the country. My hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Finlay) has reminded the Committee that we have been under a bad *régime*. I am not aware of any constituency which will say that the Forbes Mackenzie Act has not worked very great good, and given general satisfaction—except, I suppose, in the case of the Universities—but how shall we improve on it by making fish of one and flesh of another? I am quite satisfied it would be better to let this matter alone altogether than to introduce a variety of circumstances and conditions which this House is not in a position to judge upon. For instance, we shall find a man pulled up for drinking beer a few minutes after 10 o'clock one night, although the night before he could go on drinking up till 11 o'clock. These changes are simply ridiculous; and I am sure no one who has had experience in dealing with the licensing question would think of introducing such a schedule as this. I believe that, at least, three-fourths of the hon. Members for Scotland yesterday gave a decided opinion at the conference in favour of a uniform hour for the whole country, including the grocers. If the Amendment is carried, it will, consequently, be against the larger portion of Scotch opinion.

Mr. MACDONALD CAMERON (Wick, &c.): I should like to remark that there are many places on the East Coast in which the conditions are precisely similar to those on the West Coast in the matter of having a large influx of visitors during the summer months. They do not come, perhaps, by steamers, but excursion trains bring them in crowds, especially at Nairn and Wick. If it is necessary, on the grounds advocated by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, that there should be a later hour of closing on the West Coast, it is equally necessary on the East Coast.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness) rose amid loud cries of "Divide!": This is not a matter to be settled by noise. We want it discussed rationally. There are three important points in this Amendment. For, with regard to the proposal that large towns should be excepted, let me point out that, as a matter of fact, the agitation for this Bill is stronger in large towns than in the smaller ones; and hon. Members for Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen have spoken in favour of a uniform hour. The second point is as to Schedule B. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Inverness Burghs (Mr. Finlay) pointed out the danger of legislation in this direction. My hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Argyllshire (Colonel Malcolm) seems to think that there are towns only on one side of the River Clyde. But, as a fact, there are towns in Ayrshire where there are three times the number of licensed premises than can be found in some of the towns contained in the schedule; and if the privilege of later closing is to be given to towns on the West Coast, named in the schedule, why not extend it to Moffatt, Burntisland, the Bridge-of-Allan, and like places? The principle, I submit, is a very dangerous one; and the schedule is likely to cause a great deal of dissatisfaction; and I do not think any of the arguments advanced by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Argyllshire can be deemed sufficient to justify our voting for the Amendment. I strongly support the Bill as it stands, and hope the Amendment will be rejected.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 105; Noes 73: Majority 32.—(Div. List, No. 312.) [2.0 A.M.]

On the Motion of Dr. CAMERON, the following Amendments made: — In page 2, line 41, after "1862," insert—

"And of certificates for table beer licenses granted under the seventeenth section of 'The Publicans' Certificate (Scotland) Act, 1876;'"

and in page 3, line 4, after "not," insert "keep open house or."

On the Motion of Mr. R. PRESTON BRUCE, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 6, leave out from "eight," to end of Clause, and insert "ten of the clock at night of any day."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Certificates) (restrictions as to hours of closing).

On the Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 11, leave out from "Act," to end of Clause, and insert—

"Provided always, that nothing in this Act shall alter the existing Law relating to travellers or persons requiring to lodge in an inn or hotel."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Preamble *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, considered; read the third time, and *passed.*

PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACT AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 220.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Baggallay, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Collins, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 7th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK (London University), the following Amendments made:—In page 1, line 6, after "Libraries," insert "Acts;" in line 7, leave out "first."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 2 and 3 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 4 (Definitions).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following Amendment made:—In page 1, line 27, to omit "Metropolis," and insert "Metropolitan or."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Amendment of Acts).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, line 12, to leave out the words "The proviso to section eight of the principal Act," and insert the words—

"So much of section fifteen of the principal Act as incorporates with that Act certain clauses of the Towns Improvement Clauses Act, 1847."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 7 (Power for district in the metropolis to adopt the Act).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following Amendments made:—In page 2, line 23, leave out from "overseers," to end of line 24, and insert "and the word 'vestry' as the case may be;" in line 28, leave out "this," and insert "the principal;" in line 29, leave out "of carrying this Act," and insert "incurred by the Commissioners in carrying the said Act and the Acts amending the same;" in line 32, after "district board," insert—

"Applicable to the general expenses incurred by them in the execution of 'The Metropolis Management Act, 1855,' and the sum required for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred by the Commissioners as aforesaid shall be paid by the district board to such person as shall be appointed by the Commissioners to receive the same;"

in line 34, after "Act," insert "and the Acts amending the same;" in line 38, after "funds," insert—

"Applicable to the general expenses incurred by the district board in the excution of 'The Metropolis Management Act, 1855;'"

in line 39, after "poor," insert—

"And section sixteen shall be read as if the words 'district board' were substituted for the word 'vestry,' and the words 'rates out of which the expenses of the Commissioners are payable' for the words 'rates levied in pursuance of this Act;'"

and in line 9, after "(c)," insert—

"Such parish shall not be called upon to contribute towards any expenses incurred, and."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Power of Parish preserved).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following Amendment made:—In page 3, line 24, after "it," insert—

"In manner provided by section one of 'The Public Libraries Amendment Act, 1877.'"

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

New Clauses (Borrowing by library authorities).

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following New Clauses *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill:—

"Sections two hundred and thirty-three, two hundred and thirty-four, and two hundred and thirty-six to two hundred and thirty-nine, both inclusive, of the 'Public Health Act, 1875,' shall apply, with the necessary modifications, to all money borrowed by any library authority after the passing of this Act, as if the library authority were an urban sanitary authority, and as if references to the 'Public Libraries (England) Acts, 1855 to 1887,' were substituted in those sections and in the forms therein mentioned for references to the Sanitary Acts, or the Public Health Act, 1875.

"So much of section seventeen of the principal Act as incorporates the Clauses and provisions of The 'Companies Clauses Consolidation Act, 1845,' with respect to the borrowing of money on mortgage or bond is hereby repealed except as to any money borrowed before the passing of this Act."

On the Motion of The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.), the following New Clauses *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill:—

(Transfer to Local Government Board of certain functions of the Treasury.)

"The powers and duties of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury under the Public Libraries (England) Acts 1855 to 1887, shall from and after the passing of this Act be transferred to the Local Government Board, and sections sixteen and eighteen of the principal Act shall be construed and have effect as if a reference to the approval of the Local Government Board were therein substituted for a reference to the approval of Her Majesty's Treasury."

New Clause (Provisions as to parish partly within and partly without a borough or district).

MR. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea): The clause is self-explanatory. I think I must do no more than move it.

New Clause.

(General Provisions.)

"Where any parish is partly within and partly without any borough or district which shall have adopted or shall contemplate the adoption of the Public Libraries Act, the part of such parish without the borough or district shall, for the purposes of the fourth section of 'The Public Libraries Amendment Act (England and Scotland), 1886,' be considered a parish within the meaning of the said section; and the overseers of the poor for the said parish shall, for the purposes of the said section be considered the overseers of the parish situate without the borough or district,"—(*Mr. O. V. Morgan,*)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be now read a second time."

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes): Subject to consideration on Report, I do not object to the clause.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause read a second time, and *added* to Bill.

Schedule.

On the Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, the following Amendments made:—In line 1, leave out "I;" line 2, leave out "Act," and insert "Acts;" and in line 4, leave out "1885," and insert "1855."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday*, and to be *printed.* [Bill 331.]

MOTIONS.

———o———

TURNPIKE ROADS (SOUTH WALES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Maitland, Bill to amend an Act, intituled, "An Act to further amend the Law relating to Turnpike Roads in South Wales," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Maitland and Sir Joseph Bailey.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 333.]

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jackson, Bill to provide for examination into the affairs of Trustees Savings Banks; and to remove doubts as to the Law relating to the winding up of such Banks, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the First Lord of the Treasury.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 334.]

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 20*th July*, 1887.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—*Third Report*—Army and Navy Estimates [No. 232].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 10 to 13

Resolutions [July 19] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle)* [317]; Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment* [323].

Report of Select Committee—Rating of Machinery [No. 231].

Withdrawn—Companies Acts Consolidation and Amendment* [218].

QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT — SESSIONAL ORDERS — INTERFERENCE OF PEERS IN ELECTIONS—THE HORNSEY ELECTION.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): I desire to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to a statement in *The Times* of to-day, to the effect that Lord Salisbury, Lord Magheramorne, Lord Londesborough, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Earl of Yarborough, and the Earl of Fife sent carriages to assist in bringing voters to the poll at the Hornsey election; and whether he or any Member of the Government is prepared to make an investigation into the matter with a view to safeguarding the Privileges of this House? In the absence of the First Lord, perhaps the Secretary to the Colonies will kindly answer the Question.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I certainly am not in a position to say whether the attention of the First Lord of the Treasury has been drawn to the paragraph in *The Times*, nor, in the absence of my Colleagues, can I undertake that any investigation will be made into the matter.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Shall I be in Order, Sir, in calling attention to this matter, either to-day or to-morrow, as a Breach of Privilige?

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Baronet that the House has already decided the point in another case; and I do not think it can be raised again as a question of Privilege. The hon. Baronet can, of course, put a question upon the subject if he chooses.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: May I point out that this is a perfectly distinct case, and has nothing to do with the case which was before the House the other day?

MR. SPEAKER: No doubt, it is a different case; but it involves precisely the same principle.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Upon the point of Order, may I be allowed respectfully to submit that the point decided the other day was as to a particular case, and not as to the general principle of the employment of Peers' carriages at elections. There was a special allegation in that case.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I presume I shall be in Order in giving Notice of a Motion?

MR. SPEAKER: I do not exactly understand what the point is which has been raised by the hon. Member for Northampton.

MR. BRADLAUGH: My point is this—whether the decision the other day was not in regard to the particular matter then alleged, and not upon the general principle?

MR. SPEAKER: I can only interpret the decision which was given the other day in one way. It was then alleged that the carriages of certain Peers had been used at a certain election, and the question raised was whether that constituted a Breach of Privilege, upon which question the House resolved to pass to the Orders of the Day. This case appears to raise exactly the same question.

[Mr. W. H. SMITH here entered the House.]

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: As I see that the First Lord of the Treasury is now in his place, I wish to inform him that I have given Notice of a Question which he may, perhaps, be prepared to answer. My Question is—Whether he or any Member of the Government is prepared to make an investigation into the statement of *The Times* of to-day that Lord Salisbury and certain other Peers sent carriages to assist in bringing voters to the poll at the Hornsey Election? I have already given Notice of the Question to the right hon. Gentleman.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I received the Notice of the hon. Baronet about a minute ago. I know nothing of the statement to which he refers. I have no information that I can give him.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: Will the right hon. Gentleman undertake to make an inquiry?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No, Sir; I cannot undertake to make an inquiry. I think it would be improper that the time of the House should be occupied in such a trivial investigation.

THE IRISH LAND LAW BILL.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, Whether there was any truth in the statement which had appeared in the public newspapers that the Prime Minister had, at a meeting of the Conservative Party at the Carlton Club yesterday, said that whatever revision of judicial rents took place the landlords would be compensated? That was a very strong statement; and he wished to know whether or not there was any truth in it?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I consider very great inconvenience is occasioned by the raising of a Question of this kind without any Notice whatever, and by asking a Question as to what occurred under circumstances of which the House has no cognizance. The proper occasion for raising any question of the kind is when the Order of the Day itself is under the consideration of the House. I may, however, express my extreme surprise that the hon. Gentleman, with all his experience of public life, should put any faith or trust in the statement to which he refers.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I put no faith or trust in it—I merely asked if it was true.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSE OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £20,525, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Charity Commission for England and Wales."

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £15,525, be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): I regret that the Committee did not see its way to accede to the suggestion to report Progress last evening when this Vote was reached, so that the whole of the discussion upon it might have been taken consecutively. I venture to think that this Vote, which is to cover an expenditure of £32,759 in connection with the Charity Commission, is a very important Vote; and it is quite evident from what took place last night that a very wide interest is felt in the matter to which it relates. The first question I desire to ask the Vice President of the Council is that he should briefly and concisely state what it is that the country gets for the expenditure of this large sum of money, particularly in respect of the Charity Commission. My complaint is that sufficient publicity is not given to schemes drawn up by the Charity Commission to enable the localities affected to express their views before such schemes are definitely settled; and, therefore, I think that a few sentences of explanation in that direction would be exceedingly valuable. The next item to which I desire to draw the attention of the Committee is one which appears under the head of "Non-Effective Charges." I would call the serious attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to that item which amounts to £1,309, as against £1,208 last year, thus showing an increase of more than £100 for expenditure upon pensions and non-effective charges last year. I think that that is a very important matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! That question has been raised several times before, and I have pointed out that non-effective charges generally form no part of this Vote. The question of pensions will be brought on upon the Pension Vote.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Perhaps you will allow me to explain, Sir, this is the first time I have heard your ruling in this respect, and at once pass to an item of £7,186, which is put down as the cost of the Endowed Schools Department. The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) travelled over a somewhat wide field in the speech which he delivered last evening; but I noticed, with some surprise, that he did not allude, except vaguely, to the proceedings of the Select Committee which sat last year, and continued its sittings again in the present year. Hon. Members who served on that Committee will bear me out when I say that the Committee sat upon 37 days, and examined more than 40 witnesses, who gave evidence of great importance and interest in the matter. This year the Committee agreed, with a fair amount of harmony, upon a Report which I conceive to be of considerable weight, and to deserve the careful attention of the House of Commons. I venture to say that no one can arrive at any conclusion upon the point raised by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham without having gone carefully into the evidence which was brought before that Committee. Indeed, it is impossible to come to a satisfactory conclusion without devoting some hours to the study of the evidence given before that Committee, and making inquiry into the cases cited by the witnesses by whom the evidence was given. The hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) commented upon the inconvenience of raising such a discussion as that which has been introduced by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham in this way; but I do not see that the hon. Member had any choice but to raise it as he did. It is certainly not the fault of the hon. Member. We all know that he is an amiable enthusiast, and I think the particular points he raised would have gone by the board altogether if he had not taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by this Vote for raising a discussion. Personally, I gave close attention to all that took place before the Committee. I listened to the evidence given by the hon. Member, and to the charges which he formulated last night, and I am bound to say that, to my mind, the hon. Member did not make out his charges. I think that, to some extent, he allowed his imagination to run riot in the matter, and I am of opinion that if the Commissioners act within the scope of the suggestions contained in the Report of the Select Committee, no great amount of harm will be done. The hon. Member said that he desires reform in these matters. Certainly, the Committee was a reforming Committee, as any hon. Member will see by their Report, and I should like to draw attention to three or four points specially mentioned in the Summary of the Report. That Summary really contains the gist of the Report, and the paragraphs I desire to draw attention to were, in fact, inserted on my motion. The other paragraphs therein deal with equally important phases of the subject, but they will doubtless be dealt with by other hon. Members. The first is contained in Paragraph 12 of the Summary—

> "It is essential to the welfare of endowed schools, not being of a special character, that the sympathies of the localities should be enlisted by giving to the people a large share in the management, by representation, either direct or indirect, through elected bodies."

The Committee attached great importance to that matter; and the House of Commons, on the 18th of May last year, at the instance of the hon. Baronet the Member for Lichfield (Sir John Swinburne), carried a Resolution asserting that upon all such bodies there should be a majority of local representatives. It will be seen that that Resolution has not been carried out in the terms in which it ran. I may say that I did not vote for the Resolution, because I was a Member of the Committee; but I had great sympathy with it, and I moved a Resolution in the Committee, which appears here in the shape in which I have just read the recommendation of the Committee. This Committee will notice the expression contained in the Resolution, "a large share in the management." That is inserted in the Summary instead of the word "majority," which appeared in the Resolution carried in the House of Commons, but the expression "majority" was only lost by the casting vote of the Chairman, the numbers having been 6 to 6. We shall, I presume, agree it is desirable that the governing bodies should be made to rest upon a thoroughly satisfactory basis. I hope, therefore, that the Committee will receive an assurance from the Vice President that this recommendation of the Select Committee will be strictly adhered to. The next paragraph in the Summary to which I desire to allude to is Paragraph 13, which is as follows:—

> "Greater publicity with respect to the proceedings of the Commissioners in regard to schemes should be given during the initial and subsequent steps, especially in the district affected by such schemes."

That paragraph also has great significance, especially in its bearing upon past history. It was proved in evidence that in the case of certain schemes brought forward by people interested in a particular locality, some three or four years were allowed to elapse, during which nobody had the slightest information as to what was being done by the Charity Commissioners. Information was only given at the end of the inquiry, and it was contained in an advertisement inserted in one of the newspapers of the district. The Committee adopted this paragraph unanimously; and I am sure the present Committee will agree with me that it is of the utmost importance that persons in the locality should be kept informed of the proceedings of the Commissioners. Paragraph 15 is as follows:—

> "Schemes have hitherto been unnecessarily detailed in their character. It is desirable that in their framing the wishes of the localities should be more consulted, and that in their adminstration the Governing Bodies (if in the future really representative) should be left more unfettered in their action."

I attach great importance to that paragraph. It was not adopted unanimously by the Select Committee; but it was carried by a majority, and I hope that it will commend itself to the House of Commons. There has been an inclination hitherto to carry out what I may venture to call the "fads" of some of the Commissioners. I think there has been wanting in the preparation of these schemes the exercise of more robust common sense, and it would have been well if there had been a little less disposition to carry particular points to an extreme. I also attach great importance to the people of the localities being consulted, and the Governing Bodies being left more unfettered in their action. There has been a great amount of trivial interference from Whitehall with the action of the localities. The official authorities seem to think that it is perfectly impossible to find persons in the localities who are competent to manage these endowments, unless they are interfered with by a Centralized Body in London. I do not go so far as the hon. Member for East Finsbury (Mr. J. Rowlands) in my desire to see the Central Body abolished altogether; but I know that there is a very considerable amount of supervision exercised from time to time, and I think that in regard to trifling matters, it ought to be exercised with great care and reservation. I now come to the last recommendation of the Select Committee, and it is one, I am sure, in which the present Committee will entirely agree. The paragraph in the Summary says—

> "The responsibility of the Commission to Parliament should be clearly defined and made complete, and this might be most readily accomplished by carrying into effect the recommendation contained in the Report of the Commission on Education, Science, and Art (Administration), 1884—namely, that a responsible Minister of Education should be appointed, and should be charged with a general supervision of endowed schools."

I think it is unfortunate, and I am sure the Vice President will feel it unfortunate, that he should be left to answer Questions in this House, and indicate the policy of the Government in respect of a Body over which he has practically no control. I think there ought to be in this House in respect of the Charity Commission, as in respect of every administrative body supported by public funds, some official charged, not only with the duty of answering for the Department, but with the duty of controlling it. I hope, therefore, that this suggestion of the Committee will be acted upon at an early day. I have now gone briefly through the four heads of the Summary attached to the Report of the Select Committee, in which I took a special interest. I think that what is required from the Charity Commissioners and the Endowed Schools Commissioners is, that they should be in greater and closer touch with the localities; that they should have a larger comprehension of the wants of the localities; that they should be more willing to carry out those wants; and that there should be, more or less, discentralization. I admit that in the Charity Commission, and especially in the Endowed Schools Commission, we have an able body of Commissioners saturated with knowledge of the duties they have to perform, but what is required is a little more of the breeze of healthy popular sentiment through their rooms in Whitehall. I presume that we are to have a Bill on this subject presented by Her Majesty's Government next Session. I think it would be a great mistake if the Government any longer delayed dealing with the matter, and I shall be prepared to support Her Majesty's Government in bringing in a measure framed on the lines of the Report of the Select Committee. I hope to have some assurance from the Vice President that, pending the introduction of the Bill, the action of the Charity Commissioners will be in strict harmony with the recommendations contained in the Summary which has been formulated by the Select Committee. In conclusion, I will ask the questions which I have already indicated—namely, whether the Vice President can give the Committee any particulars in respect of what we get for the large sum of money we are asked to vote; also, whether he can assure us that in any Bill to be introduced this Summary will form the skeleton; and, further, that the Commissioners will be guided in the policy they are to adopt by this Summary?

MR. COZENS-HARDY (Norfolk, N.): The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings), in moving the Amendment, condemned the present policy of the Charity Commissioners, and based his Amendment upon the impropriety of their conduct in diverting endowments from the poor to the rich. He illustrated his position mainly by the Scarning case. I think it is unfortunate that my hon. Friend did not deal with this point—what is the present policy of the Commissioners? The cases referred to were cases which arose long before the Select Committee was appointed. The Sutton Coldfield case, the Scarning case, and others, have been dealt with and disposed of long before this Committee was appointed. Then I would submit that the real questions are—what is the present policy of the Commission; to what extent are they prepared to adopt the views of the Select Committee; and to what extent have they departed from the old lines which they followed in the Scarning case? If what was done in the Scarning case represents the present policy of the Commission, I must vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham; because there the rights of the poor were seriously interfered with, and gratuitous elementary education, which had been enjoyed in the parish for over 100 years, was, at the sole will and pleasure of the Commission, destroyed. Now, the Select Committee have made recommendations which I venture to say, if carried out, will render it impossible for the Commissioners ever again to make schemes like the Scarning scheme. The 5th paragraph in the Summary attached to the Report of the Committee is as follows:—

> "The abolition of gratuitous education in elementary endowed schools is generally opposed to the wishes of the poorer classes in the localities. It is only justifiable when the imposition of fees gives a higher and more useful kind of education to the working classes than they formerly enjoyed, and after provision made for the payment of the school fees of children whose parents stand specially in need of such assistance."

I hope the Vice President will be able to inform the Committee that the Charity Commissioners, in their future administration will, in framing schemes, be guided in the main by the recommendations of the Select Committee upstairs; and if they do that, I think the objections of the hon. Member (Mr. Jesse Collings) will, to a great extent, be removed. There was another point upon which the hon. Member relied, and it is one in which I agree with him—namely, that the Commissioners have taken away endowments intended for the poor, and applied them mainly to scholarships and exhibitions which are gained, to a great extent, by the rich. I think the evidence shows that at least in the country districts; that is the fact. But there, again, there is a recommendation, and I desire to know whether the Charity Commissioners, in their future administration, will take that recommendation into consideration? I refer to the 4th paragraph in the Summary, which says—

> "The policy of the Commissioners has been to establish scholarships in elementary schools, and exhibitions from them to schools of secondary education. On the whole these have worked well in large towns, but they are less adapted to the circumstances of a scattered rural population, and in any case scrupulous care should be taken where endowments have been appropriated to the poor, that the para-

mount interests of the poor should be secured in the application of scholarships or exhibitions provided out of the trust funds."

I do not think that the Charity Commissioners, in the past, have quite done their duty in this matter; I think that inquiry has shown that; but if the Commissioners will carry out the recommendations of the Committee in future, I think the objections of the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham will be removed. There is one other matter which goes almost to the heart of the question. The Committee, in the 9th paragraph of the Summary, recommend that—

> "The provisions of the Acts which require 'due regard' to be had to the educational interests of persons or classes prejudicially affected by a scheme have been narrowed by judicial interpretation and ought to be strengthened."

I am one of those who think—and it was the opinion of the Committee in the recommendation they made—that it is most desirable that non-educational charities should be applied hereafter to a much larger extent than heretofore to educational purposes, and that the powers of the Charity Commissioners in that direction should be increased, rather than diminished. In order to attain that end it is necessary to secure the co-operation of the localities. We cannot obtain the result, unless we satisfy the localities that when we are taking away a non-educational endowment and applying it to educational purposes, it will continue to be applied for the benefit of the class of persons for whom it was originally intended. I trust that these recommendations will be considered by the Committee of Privy Council; and I wish to know whether, in their future administration, the Commissioners will have a greater "due regard" to the interests of persons prejudicially affected by their schemes than according to the decision of the Privy Council they are now bound to have? If the Commissioners will proceed upon the lines I have indicated, the undoubted good work which they have been doing in all parts of the country will be made far more easy, and will be more thoroughly appreciated, and still greater benefits will be conferred upon the country. So much for the particular recommendations of the Committee, which can be carried into effect simply by a change of the policy of the Commissioners without any alteration of the law. I would like to ask the Vice President if the Government propose to take any steps to introduce the necessary legislation for giving effect to some portions of the Report? There are several of the recommendations of the Committee which cannot, in any way, be dealt with without fresh legislation, and I shall be glad to know whether the Government propose to take the necessary steps for that object? There is one other matter arising out of this Vote which was discussed at great length by the Committee, and upon which I should like to ask a question. I refer to the case of the Norwich Charities. Those charities afford an illustration not very favourable to the conduct and work of the Commission. It is a case in which the Commissioners, sitting in Whitehall, have attempted to force upon a large organized community a scheme which to them seems good, but which is opposed by every representative body in the City of Norwich. It is unanimously opposed by the Town Council, by the School Board, and the Board of Guardians, and I think I am right in saying there is not a single individual in the City of Norwich who is in favour of it. It is a strange thing that any Public Department should attempt to force such a scheme upon a community like that of the City of Norwich. The scheme has not yet been sanctioned, I believe, by the Vice President, or the Lord President of the Council; and I would ask the Vice President, whether he has come to any decision on the scheme, and whether he is prepared to inform the Committee what action he intends to take?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): I have an open mind.

MR. COZENS-HARDY: The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President says that he has an open mind. I hope the time will soon come when he will be able to announce a decision upon the matter. The delay which has attended this scheme has prevented the due application of these important charity funds in connection with the City of Norwich for the last five or six years. One of the most important endowments in the country has remained idle for so long a time, and nothing has yet been done. If the Charity Commission and the Vice President cannot see their way to assent to the particular proposals supported by all the representative bodies of Norwich, I trust that they will at least take steps to see that the large charity funds which are available, and which are now lying idle, may be applied under some large and generous scheme for the benefit of the whole of that important manufacturing community. The sooner the matter can be approached and finally disposed of, the better it will be for everybody in that city, and one great hindrance to the work of the Charity Commission, in the Eastern Counties, will be removed. I trust that the Vice President of the Council will be able to give the Committee some satisfactory assurance upon the subject.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I must express my sympathy with the view taken by my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) with reference to the action of the Charity Commissioners. It does appear to me that the Commissioners have diverted the benefit of many of these charitable trusts from the lower to the upper classes. My hon. Friend is quite right in asserting that whatever may have been the motives for the action of the Commissioners, that has been its practical effect. It has always seemed to me that under the guise of free and open competition, the practical effect has been to lift these endowments upward, and those who had pecuniary means to enable them to educate their children have been able to bring them up to a still higher mark by the appropriation of these funds. I do not say that no poor boys get the benefit of these endowments; but the poor are always heavily weighted in comparison with those who have money, in their endeavour to keep their children up to the mark. I rose, however, to say a few words on the question of free education. It seems to me that authority has been violently prejudiced against free education, as in itself an evil. Undoubtedly the Department has been for many years hostile to it. I hope that view will now be a great deal modified. In America, as we know, the principle is that all preliminary education must, and shall be, free, and it is free; and in this respect I think the Commissioners have acted wrongly. No doubt they have some justification in the fact that the Act of Parliament, if it does not actually induce them to go wrong, enables them to do so. Public opinion, however, has very much come round in this matter, and it is a pity that Her Majesty's Government have not come round with it. There was a scheme rejected in the House of Lords not very long ago—a scheme in which the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham was interested, and more recently there was a scheme, the rejection of which he was fortunate enough to obtain, with the consent of the Government, in opposition to the Endowed School Commissioners — the ground of its rejection was, that it was hampered with a provision for free education. I must express my acknowledgment to the Government for having met the justice of the case in that respect. It appears to me, as a matter of principle, that my constituents are very much indebted to Her Majesty's Government for having consented to do justice in the matter. An important matter of principle has thereby been established, and it is as well that the Committee should know what has been done in order that other Members interested in similar schemes may have an opportunity of doing likewise. We hope to have the assistance of Her Majesty's Government in any case of injustice. What happened in the case was this. When the Scotch Act was passed, public opinion was in favour——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I think it is rather an abuse of discussion to go into that subject now. The Scotch Vote is not under discussion.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I will only say that in the Scotch case, Her Majesty's Government did consent to the rejection of the scheme. I think it was in one respect an objectionable scheme, because it tampered with the principle that funds should not be taken which have been provided for the purpose of free education, though good in other respects. Reserving any detailed remarks on the subject until a more fitting occasion, I hope I may be allowed to express my very great sympathy with my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham, in regard to this matter of free education; my great gratification that Her Majesty's Government have become cognizant of the turn of public opinion in the matter, and that they have shown a disposition to make concessions. I am further gratified to find that they are displaying a desire to induce the House to check the Charity Commissioners when they go wrong. I hope that the Charity Commissioners themselves will take warning, and if they do not, it will be for this House to set them right in the future, as they have done already.

Mr. STORY-MASKELYNE (Wilts, Cricklade): I join in the sympathy which has been expressed by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) and my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham. But Acts of Parliament are not founded solely on sympathy, and when we enter into the question of the proceedings and recommendations of the Committee which was appointed by this House I am bound to join in the general chorus which comes from Members of the Committee on both sides of the House, that my hon. Friend did not entirely make out his case. But because he did not make out the whole of his case it does not follow that there was not a great deal in the case itself. If he did not establish his charges in the most complete manner, at any rate he established many of his points upon the subject. Everyone will allow that the Report of the Committee is a valuable document. We have heard it said by several members that the Commissioners are to be blamed for not having earlier floated down the sympathetic stream of feeling that has of late passed through the country in regard to the question of free education, and so on. I must remind the Committee that the Commissioners have not to act altogether on sentiment, but that they have to act according to an Act of Parliament. I believe the Commissioners act entirely within the Act of Parliament, and that as far as they could conscientiously do so, they have done their best to interpret the Act in the direction of the more modern sentiments on the questions they have to deal with. Therefore, I do not think that blame is to be attached to the Commissioners, and I am sorry that a debate of this kind should be raised on the question of voting money for the Commissioners' salaries. I consider that that that is an altogether false and unwise system of bringing on such a discussion. A Committee of this House on a question of Supply has to do, or ought to have to do, with questions of economy and not with general questions of great national policy. Unfortunately, we are driven to take this course in bringing the matter forward; but, as far as I am concerned, I shall go as little into details and shall make my observations as general as I can. My hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham has not, as I have already stated, made out his whole case, but he did certainly make out a case sufficient to attract the attention of this House. That case is not that the poor have exactly been robbed, but that certain endowments originally intended for the whole population have been, to an undue extent, appropriated by a class which cannot be described as the poorer class. I have used the word "robbed" because that was the phrase that has been used by other hon. Members. I know that it is a very hard phrase, but it has been used not only in the localities, but in this House, and I venture to say that strong words are sometimes necessary in order to bring a question properly before the House and the country, so that when it comes to be considered by the House and the country it may be dealt with in conformity with its importance. Nevertheless, as far as robbery goes, I think the word is an exaggerated one. When I was sitting on the other side of the House, some few years ago, a discussion took place with regard to the Charter House, and I remember pointing out that that Charter House Charity had been founded for the poor alone. It has since, and that long ago, early in the history of England, become entirely diverted, and is now applied to the assistance of persons who have suffered in trade and who belong to quite another class. I only mention that case to show how early this diversion began, and it has been going on ever since. There are very strong reasons why at a moment when there is a democratic turn of power in the country these things should be at once grappled with not rashly but wisely. I hope the Committee upstairs may have succeeded in grappling with it. Whether or not they have grappled with it wisely I am unable to say; but I know they have endeavoured to do so systematically.

My hon. Friend the Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) drew a distinction between the Charity Commissioners and the Commissioners for Education. They are practically the same persons, and as time progresses the idea that general charitable funds or endowments left for the poor, and those which are left for educational purposes, should be classed together, is coming to be entertained. I am quite aware that there is a great number of endowments all over the country which have nothing to do with education, but which are practically mischievous and useless in the form in which they are utilized now. I believe that such endowments ought to be devoted almost entirely to educational purposes. I hope that that day will soon arrive, and that when it arrives the sooner the separation of the two classes of endowments is done away with the better. As to gratuitous education, I do not think there are many who would not be glad to see education supplied gratuitously to the poor all over the country. The more I have had to do with agricultural life in England, and the more I see of the working of the school fee system, the more I am convinced that the fees are a heavy tax on the poor working man, and that doing away with them would be one of the greatest boons which Parliament could confer on him. I therefore sympathize with that part of the remarks of my hon. Friend; but if you are going to spend these endowments in giving gratuitous education throughout the country I feel bound to ask what you mean by that. Do you mean that as long as a system of free education does not exist you should pay the school fees of the children, or do you mean beyond that to relieve the rates of what is now a duty incumbent upon the ratepayer? What I repeat again is that, as far as the payment of school fees is concerned, in desiring the emancipation of the poor man from the payment of these fees, my hon. Friend has certainly many Members of the Committee with him. On the other hand, if you seek to divert generally the endowments of this country from that channel into which, by the instructions of Parliament, the Commissioners have turned them, and if you propose to divert them and to prevent the Commissioners from planting the ladder of learning for the poor child to climb up step by step to the attainment of higher education, by means of scholarships and exhibitions—if that is what you mean, I think there are many Members who will be strongly against the proposal of my hon. Friend, because, as it seems to me, the one hope for the education of the poor of this country is to lift the able boy from the plough or the workshop up to the University if you like, or to give him, what would, perhaps, be better for him, a good middle class education, to the importance of which the public mind is becoming more and more alive every day, and which is the greatest necessity of our time. I have no wish to detain the Committee further. I rose, on the one hand, to defend the Commissioners from the charge of not acting within the lines laid down for them by Parliament, and on the other to point out what, I think, their actions should be in future. I know that the Select Committee paid great attention to the subject, and I think the Government should frame a Bill upon the lines of the Report of the Select Committee, or should give such instructions to the Commissioners as would enable them to shape their steps in accordance with the Resolutions of the Select Committee.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR (Leeds, S.): Although I was Chairman of the Committee to which much reference has been made, I promise not to defend its action or to go into a general discussion upon the subject of free education, which would certainly take this House all day to consider, and for which this is not a convenient occasion. The question more immediately before the Committee is whether a reduction should be made in the salaries of the Commissioners on account of any evil they have done, or any wrong they may have inflicted on any class of the community in the administration of the Act of Parliament. Now, the Select Committee were exceedingly struck, and the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham who moved the Amendment was himself struck, by the very great ability and knowledge of the subjects they have in hand which the Commissioners and the Assistant Commissioners showed in the evidence that was laid before the Committee. The Commissioners had to administer a certain Act of Parliament, some modifications of which the Committee suggested; but within the Act of Parliament the Commissioners have shown themselves to be thoroughly in touch with public opinion, and they have modified their action, as they have proceeded, in accordance with that touch with public opinion. At one time there was a considerable disposition to carry out the old endowments in the form of grammar schools. Probably, that was in accordance with the original foundation which contemplated grammar schools in which foreign and classical languages—such as Latin and Greek—should be taught. There is no doubt that the country and the Commissioners had a leaning to that old system of classical education; but as they have come more and more in touch with the people the Commissioners have shown a greater desire to make the schools more popular, and latterly they have made the schools more fitted for giving a commercial and technical education. I think they have acted wisely in considering that the endowed schools of the country should not be competitors with the elementary schools, but that they should be improvement schools, in which various classes of the people can get a higher education than they can get in the elementary schools. I think that I am properly interpretating the general feeling of the House, that it is only right and proper that these endowed schools should be made higher schools for improvement. Of course, it may be a question whether the Commissioners have rightly interpreted the words *libera schola.* A free school, according to the old charter, might mean one free to all comers—free from the action of the prebendary, or free from the imposition of school fees. The latter is the interpretation which the Mover of the reduced Vote accepts and argues should be adopted by the Commission. But this is not the view of legal authorities. The endowed schools, it should be remembered, were originally formed for all classes, and it is not right that the middle classes, any more than the poorer classes, should be robbed of their advantages. That is a question which was inquired into very largely by the Committee, and the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham had ample opportunity for placing his views before the Committee. I must say that the extreme views of the hon. Member did not obtain much support; but where they were moderate the Committee always endeavoured to deal with the subject in such a manner as to meet the views of all classes of people. The Commissioners were of opinion that the interests of all classes should be consulted in the way in which the endowed schools are worked, and they are progressing according as popular feeling itself is progressing in the direction of education. I therefore hope that my hon. Friend, having had an opportunity of laying his views before Parliament—views which he has long entertained—will not allow the Commissioners to suffer, because I am sure he will admit that, although his policy in regard to the action of the Commissioners differs from theirs, the Commissioners themselves continue to discharge to the best of their ability, within the Act of Parliament, the duties which have been entrusted to them.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University): I must say that while I admit the great importance of the subjects raised by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham, I think it is somewhat unsatisfactory that they should be discussed in this way. I am not blaming the hon. Member for having taken this course, because I am perfectly aware of the exceptional circumstances of the present year. At the same time, I cannot see how the points which have been raised by the hon. Member can be adequately discussed upon a Motion for reducing the salaries of the Commissioners. A Motion of that kind can scarcely raise all questions relating to the administration of the Commission.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I have been obliged to take the Vote as it stands.

MR. J. G. TALBOT: No doubt, that is so; but this is a very great, a very wide, and a most important subject, and it is almost impossible to deal with it to the satisfaction of the House in a desultory conversation upon a Vote in Supply. I am myself fully impressed with the gravity and importance of the matter; but the chief object with which I rose was to recall the attention of the House to what may be called the historical view of the question. So far, the Committee has only gone into the question of the endowed schools; but it must be recollected that another important Committee sat upon the question of charitable trusts, and went fully into the entire question of the action of the Charity Commissioners in regard to this matter. That Committee came to a general conclusion, approving, in the main, of the action of the Commissioners. I think that fact ought not to be lost sight of. To-day we have been thoroughly occupied with the endowed schools question. That endowed schools question has a long history. There was a very elaborate inquiry into the whole subject by the Schools Inquiry Commission—a Commission which embraced within it some of the most able men in the country. That Commission collected most important evidence, and laid before the country one of the most important documents in the shape of a Report ever submitted to Parliament. What was the result of that inquiry? The next step was taken in 1869, when a Committee of this House was appointed, which was presided over by one of the strongest Chairmen who ever presided over the proceedings of a Committee—namely, the late Mr. W. E. Forster—a man who was admirably suited for the position he occupied. The result of that inquiry was that the Government passed a certain Bill which afterwards became an Act of Parliament under the title of the Endowed Schools Act. As a matter of fact, two Bills were introduced, one of which became an Act, while the other has never seen the light. Great attention was devoted to this important question. I myself took strong views upon it, very much in sympathy with those which have been expressed by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham to-day, although I must admit that my views are at this time more Liberal than they then were. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!"] I know that some of my hon. Friends opposite have good reason, if they like, to laugh at me; but I think we are entitled to laugh also, because if some of us have become more Liberal than we were, it is quite evident that some of my hon. Friends opposite have now taken up extreme Tory views. I was reminding the Committee that this is a matter which has been carefully considered by Parliament; and, acting under the provisions which were contained in the Endowed Schools Act, the Endowed Schools Commission was appointed, and I venture to say that the Endowed Schools Commission contained upon it some of the ablest men the country has ever produced. No doubt, this Commission took a kind of colour from the circumstances of its appointment. It was appointed by a Liberal Administration—I mean the Government of 1869. The Commission went, I think, a great deal too far, and offended the public conscience of the country. The Commissioners were men of conscientious minds and men of great ability, but they did not sufficiently consider the public feeling; and the consequence was that, when the Conservative Government of 1874 came into power, one of the first things they did was to modify the action of the Endowed Schools Commission. Under that modified scheme of legislation, a portion of the duties of the Endowed Schools Commissioners was transferred to the Charity Commissioners. The Charity Commissioners have been discharging the duties of their office for the last 10 years; and, looking at all the circumstances of the case, the position of the country, and the progress which education has made, I hold that the Charity Commissioners have, on the whole, discharged their difficult and delicate duties to the advantage of the country. It is said that they had not consulted the wishes and the desires of the locality in regard to which schemes have been prepared; but that is an accusation which I altogether repel. I know it may be said that in regard to Norwich the Commissioners were a little at fault; and I am not prepared to claim for them perfection—*aliquando donnitat* may be said of them; but, looking at the country all round, I maintain that they have paid the greatest possible care and attention to the feeling of the community. Looking at the whole of the facts of the case, I think the Charity Commissioners have come out of the ordeal with a clean bill of health. It must be borne in mind that the Committee was composed of men who were not in the least degree prejudiced in favour of the Commissioners, and that it was a Committee in regard to which hon. Members opposite had it very much their own way. At the same time, I think it was a perfectly fair Committee, and of which nobody, I believe, complains. Yet that Committee supported the action of the Commissioners with certain suggestions and modifications. Let me now say just one word upon the "ladder" question which was raised by the right hon. Member who has just spoken. That is a question which I hope the House of Commons will never cease to bear in mind. I have no doubt that the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham knows the difficulties connected with it. I will not speak of robbing or of depriving the children of the poor of endowments which were originally intended for them. What I say is that it will be of much greater advantage to the children themselves that they should have an opportunity of rising through the abilities with which they have been endowed than that the means of paying the fees in the elementary schools—amounting to 2*d.* or 3*d.*—should be scattered around with a broadcast hand. The real way of helping the poor is to help them to rise in life. The meney should be given to the school to maintain the best scholars in the school, and then to enable them to go to higher schools. In that way the funds will be of much greater benefit to the children than they could ever be by the mere payment of the school fees. Therefore, I do think that, looking at that grave and important subject, the Commissioners have deserved well of the country. Before formulating any Resolution on the subject, I hope the hon. Gentleman opposite will consider it in the light of the evidence which the Committee have taken, and that he will not rest content with taking his own preconceived ideas. When a matter of this kind is formally and solemnly referred by the House to a Committee, the deliberations of the Committee should be carefully acknowledged. If the hon. Member thinks it right to raise the question any further, I hope he will raise it distinctly on the Report of the Select Committee, and that he will ask the House not to approve of the recommendations of the Committee.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I intend to support the Motion of the hon. Membe for the Bordesley Division of Birmin g ham. I was under the impression tha he had fully made out his case last nigh t but some hon. Members think that he has not done so. The case he attempted to make out was that endowments intended for the poor had been given to the rich. Now, you give the Chief Commissioner a salary of £2,000 a-year. There is no other Chief Commissioner with so high a salary; and the Assistant Commissioner has £1,500 a-year; and there is no other Assistant Commissioner upon any of the Commissions with so large a salary, or with more than £1,200 a-year. There are a number of Assistant Commissioners with £1,200, with clerks and salaries paid at the highest rate. The Secretary receives £1,100; the Chief Clerk £900; and the Registrar of Accounts £900. Therefore, on the ground of economy, seeing that this Commission is more highly paid than any other Commission, I support the reduction proposed by the hon. Gentleman. I also support it on the ground that the Commissioners have not carried out these schemes fairly and equitably towards all classes of the community. I find that the trustees of the endowed schools have changed the class of people who get the benefit of the endowments originally left to the poor, such endowments under the control of the trustees being used for the rich. Consequently the trustees have abused their power. The Select Committee which has been referred to was appointed to inquire into the matter, and to modify the conditions under which these trusts had been framed; but, as far as I see, the Commissioners have gone on the lines of the trustees, and have simply aided the trustees in giving endowments to the rich that were intended for the poor. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair) said that many of these endowments were left for the middle classes, and were not intended solely for the poor. Now, I have been living for the last half-a-dozen years in Dulwich, opposite the school there. That case came up two years ago. I dare say the House is aware how the old actor—Edward Alleyne—left money for the erection of almshouses and the education of certain poor people. What have you got now by the scheme of the Commissioners, especially in regard to that portion of the endowment which was left for almshouses? That seems to have been done away with, because, under the present parochial system, almshouses are not required, and poor people can go into the poor-houses; nor is education of an elementary character required, because it can be obtained from the Parochial Authorities. You have, however, a splendid middle class school, which simply means that the money has been taken from one purpose—and the purpose for which it was originally intended—in order to be applied to another. In this case you have exhibitions and scholarships—scholarships up to £100 a-year, and the whole of them open to the children of persons of wealth, who, by the wealth of their parents, have already obtained a good preliminary education, and are then specially coached for examination at Dulwich.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.): Do the children get anything beyond education?

DR. CLARK: No; simply education.

MR. ESSLEMONT: Fees alone.

DR. CLARK: Yes; fees alone. Nothing else. There is no maintenance of any kind at Dulwich; and under the old condition of things, before it was changed, the fees ran from £10 to £20. The result of the scheme passed by this House has been to increase the fees from £20 to £30 a-year. No doubt the Commissioners have made some reform. The head master, who formerly got £6,000 a-year, now only gets £1,200. Other masters have been pensioned off; and some other improvements have been made in the salaries of the old masters. The minimum fee now is about £20 at Dulwich. I frankly admit that in many cases money is not required, because you can now obtain, by applying to the Guardians of the Poor, assistance either in the shape of indoor or outdoor relief; and the Guardians are obliged to provide destitute children with education. The only question, then, is, what is to be done with the money? Have the Commissioners fairly applied it for the benefit of all classes? Have they applied it for the benefit of poor children? I do not think they have; and, because they have not, I shall support the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham. What ought to be done with the money? Of course, I maintain that as it was left principally for the poor it ought to be used for the benefit of the poor, and the poor only. If any change is to be made, let the money be applied to the benefit of all classes. I do not see why you should take one or two boys, and give to one or two families what would add to the comfort of a very large number of families. Probably the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. G. Talbot) considers that the payment of 2*d.* or 3*d.* a-week by a poor man for the education of a child is a very small matter; but when a labouring man has 10 or 12 children for whom he is required to pay 2*d.* or 3*d.* each it is a very important matter.

MR. J. G. TALBOT: I did not say that. I said that the payment of fees was of comparatively small benefit to the children, as compared to the possibility of advancement which the Commissioners' schemes hold out.

DR. CLARK: I think that whatever benefit there is in free education, so far as the people are concerned, it ought to be distributed, as far as possible, so as to increase their comfort. I would even distribute it, if necessary, in the shape of food, because I know that unless you have a distinct physical basis to commence with you cannot develop the intellect of a child. I think there are very few cases in which the right hon. Member for Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair) would be able to substantiate his assertion that the money has been left for general purposes, and for the benefit of all classes. What I maintain is that if it has been left for the poor it should be used for the poor, and the poor only. In agricultural districts it might be used for the purpose of giving agricultural education, and in towns for giving technical education. We are far beneath France, Germany, and other Continental nations in this respect, and unless we do something in that direction we shall be cut out of all the markets of the world. All the Commissioners have hitherto done has been to cheapen middle class education. I admit that that is a great boon to middle class people; and the Commissioners have done a great deal in the direction of developing middle class education—such as the establishment of high schools for girls. But my contention is that something ought to be done for the poor; and something would have been done for them if it had not been for the Commissioners coming in and interfering by providing education for middle class persons out of the funds left for the children of the poor. That is our charge against the Charity Commissioners — namely, that they have aided and abetted the old trustees in depriving the poor of their share of the endowments; and they have simply made middle class education cheaper for the middle classes, who do not require it, and who are able to pay for education, and would undoubtedly receive it if necessary. If this money is to be taken away from the poor, then I say it ought to be used for technical education, agricultural and otherwise, and not purely and simply for the middle classes, in order that their children may be sent to the Universities.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston): I listened with much interest to the remarks of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) in reference to Dulwich School, and the course which is pursued there in reference to education. The actual cost of a high-class education such as is given at Dulwich College, taking the expenses all round, comes to £18 or £20 a-year, and that cost is about the same in the endowed school of Edward VI. at Birmingham. Now, I am of opinion that this charge should be made at Dulwich College, in order that the people who receive the education should pay the actual cost of it. I think that is a fair and right principle, and I should like to see it extended to all the schools, so that those who receive the education should pay the actual expenditure incurred in imparting it. It is, however, most desirable that money obtained in that way should be expended for the benefit of the poor, who have been unjustly deprived of the advantages which they ought to derive from these endowments. The tendency of the Endowed School Commissioners has undoubtedly been to take away the rights of the poor, and to give them to classes for which they were not intended, or, at any rate, only partially intended. I think these schools should be thoroughly revolutionized in that respect, in order that the poor may enter into their inheritance —an inheritance to which they are justly entitled. With that view a system of exhibitions has been established; but to a great extent the poor man is unable to avail himself of them, because he would be obliged to keep his child at school, when the child ought to be going out into the world to earn something to contribute to the support of the family. Therefore, I think that the exhibitions ought to give a poor child not only a free education, but also sufficient money to maintain and assist him during the time he is receiving such education. I hold that in that way we might very widely extend the advantages of these exhibitions, and utilize them for the benefit of the poor, enabling the children of the poor to get that higher education to which they are undoubtedly entitled. In order that this may be done there should be a limit to the recipients of the exhibitions. The plan adopted in Birmingham is a plan which I think may be wisely followed in other places. The exhibitions should be limited to children who have been educated in the public elementary schools. With respect to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham, I agree with it on general grounds, although I must say I do not concur in the hon. Member's wholesale condemnation of the Charity Commissioners.

Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: I did not condemn them wholesale.

Sir WALTER FOSTER: I am glad to hear it. I think that the Charity Commissioners have very much improved in their policy during the last year or two. I believe that my hon. Friend has had a good deal to do with that improvement. He has helped them by the pressure he has brought to bear upon them from outside, and the effect of that pressure has been a great improvement, especially in reference to those charities which have come under the Act of 1882. The Charity Commissioners are now carrying those schemes out in a better spirit, and they are also adopting the principle contained in the Resolution passed in the last Parliament by the hon. Baronet the Member for Lichfield (Sir John Swinburne) and myself, which gives the control of the charities to the inhabitants of the place where the charity is situated. I think that that is a proper principle, and that it ought to be widely extended. I hope that the Charity Commissioners, in framing the schemes, will be as broad and liberal as they can, in order that the inhabitants of the locality may have the power of regulating the distribution of the charity. I may also refer to the fact that last year a Return was granted to me by the House which I hope will be in the hands of hon. Members in the course of a day or two. It shows how the Charity Commissioners had prepared schemes up to the last 12 months in relation to the Act of 1882, so far as allotments have been concerned. There have been three or four instances in which the Charity Commissioners have failed in their duty to enforce the Act of 1882 in regard to new schemes. I trust that some steps will be taken to remedy the omissions and let the land come in. I hope the Charity Commissioners will insist upon the adoption of that plan when it can be done without detriment to the charity, and that they will bring all land connected with charitable endowments under the control of the Act of 1882. I have been obliged to say these things in defence, more or less, of the policy of the Charity Commissioners during the last 12 months. The Motion of my hon. Friend is one which will probably bear good fruit, because a discussion like this is likely to produce a good effect upon gentlemen who have to discharge public duties. I trust it will have the effect of inducing the Charity Commissioners to discharge the duties they have undertaken in the most liberal spirit.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): I should be the last man in the House to attempt for one moment to complain of this question having been raised or a discussion having taken place upon it. Still less am I disposed to complain of the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham, because I have long known my hon. Friend's particular views in regard to this question; and, at least, he has as much right to entertain those opinions as any Member of this House has to entertain his. I have been appealed to a good deal in the course of the present discussion, and I have been asked what is the exact position I hold in regard to this Commission? As many here know, it is difficult to define precisely what free education is, and some of the Members of the Committee were somewhat bewildered by the evidence given before the Committee. But if that was a matter of puzzle to them, I am also bound to admit that I am in a position of considerable bewilderment in regard to my exact position with reference to the Commission. I admit that my position is very incongruous—that is to say, that I am supposed to be a member of a Board which proposes schemes and formulates them; but I do not act upon that Board. I am not responsible for its acts, and yet outside the Commission I am asked to decide, in a judicial capacity, whether these schemes should pass or not. That is an anomalous position, which has certainly struck previous Vice Presidents. The present Lord Harrowby, when Vice President, was certainly struck by it; and I hope before long to be able to get some hon. Member of sufficient standing in the House to take up the position and make himself competent to defend the policy of the Commissioners in regard to these schemes. I now come to the points which have been raised by my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham. So far as the question of free education is concerned in its broadest sense, I hope the Committee will not expect me to go into it in any way way whatever. It is a question of serious moment in regard to the educational future of the country, and it has been for many months past discussed, and a vast amount of evidence has been given with regard to it before the Committee now sitting. But my hon. Friend has raised the question of free education in another sense, and upon that view I wish to offer a few remarks. My hon. Friend says that, as a rule, the Commissioners disregard the interests of the poor as regards free education—that is to say, that the poor have, up to a certain date, received free education, and that the schemes are formulated in such a manner by the Commissioners that they lose all benefit of free education. The point urged by the hon. Member raises a great question of public policy; and although many of us have, with the hon. Member, sympathy as regards the interest of the poorer classes, it has been urged over and over again that the endowments were intended for the benefit of all classes who chose to take advantage of the schools. The general question, I submit, cannot be conveniently raised upon the present Vote, inasmuch as it involves a great question of public policy. I believe that this question must be dealt with on what is known as the ladder system, which has been most favourably regarded by some of the highest educational authorities of the day. It seems to me that there is a great difference between the change of policy indicated here and the acceptance of a policy which would altogether destroy the system by which the poor may raise themselves in the educational scale. My reply to the challenge which my hon. Friend has thrown out is that I am prepared in this matter to act within the four corners of the Report of the Select Committee on which I had the honour of sitting. The Committee do not advocate the destruction of the ladder system; but they indicate that exceptional care should be taken with regard to the education of the poor. Then they say that provision ought in each case to be made for safeguarding the conditions affecting scholarships and exhibitions, with the view of protecting the interests of the children who attend elementary schools. One more recommendation is that in cases where a higher form of education is given than that which was formerly enjoyed, the scheme should provide for the payment of school fees in the case of school children whose parents are in need of such assistance. I regard that as an important point, and, so far as the Commissioners are concerned, I say that they are aware that there has been a considerable change of public opinion with regard to this matter, and that in the future framing of schemes they will do so, having regard to that change of public opinion. That is my reply to the charge that has been made, and I hope it will be considered adequate when I tell the Committee that these schemes have to come before the Committee of Council for ratification; and I may add also that I shall have regard to the recommendations made in the Report to which I have already subscribed my name. My hon. Friend has alluded to one or two cases in which he considers that great hardship has been inflicted on the poor; but, although I join in some of the observations made by hon. Members in this discussion, I may say, speaking particularly, that I do not think the cases brought before the Committee by my hon. Friend were quite sustained by the evidence. My hon. Friend has taken the case of Sutton Coldfield. That case has been thoroughly gone into by the Commissioners; the evidence was thoroughly sifted, and one statement made by a Member of the Charity Commission before the Committee of the House of Commons was that the scheme would work out in this way—that £700 of the income would be applied to certain charitable purposes mentioned in Clause 2, £1,400 a-year would go for the maintenance of elementary schools, and the remainder of the income would be applied to the purposes of higher education, the two sums of £700 and £1,400 making together just three-fourths of the whole amount of income. That I think is an absolute reply to the hon. Member's statement with regard to the endowments being diverted from the poor. My hon. Friend has raised other questions; but, considering the length of the present discussion and the state of Public Business, I think I ought not to detain the Committee by going into them in detail. The Report takes a broad and liberal view of this question, and not only with regard to endowments; but with regard to other matters of importance it indicates a certain widening in a popular sense of the policy of the Commissioners. I have been asked how many schemes the Commissioners have dealt with in the course of the year. I have not the Report with me; but if the hon. Member will put this in the form of a Question, I shall be glad to give a careful reply to his inquiry. An hon. Member has especially mentioned one point with regard to the action of the Commissioners, which is that the persons locally interested in the schemes have not been sufficiently consulted. That is a very difficult question to deal with. It seems to me most desirable that public opinion in these cases should be sifted, and I am theoretically inclined to support any suggestion in that direction; but I do think it may be said on behalf of the Commissioners that some of the difficulty arises from those interested not moving soon enough with regard to these matters; and I know that in some cases, unhappily, serious objections have been raised after the schemes have been passed. My hon. Friend has alluded to the scheme of the Commissioners with regard to Norwich. I shall, of course, always be glad to listen to the objections which he may make with regard to this scheme; but I must say, as far as I am concerned, no positive action has been taken in the matter. My view is that we must consider the opinion strongly expressed in the locality if we wish the schemes to benefit the locality and work successfully. I can assure the Committee that, so far as I am concerned, earnest consideration shall be given to this discussion, which has been useful to me, and will, I believe, prove useful in the future to the Commissioners. I have been pressed on the subject of possible legislation in regard to the Report. I have not had an opportunity of consulting all my Colleagues; but I can promise with regard to the future that if I find it is possible to carry through a short measure relating to the questions which have been before the Committee to-day or mentioned in the Report, I shall give the subject my most serious attention. I do not at the moment like to give the Committee any positive pledge. I will, therefore, only say that I am aware it is the desire of hon. Members that there should be some legislation of the kind indicated, and upon that point I will take an opportunity of consulting my Colleagues. I should like to press my hon. Friend not to divide the Committee on his Amendment. We have had a serious discussion, and I do not think that my hon. Friend or other hon. Members who have raised objections will be able to urge that I have met those objections in an unfair or illiberal spirit. I venture to ask my hon. Friend not to press this Motion to a Division for that reason, and also because in our Report we acknowledge that the Charity Commissioners, to the best of their ability, have carried out the difficult provisions of the Act.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): Perhaps the Committee will pardon me if I touch for a minute or two on what the right hon. Gentleman has justly termed a subject of the greatest importance. Before doing so, however, I wish to remove the idea that I have brought forward this question by way of censure on the Charity Commissioners. I have stated elsewhere, with great pleasure, that the present Commissioners, or especially the two Commissioners with whom I have come most in contact, are all that one can wish as Commissioners. The Chief Commissioner is a man of the greatest courtesy and ability; but I repeat that it is not at all my object to raise anything like a sweeping censure on the Charity Commissioners. The work which they do is of a valuable character, and the reason I raise the question in this form is because, as far as I know, there is no other way of having immediate discussion, which is essential, because there are schemes pending which embody the principle of which I complain. It has been said that the Commissioners are constrained by Act of Parliament; but I maintain that neither of the questions which I have raised is beyond their powers—that they are not bound by Act of Parliament in either of the particulars. I wish also to say, with regard to the remark of a right hon. Gentleman, that it is my object in no way that the Commissioners should act in relief of the rates; but as to the fact stated, that the scholarships and exhibitions compensate for the loss of elementary education, I refer the Committee to the evidence given before the Committee by Canon Evans and Dr. Jessop. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Cozens-Hardy), referring to the case of Scarning, said that if the policy pursued in that case were to be persevered in by the Commissioners, he would follow me into the Lobby. In reply to my hon. Friend, the case of Sutton Coldfield is exactly on all-fours with that of Scarning; it raised the same general opposition; it inflicts the same privations, and is, if anything, more aggravating to those interested. My hon. Friend has spoken of the recommendations which have been made by the Committee as being sufficient; but I want to point out that they are not at all sufficient to meet my case. One of the Motions made in the Committee was—"That the new parishes which now enjoy free education ought not to be deprived of that peculiar advantage," and it seems to me that anything contained in the recommendations of the Report will fall far short of those requirements. Then, as to the alienation of endowments, the fourth recommendation was altogether misleading and insufficient, and that remark holds good of many of the recommendations of the Committee. I wish, for a minute or two, to bring back the Committee to my two points, which it has been sought in an admirable manner to explain away, but in a manner that has entirely failed to do so. My case is that in the present scheme, and in future schemes, where free education has been enjoyed by prescriptive right for generations and, perhaps, centuries, the Commissioners shall not interfere to take away that free education; or, if they are compelled to interfere by reason of the education being of an inferior character, that they shall use the endowment for paying the school fees of the children who have hitherto had the right to free education. I am aware that the Committee in their recommendations refer to that; they say that this education shall not be taken away without providing for those who cannot pay the fees. But that will not do at all. The point is that the whole of the children shall continue to have education in free schools, or by payment for them of the fees in the elementary schools to which they are sent. The hon. Member for Oxford University (Mr. J. G. Talbot) spoke of the advantages of the scholarships which are given to the children in some of the schools, which, in other words, means that the seven scholarships enjoyed are of great use to seven persons; but, allow me to explain, those scholarships are quite as good when applied to all the children in the school as to seven. The right hon. Gentleman, I am sorry to say, has given us nothing whatever. It is true that he says that all the middle class has been considered as well as the poorer class; but allow me to remind the Committee that under Section 30 the Endowed Schools Act enumerates the purposes for which this money was left which is now being taken away for high schools, middle and upper schools, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman if any of that money can possibly belong to any but the poorer class—it enumerates doles in money and kind, which surely was not intended for the upper classes; marriage portions to poor girls, apprenticeships, and so on, matters with which the upper classes have no concern. Now, these are the endowments which the Charity Commissioners confiscated in order to make high schools, middle and upper schools, and the contention seems to be altogether wrong and untenable that those endowments can belong in any shape or form to any but the poorer class. It is a fact that in the 30th clause of the Act the Charity Commissioners are told that in any scheme which they may formulate, the educational interests of all the persons of the same class of life within the same area shall be considered. I have listened to the justification which the right hon. Gentleman has quoted from the mouth of one of the Commissioners, and I am sorry to think that he should use such an argument. The contention is that, by some wonderful process of arithmetic, when you have taken away £32,000 from the poor they are better off than when they had the whole benefit of the money. The only way in which this has been attempted to be defended is that the increment of interest would be sufficient to cover the amount taken away. That, I say, is a very poor reason, because not only the capital but the interest belonged to one and the same class. The fact remains that the poor people of Sutton Coldfield will have £32,000 taken away from them, and instead of getting their education free they will have to pay school fees which will increase in order to make up the deficiency which will result from taking enormous sums from endowments in order to make schools for the wealthier class. Therefore, I say that my two points are not within the Act of Parliament in the sense that the Charity Commissioners are constrained from dealing with them, and it is upon those two points that we shall have to vote; that is to say—first, whether the free education which exists in a certain locality as a privilege of the poor shall be taken away by the scheme of the Charity Commissioners; and, secondly, whether the doles for medical assistance, and other similar endowments which the poor enjoy, shall be taken away from them in order to create high schools for the middle and upper classes. I cheerfully acknowledge the action the Commissioners have taken in some cases, and especially that of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President, who was most anxious to put pressure on the trustees to make them do their duty, a pressure that was never exercised by anyone previously; but appeals, I am sorry to say, have before been treated with indifference, so that I feel it my duty to call on the Committee to divide upon my Amendment.

Mr. E. HARDCASTLE (Salford, N.): As it is my intention to vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr.

Jesse Collings) I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my reasons for so doing. A great deal has been said upon the ladder system. Now, to the arguments founded upon that I venture to take exception. I want to know how many persons are able to climb that ladder, and I want to know why the mediocrity should be given all these privileges? I have no desire to reduce the salaries of the Commissioners; but to vote on the Amendment before the Committee is the only way in which we can bring before the House and the country what I conceive to be conduct prejudicial to the real interests of the poorer class. I have no objection to amending the system of educational endowments; that is no doubt reasonable, and in accordance with modern ideas; but I have the very strongest objection to the removal of endowments originally intended for charitable purposes to the purposes of education. There was an allusion made by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) to the almshouse portion of the endowments, and the hon. Member made use of an expression which I may say shocked me. He said that almshouses were not required in these days, because the poor and aged could go into the workhouse. Now, when we remember the great efforts made by the poor to keep out of the workhouses, I think that argument is one which ought not to be used. I say that the respectable poor have a right to all these endowments as their share of the property of the country, and if by any exceptional wave of public feeling they are diverted from the original intention, an absolute hardship is imposed on this class. It is on that ground, and not with a view of injuring the Charity Commissioners, whose conduct, I believe, is excellent, that I shall support the Motion of the hon. Member for Bordesley.

DR. KENNY (Cork, S.): Allow me to remind the hon. Member that the endowments for education are seldom sufficient to supply gratuitous education for all the children of the parish, and where only a few children are selected the simple question is—Shall they be selected by competition, or by merit, or patronage? An hon. Member has referred to the Rochdale School. Looking back at the Report, I say that this is a very important school, that the recipients of the charity seem to be, on the whole, children of parents who might get education for them without assistance. Now, I submit that where children are selected by competition, not only is a great benefit done to those who receive the education, but also that those who fail in the competition are intellectually stimulated by the prospect of obtaining it. We have heard much to-day from the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) as to the difficulty of the children of the poor obtaining these scholarships when they are so heavily weighted in competition. I heard that remark with surprise, and, going back as far as 1882, I find that 1,145 children from elementary schools succeeded in winning scholarships. I find that in one instance, out of 35 scholarships awarded in three years, no fewer than 20 were gained by children whose parents were engaged in manual labour; among 101 endowed schools, that in no fewer than four schools every scholarship was awarded to children whose parents were in receipt of weekly wages. I look a little further into the circumstances of these persons who earned weekly wages, and I find that some of them are very poor, and that among them there is more than one instance of a widow earning her livelihood by her needle, whose child has been set upon the first step of the ladder which may lead him to reach the highest point of influence in the State; in another case, I find that the scholarship was awarded to the child of a person actually in receipt at the time of parish relief. I cannot help thinking that we should be acting with very grat inconsistency if we were to condemn the Charity Commissioners for having acted in implicit obedience, not merely to the Report of the Committee, but to the Statute.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 39; Noes 188: Majority 149.—(Div. List, No. 313.) [3.50 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I wish to call attention to the present position of the City of London Parochial Charities Commission. The City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883, which authorizes the appointment of the Commission, expires at the end of 1887, unless continued by Her Majesty with the advice of the Privy Council; but in no case is that Commission to be continued beyond 1889. Now, that Commission is of the greatest importance, not only with respect to London generally, but also with respect to the Technical Education Bill which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council has introduced. With respect to that Bill, the right hon. Gentleman indicated, and rightly, that London might very properly be put in a different category from the rest of the country. In the City of London Parochial Charities Act the very question of the provision of money for technical education is involved, and that Act also touches upon several other questions of immediate interest in the Metropolis. I think it will be of value if I point out what are the objects for which that Commission was permitted or requested to draw up its recommendations for the application of those funds. They are the promoting of the education of the poorer inhabitants of the Metropolis, whether by means of exhibitions, technical or art instruction, lectures or otherwise, the establishment and maintenance of libraries, museums, or art collections, of open spaces and recreation grounds, convalescent hospitals for the poorer classes, and generally the improvement of the social, moral, and physical condition of the poorer classes of the Metropolis. There are one or two points in which the Commissioners are requested to draw up schemes which are solving themselves by less adequate means. For example, there is a proposal on the *tapis* to establish a rate in respect of hospital accommodation — a charge which many feel falls better on these and similar funds. Again, the Free Libraries Act is being adopted in the Metropolis, and its further adoption will be assisted if we can get the schemes of this Act into operation. I asked an important Question on the 21st of September last year of the then Vice President of the Council as to when the Commissioners, appointed under the City of London Parochial Charities Act of 1883, were expected to make a Report, and whether they had considered the approximate amount of funds which would be applicable to the purposes indicated? To this the Vice President replied in effect that the Charity Commissioners expect to make a statement before the close of the year, and that until the whole of the statements were prepared the Commissioners could not estimate the amount of funds available for the respective purposes. So far as private inquiry, often unreliable I admit, can lead me to form an opinion, I believe I am not wrong in saying that the total amount of funds lies between £120,000 and £160,000; and by direction under the City of London Parochial Charities Act the Commissioners are directed to discriminate these funds into two categories. Until the very important point is reached to which my Question was directed in 1886, we cannot adequately deal with the special portion of the Technical Education Bill which is applicable to the Metropolis. I have been led to believe, roughly speaking, that about £70,000 or £80,000 out of the fund indicated comes under that portion which is to be applied to educational, hospital, and other purposes. The line of action of the Commission is first to make a Report as to the determinations in each case, with regard to religious and non-religious purposes; it has then to draw up a scheme for each charity, and that has to be published and go through various stages. This, the Committee will observe, will involve a great deal of time. The object I have in now calling attention to this subject is to expedite, if possible, the work of the Commission, which for a considerable time has been costing from £4,000 to £5,000 a-year. It commenced in 1883, and we have no knowledge of what progress has been made, or of the steps that are being taken. I should like also to urge upon the Commissioners the desirability of consulting, as far as possible, the views and needs of the different localities in the various portions of the Metropolis. There is no doubt that if we could get that portion of the money which Parliament has declared should be applied in the manner indicated, we might make an advance in several, I do not say in all respects, which would place London at the top of many of the other towns of the country, and more particularly in the matter of technical education, which is indicated in the Act as one of the first points to be dealt with. But I do hope that the Commission, which is now engaged in the first portion of its work, may soon reach the second; and in doing so—that is, in drawing up the scheme for this £70,000 or £80,000 a-year—that it may follow the general feeling expressed in this House—namely, consult the localities in the matter. I should like, in emphasizing that point, to say that any scheme for technical education, or for the general advancement of what I may call superior education in London, will have to come not from one centre, but from a series of centres, because the requirements vary with the different parts of the Metropolis. There is another point of importance to my constituents to which I wish briefly to call attention. In 1753 a sum of money, known as Webb's Charity, was left to Christ's Hospital, with the instruction that it was to educate with it three of the poorer children of the parish of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch. In 1790 Lord Chancellor Thurlow decided that the funds, which had then increased to £130 a-year, were sufficient to support six poor children; and he indicated at the time that should the funds still further increase the inhabitants of the parish were to make further application to the Court of Chancery in the matter. The funds have increased to £1,300 a-year at least, and the number of inhabited houses in the parish has increased from 3,000 to 15,000, which are, roughly speaking, occupied by two separate occupiers each, so that the amount of the charity has been multiplied by 10, and the area of persons to whom it is applicable has also multiplied by 10; but the number of children benefited by it still remains the same as when Lord Thurlow decided in the case, and the remainder of the income goes into the hands of Christ's Hospital. The inhabitants of the parish have appealed against the present re-organization scheme for Christ's Hospital; and I wish to make an appeal on their behalf to the Charity Commissioners, that they will step in to be the protectors, where funds are to be applied, of the population generally as against individual institutions. I trust the Commissioners will have such alterations made in the proposed scheme of re-organization of Christ's Hospital as shall not give the large surplus funds arising in the present case to that institution, but reserve them for the benefit of the poor people of Shoreditch, for whom there can be no reasonable doubt the money was originally intended.

Mr. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I shall be glad to learn whether the right hon. Gentleman can explain to the Committee why the scheme prepared by the Charity Commissioners for the better administration of Christ's Hospital has not yet been accepted by the authorities; and whether, if they still persist in refusing to accept the scheme, he will advise the Government to appoint a Committee to consider the scheme in accordance with the recommendation of the Committee upstairs?

Mr. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire): I see that there is a maximum salary for each Inspector of £800, and that, in the aggregate, we are asked to vote the sum of £2,750. I ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) for an explanation of this charge. Another point to which I desire to call attention is that for six years the Charity Commissioners have suspended their operations in Wales. I do not blame them for that, because they have acted under the advice of the Select Committee. Much of the complaint with regard to the action of those who manage the charities is due to the fact that the people in the localities have very little information as to the amounts at the disposal of the local charities, and I ask the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council whether he will bring pressure to bear on the Commissioners to make further inquiries into the local charities in Wales? I think it will be seen that the state of things in Wales is very lamentable, and that many charities are slipping away from the hands of the people.

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.): With reference to the question raised by the hon. Gentleman on the subject of the charge for salaries, I point out there appears to have been a mistake made in the Estimate. As a matter of fact, the positions of the * and the † ought to have been reversed, and the * ought to have been placed against the charge for the Inspector. With regard to the other point raised by the hon. Gentleman, I understand the difficulty is due to a question of money. The Inspectors already on the staff have already been completely engaged in doing what maybe described as the current work of the Department. There is every disposition to take up the work in the way which the hon. Gentleman indicates; but for the reason I have stated, unless special Commissioners or an additional number of Inspectors are appointed, it would not be possible at present to carry out that which the hon. Member wishes.

MR. T. E. ELLIS: I point out to the hon. Gentleman that it is a matter of great interest that full information should be published. We have Blue Books published on many matters relating to all parts of the world; but with regard to these charities we have scarcely any information. I wish to press upon the Government, although I am an advocate of economy, that they should either increase the staff or give some other facilities to enable the Commissioners to publish this information. The Chief Charity Commissioner stated, in evidence before the Commission, that there are 55 volumes of manuscript containing much information about the charities; and I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he cannot do something to push forward the work of publication?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: With regard to the point urged by the hon. Member for Merionethshire, I must say that I sympathize with him in his wish that information should be given with reference to the Welsh charities in view of the urgency of the question of intermediate education in Wales, and I have no doubt that the hon. Member is deeply anxious on this point. It is obvious that in dealing with a matter so complicated it would be of the greatest value to get special local information with regard to educational charities. As far as the Commissioners are concerned, it is the general desire that this should be obtained. As far as I am advised, the staff is continuously occupied with the ordinary work of the Commission. With regard to any further staff that might be required, I can only say that I will consult my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury; and if it be possible, by a small expenditure, slightly to increase the official staff, I think, without giving any absolute pledge, that it is a question which may, at all events, be candidly met on the part of my hon. Friend. The hon. Member for the Haggerston Division of Shoreditch (Mr. Cremer) has spoken with regard to the scheme of the Commissioners in respect of Christ's Hospital. I am not at once prepared to take the course suggested, of proposing the appointment of a Committee, which would be a very serious step, and require much deliberation. But I may tell the hon. Member that the question has been under the serious consideration of the late Vice President and myself during the present Session, and I hope, before long, that a satisfactory result will be arrived at. The hon. Member for the Hoxton Division of Shoreditch (Mr. Stuart) has called my attention to a subject which has been previously referred to in this House—that is, the time occupied by the Metropolitan Charity Commissioners in their plan of classification. The Commissioners have first of all to prepare a statement of the property involved, and then to take the further step of formulating a scheme. As regards the delay which has occurred, I can only say that I regret that there should have been delay in a matter of such great importance; and I agree with the hon. Gentleman that, this question of technical instruction having been permanently raised, it is of vital importance that some early action should be taken in the direction indicated, especially in the Metropolis. I feel, also, that we want all the subsidiary assistance which we can obtain, especially of the kind which the hon. Gentleman shadowed forth, to make our legislation, as it were, a feeding power for secondary instruction. I again express my regret at the delay which has occurred; but I have made some inquiry, and I am informed that the statement of classification of property will be in the hands of the public in about two months.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.): I should like to confirm what has been said by the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) with regard to the great importance of endeavouring to accelerate the action of the Charity Commissioners for the purpose of getting better information on the subject of the Welsh Educational Charities. Twenty years ago I had to act as Assistant Commissioner in Wales, and I had then the opportunity of learning a great deal, not only about the endowed schools in the Principality, but also about other charities there. Wales, as compared with England in the matter of educational endowments, is very poor; that is all the more reason why those that exist should be made the most of, and why we have a special claim on the Department to see that the charities—especially the endowed schools—should be applied to the particular needs of the people. Until the Bill is brought in dealing with education in Wales, it would be desirable that, in the meantime, these should still go on with their work—whether the Bill is brought in or not. With regard to the question of the increase of staff of the Charity Commission, I think it well deserves consideration whether, as in the case of the London Parochial Charities under the Act of 1883, the expenses that may be incurred on that account should not be defrayed from the funds of the charities themselves. The country is naturally unwilling to grant larger funds for the Charity Commission than it now possesses; but I think the difficulty to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred may be met in the manner I suggest. I am glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council that the London Parochial Charity Commissioners are advancing with their work, and that, as I understand him to say, we shall have the classification scheme in less than two months. I happen to know that an immense number of ancient records have been investigated, and that the Commissioners have been labouring at their work with the greatest assiduity; and I can, therefore, confirm the statement that there has been no unnecessary delay. At the same time, the right hon. Gentleman will bear in mind that the time for the completion of the work is limited, and that the limit of time should not be exceeded. The applications of these parochial charity funds to be proposed by the Commissioners will excite much attention, and deserve much discussion, so that it becomes desirable that we should know their plans as soon as possible.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): We have heard that the expenditure upon the staff engaged in the work connected with the City of London Parochial Charities Fund has been reduced by £2,000 a-year. No doubt that is a very satisfactory diminution of expenditure; but I hope it is not at the cost of the actual work itself—that the reduction does not indicate that there will be any delay in carrying on the work. I believe my hon. Friend was right in saying that the cost of the investigation will ultimately come out of the charities; and, therefore, there can be no object in effecting any economy unless it is thoroughly justified by the cessation of the work. I hope that no idea of effecting economy will interfere with the completion of this important work, which will, I am sure, prove of the greatest value to the Metropolis.

MR. JACKSON: I may allay the fears of the right hon. Gentleman. When this Estimate was prepared the expenditure was most carefully considered; and it was only on the assurance that the staff would be able to complete the work in the period assigned, and do it efficiently, that the reductions were made.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £21,531, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Civil Service Commission."

MR. EVELYN (Deptford): Mr. Courtney, I beg to move the reduction of which I have given Notice. My object is to bring forward the case of Bertie Wilmot Mainprise, who went up, in June last, for examination at the Royal Naval School, New Cross. On Friday last I asked a Question on this subject of the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton); and I gave Notice then that I would bring the subject forward in Supply. I am quite aware it may be said it is exceedingly inconvenient to bring up matters of this kind in Supply; but it must be remembered that private Members of this House have surrendered into the hands of the Government the time usually set aside to them, and, therefore, have to avail themselves of the opportunities which may be presented in Supply to raise the questions in which they are peculiarly interested, so that I must plead the same excuse as has already this evening been pleaded by the hon. Member for the Bordesley

Division of Birmingham, that the matter must be brought forward in Supply or not brought forward at all. This matter has been the subject of a considerable amount of correspondence between the authorities of the Naval School on the one hand and the Admiralty and the Civil Service Commissioners on the other hand. It has attracted great attention within my constituency; and I think, Sir, it is a matter of great public moment that the proceedings of a public body like the Civil Service Commissioners should be above suspicion and reproach. If, when I have placed the facts before the Committee, any answer can be given which will be satisfactory to the authorities of the school and to the public generally, no one will be better pleased than myself. Let me add—what, perhaps, I need hardly say—I make no imputation upon the honour and integrity of the Civil Service Commissioners; to do so would be monstrous and absurd. But we require something more than good intentions from a great public body, and he who feels he has sustained an injury can hardly be consoled by the assertion that there was no corrupt motive in the action taken against him. Now, I will go at once into the facts of the case, which are extremely simple. The Royal Naval School at New Cross is an Institution which was established for the purpose of providing education and board for the sons of naval and marine officers. Since the opening of the Institution in 1833, no less than 3,000 pupils have availed themselves of the benefits offered, many of whom have distinguished themselves in the Service of the country, reflecting credit upon themselves and families and upon the school in which they were educated. This school is a national more than a local school. At the annual distribution of prizes some distinguished officer presides. On the next occasion, within a few days, no less a person than His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief will thus honour the school. The school enjoys the privilege—and this is the point I wish the Committee to note—of four nominations annually to compete for naval cadetships. On the last occasion these examinations had to take place before the Civil Service Commissioners. At the last examination which took place in June there were five nominations, because an extra nomination was given by an old pupil of the school. Five boys from the school went up for the examination. Before the educational examination takes place, however, a medical examination has to be undergone by the candidates, and it so happens that of these five candidates two were rejected on the medical examination as physically unfit for the Naval Profession. Now, I wish to point out the different treatment the two rejected candidates received from the Civil Service Commissioners. One of the young gentlemen, whose name I need not mention, received the usual form of medical rejection, and due official notice of the fact of his rejection was sent to the head master of the school, the Rev. James White. In his case there was no departure from the custom, and no fault was to be found with what occurred. But in the case of the other young gentleman, Mr. Bertie Wilmot Mainprise, who is the son of a retired paymaster of the Royal Navy, a different course was pursued. No official information of his rejection was sent to him, so that after the medical examination had taken place on the 2nd of June he went in for the educational examination on the 8th of June. Moreover, no official intimation of the medical rejection was sent to the head master of the school, so that when the Rev. Mr. White received an official letter from the Admiralty, dated the 8th of June, the very day of the educational examination, stating that in consequence of the previous medical examination Mr. Bertie Wilmot Mainprise could not enter the Navy, naturally the head master and the authorities of the school were very much distressed and astonished, because it must occur to every hon. Gentleman who hears me that if the boy had been already rejected it was useless allowing him to go up for the educational examination. Subsequently—and this is the great cause of complaint—the head-master made application to the Admiralty to allow the marks which Mr. Bertie Wilmot Mainprise had obtained on the educational examination to be published. Here allow me to remind the Committee that throughout the whole correspondence the Admiralty acted with the greatest courtesy and consideration both to Mr. Bertie Wilmot Mainprise and the authorities of the school. It is of the Civil Service Commissioners' conduct only that complaint is made. Anyone who reads the correspondence will see that the Admiralty were very willing the marks should be published, but that the Civil Service Commissioners, on the matter being referred to them, absolutely refused the publication of the marks obtained by this young gentleman. They fell back on custom and precedent, forgetting altogether that they had already departed from custom and precedent in allowing the educational examination after the medical rejection. I do not see how they can fall back on custom and precedent when their action has been altogether unprecedented. But I wish to draw the attention of hon. Members to the great injury inflicted on this young gentleman. The injury is three-fold. First of all there is the misfortune of the medical rejection, which naturally was the cause of great disappointment and mortification to him; secondly, there is the suppression of the result of his examination, of which mainly I complain — that is to say, the authorities of the school complain; and, thirdly, he will be subjected in future to the imputation of having failed in the educational examination—it will be said that he went in for examination and did not pass. Now, I have one word to say in regard to the result of the medical examination. I have an idea that we can explain the vacillation and the indecisiveness of the Civil Service Commissioners, if we go on the hypothesis that they had some doubt themselves as to the result of the medical examination being founded upon substantial facts. The only letter I wish to quote is that of an eminent surgeon, Sir Edward Sieveking, who, writing to the boy's mother, said—

> "I can discover no physical disability in Bertie Wilmot Mainprise which would militate against his being accepted for the Navy. The slight enlargement of the tonsil will disappear under naval regimen."

I know nothing of the parents of Mainprise; but, at the request of the head master, I visited the school and saw this young gentleman, and he seemed to me a bright, intelligent lad, certainly rather delicate looking; but I should have thought there was nothing in his appearance that would lead anyone to suppose that he would not be made a man of by one or two voyages. Undoubtedly he was under height—his age is 12½ years, and his height 4 feet 6 inches, which is, I believe, 2 inches under the normal stature; but I should not have supposed that that was an insuperable objection in these days of torpedo warfare. There are three gallant Admirals in the House, and there would have been a fourth but for reasons best known to the electors of Spalding; and I ask my hon. and gallant Friends to tell us whether, in the long roll of our naval heroes, there have not been some whose stature has not equalled their fame? As I have said, this young gentleman, besides the annoyance of having failed upon medical examination, will also be subjected to the imputation of having failed in the educational examination, owing to the concealment of the result in the latter examination. Supposing that the examination, as I have every reason to believe from what I have heard, was a very good and successful one, the fact of concealing the result deprives Mainprise of a prize of £40 from the school, and that is the reason why I propose to deduct £40 from the salaries of the Civil Service Commissioners. I extremely regret that I have had to occupy the time of the Committee so long, and I should be glad if some satisfactory explanation of the action of the Civil Service Commissioners in this case can be given by the Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £24,491, be granted for the said Service." —(*Mr. Evelyn.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I hope the hon. Gentleman the Member for Deptford (Mr. Evelyn) will not expect me to go into the question whether the doctors who examined this boy on two occasions are right or are not; and, moreover, I do not think the Committee can expect that this House can be made a Court of Appeal in regard to medical certificates in such cases as this. I am extremely sorry that there should be even a feeling that any injustice has been done to this boy; but, according to the hon. Member's own description of the boy, I think he must himself, if he had been left to judge, have been in considerable doubt as to whether a boy who had something wrong with his tonsils, who was delicate looking, and under height, was really fitted for the Navy. I will not go into the medical question; indeed, of this particular case I know nothing whatever. The individual cases dealt with by the Civil Service Commissioners do, in no sense, come before the Treasury; and may I say, before I go further, that, on a general principle, although I have been appealed to on several occasions in regard to particular matters, I have always felt most strongly, and I feel most strongly now, that the Civil Service Commissioners ought to be an entirely independent body, subject to no control whatever from the Treasury. I can see very well that there might be great mischief if it were once admitted that, for the time being, the Political Chief at the Treasury might influence or control the Civil Service Commissioners in the exercise of their duties; it certainly would not be an advantage to the country at large. Therefore it is that I have always felt that this Commission ought to be kept strictly and entirely independent so far as their individual examinations of candidates are concerned, and that the Treasury should not in any of these cases interfere unless there is a good case shown. I am sure there would be no desire on the part of the Civil Service Commissioners that any injustice should be done to this boy, or that he should lie under the imputation of having failed in his examination. If the hon. Member desires it, I will ascertain, as far as I can, whether there are any facts which, in answer to the speech made by my hon. Friend in this House, it is desirable to publish. I think the Committee will agree with me that it is treading on rather delicate grounds to interfere with the Commissioners in individual examinations.

Mr. EVELYN: I have to thank the hon. Gentleman for the very great courtesy of the reply he has given to me, and to say that I express a hope that marks may be assigned to Bertie Wilmot Mainprise for the educational examination. The Admiralty themselves saw no objection to the communication of the result of the examination, and surely it is only right that the result, whatever it be, should be made known. With the permission of the Committee I beg leave to withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): I should like the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to tell us what steps the Government are taking to fill up the Civil Service Commissionership rendered vacant by the death of Mr. Walrond, by whose death the Public Service has lost one of its ablest officials. Now, we have in this Vote a larger sum for contingencies than is to be found in any other Vote in the Civil Service Estimates. No less than £1,420 is taken for contingencies, and that without any communication of the purposes to which the money is to be applied. It may be necessary for one year to take so large a sum; but as it appears for several years running I think that some explanation of the item should be given us.

Mr. HANBURY (Preston): There is an item here we should have some information about, inasmuch as it shows a tremendous increase upon the item of last year. Last year £3,150 was taken for copyists, but £9,150 is taken this year. It may be all right, but I think we ought to have some explanation about it. There is another point as well I should like to mention. There is a note as follows:—

> "The fees in respect to the open competition for the Civil Service of India which are received by this Department will also, with the consent of the Secretary of State for India in Council, be appropriated to the Imperial Exchequer, and for this purpose will be levied by stamps."

That is all very well supposing the Imperial Exchequer pays all the costs, but if the Indian Exchequer pays the costs, it is rather hard that the Imperial Exchequer should pocket all the profit of the stamps. I should like to know what arrangement there is between the two Governments?

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I desire to call attention to an examination which the Civil Service Commissioners are about to hold. It has been announced that the Civil Service Commissioners will, in August next, hold an examination for clerks of the lower division, and I think that as part of that announcement it was said that this examination would be for 50 vacancies. Now, Sir, on the 10th of June last we were informed that there were 121 vacancies in the lower division, and it appeared that 72 gentlemen who had passed the qualifying examination were already waiting for places, so that that left us with 50 vacancies. Now, if the examination in August next is for 50 places, it is obvious these vacancies are thus entirely provided for. I must ask the attention of the Committee to a Report of a Committee of the Treasury which was issued in December last. It was stated in the Report that 40 per cent of the copyists—as they are called—are occupied in work requiring special knowledge and experience. Well, Sir, at that time there were about 1,500 of these copyists; the number has been slightly reduced—I think by about 30 or 40—but it does not materially affect my argument. I take, therefore, the number of copyists at 1,500, and as 40 per cent of these are engaged upon work of a superior class, it is obvious that there are, at least, 500 of these gentlemen who receive only 10*d*. per hour as remuneration while they are doing work which cannot be called copying. Well, in consequence of that Report a Treasury Minute was issued, and by that Treasury Minute Heads of Departments were directed to recommend copyists of admitted merit for promotion to the class of clerks of the lower division. We have never been able to ascertain from the Secretary to the Treasury how many people have been thus recommended for promotion by the Heads of Departments; but we were informed by him the other day that the claims of these gentlemen were now being scrutinized. Well, Sir, the questions to which I desire to press for an answer from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury are these. In the first place, I want to know how many copyists of merit have been recommended by the Heads of Departments; and, secondly, I want to know how he intends to provide for the promotion of these gentlemen to clerkships of the lower division? I have already pointed out to the Committee that there are only 50 vacancies, and that an examination is to be held next month, not, as the Committee will observe, an examination of copyists, but an examination of persons who will be introduced into the Service from the outside public. The question of the writers has attracted the sympathy of a good many hon. Members upon both sides of the House, and I hope these hon. Members will join with me in pressing for a satisfactory reply upon the point I have raised from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, because it seems to me that it requires explanation. If this examination takes place, it will be found impossible to fulfil honourably the engagements which have been entered into with a very deserving body of public servants.

Mr. JACKSON: I am sure every Member of this House, certainly any Member who has had any experience of the work done by the late Mr. Walrond, will agree with me that the public never had a better servant. His was a position which it will be extremely difficult to fill with a man of equal merit and equal capacity for the position; and it is entirely due to his appreciation of that fact that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) is taking time to consider, so as to select, if possible, a man who will worthily follow in the footsteps of Mr. Walrond. One reason for great care and caution in the selection is that the Secretary has only been quite recently appointed. My hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) has asked for an explanation of the increase in the amount taken for copyists. The increase in the amount is about £6,000, and it is for bonuses and gratuities which are expected to come in course of payment during the present year. The Committee will remember that in the Treasury Minute of last December certain bonuses and gratuities to copyists were sanctioned. The Treasury Minute was a Minute which followed the Report of the Committee to which reference has been made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill). The Committee was appointed to inquire into and report upon the position of the copyists in the Public Service. The Treasury agreed to certain bonuses and gratuities being given to copyists who had served a certain number of years, and £6,000 is the charge for this year in respect to the bonuses and gratuities given. These bonuses and gratuities are paid by the Civil Service Commissioners, who, as the hon. Gentleman knows, find copyists for all the Departments whenever they are wanted.

Mr. HANBURY: Is that an annual charge, or only for this year?

Mr. JACKSON: An annual charge. In regard to the promotion of certain writers to the position of lower division clerks, the hon. Member for Bethnal Green appears to be under the impression——

DR. CLARK (Caithness): Do I understand rightly that these bonuses will amount to £6,000 annually?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid that will be so; but part is for gratuities.

DR. CLARK: But this is three times the salary previously paid.

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I have not made the point clear. I am quite correct when I say that this will not only be an annual charge, but that it will be an increasing charge for some time to come. It is intended that the class of copyists shall not be supplemented or increased; and therefore, as the men-copyists, who are to be replaced by boy-copyists, diminish, so this item will be diminished. In the meantime, these bonuses are in addition to the salaries paid to the copyists, not in this particular Department alone, but in all the Departments in which they are employed.

DR. CLARK: What is the average increase?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid I can hardly give figures on such a point as that. I know that great complaints were made in the House at the time about the smallness of the increase in the bonuses. In regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Bethnal Green, I may point out to him that the vacancies which are advertised have nothing whatever to do with the question, and I think he will see that this is so if he reflects for a moment. If it is the fact, as he himself has put forward, that a considerable number of copyists are now engaged in work of a superior character, and that it is the intention of the Treasury to promote a certain number of these people to the position of lower division clerks, or, in other words, to pay them for the work which they are doing, and which has been decided to be work which lower division clerks ought properly to perform, they will have to be really an addition to the staff of lower division clerks. Assuming that the existing staff of lower division clerks are engaged upon work which must be done by lower division clerks, and assuming that a portion of the copyists are now engaged in work which is properly the work of lower division clerks, clearly there must be an increase in the total number charged for. Vacancies which occur in the lower division clerks will have to be filled up. It must be obvious that if a writer is doing a certain kind of work which is admitted to be work suitable to lower division clerks, and if he is promoted to the position of lower division clerk, someone else put in his position will still have to do this work that is considered to be lower division clerk's work; and, therefore, the question of the places which are announced to be open for competition does not affect the question of the promotion of writers at all. In regard to the writers who have been recommended for promotion, I may say that I announced in the House a short time ago —I think it was on the Estimates—that I hoped in the course of a fortnight that the whole work would be completed. I then stated that, in the opinion of the Treasury, it was undesirable to make any announcement until the whole scheme was complete. I believe that nearly all the recommendations from the various Offices have now been made, and that I shall be able shortly to make a definite statement. My hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) has referred to the note relating to the levying and disposition of the fees in respect to the open competitions for the Indian Civil Service. I understand this is the arrangement. It is true the India Office pay the fees of the Examiners, and pay also, I believe, the printing bills; but the fees paid by the candidates, which are not high, the Government here, who bear a considerable charge for the provision of accommodation of various descriptions, take. This is done according to an agreement entered into between the India Office and the Treasury, by which the Government here, seeing that the Exchequer does bear a charge fully equivalent to the amount of the fees collected, shall receive the fees.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I am perfectly satisfied that 40 per cent of the so-called copyists——

MR. JACKSON: I did not say anything of the 40 per cent.

MR. PICKERSGILL: But 40 per cent of the copyists were reported by the Committee to be doing work of a superior class. I thought I had correctly understood the hon. Gentleman to say that, provided they were recommended by the

Heads of Departments, they would receive the status of lower division clerks. Is that so?

Mr. JACKSON: I am quite certain I never said anything of the kind; and I am equally certain I never meant anything of the kind. The Treasury Minute points out that of the men recommended by the Heads of Departments to the Treasury for promotion to the position of lower division clerks a most careful selection was made. I do not wish it to be understood, for a moment, that there is any intention of promoting to the position of lower division clerks 40 per cent of the existing copyists. The system of examination has been decided upon, and every one of the copyists are eligible for the examination to get into the lower division service. There is no bar to a copyist entering the lower division except his own incapacity; and, therefore, it is felt most strongly that it would be extremely undesirable to set the precedent of admitting a large body to the permanent Civil Service without having first passed the requisite examination. It is also felt that it would be extremely undesirable that you should so largely recruit the Service from men who, although they may be doing—and I believe are doing—their work in a very satisfactory way—and I cast no slur upon them in any way whatever—have not passed the examination which it has been fixed lower division clerks should pass. Reference has been made to the charge for the Assistant Examiners. My attention was called to this very large sum, which has been an increasing sum, and when the Estimates were being prepared I made most strict inquiry into this particular item to see whether it could not be reduced. I understand the system of payment is that there is a payment of so much per examination, and that this sum is the result of a very largely increased number of candidates during recent years. One thing that struck me was that the expenditure upon the office of Assistant Examiner far exceeds the fees paid for the whole Service, and I drew special attention to this point. The answer I received was that the question had been considered on a former occasion, and that the House of Commons had set its face very strongly against any increase in the fees which are charge at these examinations—that it appeared to have been decided by Parliament that this was one of those boons which were to be given to candidates, perhaps not very well off, who desired to enter the Civil Service. I can assure hon. Gentlemen that I have my eye upon this item.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: I should like to put two final questions to the hon. Gentleman. I should like to know whether I understood him correctly to say that those copyists who will be promoted to the lower division will be in addition to the present number of clerks of the lower division? Secondly, I should like to ask him whether the residue of the 40 per cent who are now doing work of a superior character, and who will not be promoted, will still continue in their employment at the rate of 10*d.* an hour, side by side with clerks who are being paid £200 and £300 a-year?

Mr. JACKSON: Sir, I think my answers to the first question must be that, assuming that no reduction can be made in the total number of clerks and of writers, the promotions made of writers to the position of lower division clerks must be in addition to the existing number of that particular class of clerks. But I am not without hope that the investigations which are going on will considerably reduce the number of clerks who are necessary to carry on the Civil Service work. I therefore hope that the hon. Gentleman will not seek to pledge me to the statement that because, for the time being, there may be an additional number of clerks, that, therefore, the number of lower division clerks is to be permanently increased.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: The hon. Member has not answered my second question.

Mr. JACKSON: Oh, yes. The hon. Gentleman asked me as to whether men receiving 10*d.* an hour will continue to work side by side with and under the same conditions as men receiving £200 or £300 a-year? Well, my impression is that there is considerable exaggeration with regard to the facts in this case——

Mr. PICKERSGILL: No, no!

Mr. JACKSON: Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to possess my own opinion upon the subject, notwithstanding that he may differ from it.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: I have a large experience in these matters.

Mr. JACKSON: I can quite understand that the hon. Member has a large experience in these matters; but I also have had a large experience, although I may not have been long in my present Office. It may be true that there are clerks working side by side who do not receive the same amount of pay, though practically doing the same work; but I would remind the hon. Member that if he goes into any large commercial house in the country he will find the same state of things existing. It is impossible to say that invariably two men who work side by side shall receive the same amount of pay. The Government do not want anyone to understand that that is the arrangement; but what I do desire the hon. Member to understand is that the number of writers is to be greatly diminished. It is the opinion of those who ought to know a great deal of this work, notwithstanding that the pay may seem to some hon. Members to be inadequate, that it can be done, if necessary, at nearly half the money. In that sense there is obviously a great difference of opinion as to the value of the work which is done. I have no wish to cast any slur upon those writers, because, taken as a whole, they are an extremely valuable body of men. They have failed to pass examinations, and have got themselves into the positions they at present occupy, probably because they could not get anything better to do; but, at the same time, we have a duty to discharge to the taxpayers of the country. I hope, therefore, the House will not tie our hands too much, but will leave us free to deal as fairly and as justly as we can with those men without permanently increasing the charge upon the public.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): I want to make a remark with a view of illustrating the system at present in vogue in the Civil Service. The Civil Service Commissioners, in December last, held an open competition for four clerkships in the upper division, and the successful candidates were Messrs. Harris, Crump, Gill, and Smith. Mr. Harris was appointed to the War Office in January this year; but for some time the three other gentlemen were not appointed to any Department because their services were not required. The point I wish to call attention to is this—that at the time those examinations were held there were no less than 200 lower division clerks, including those called supplementary, in London alone, who by reason of their service of 10 years are eligible for promotion to the higher division. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury stated that the Government owed a duty to the taxpayers. Well, I maintain that the holding of the examination to which I have referred was altogether unnecessary, and was increasing the list of the clerks on the books of the State—men who will be entitled to pensions at the end of their service—was a neglect of their duty to the ratepayers, and doing a wrong to a valuable body of public servants whose merits he himself has fully recognized. You have a large number of men eligible for promotion, according to the existing rules—men available for work of a much higher character than even the higher division clerks are often put to; and I say it is a waste of public money and a bad system to take on fresh hands and fresh liabilities when you already have the services of these men at your disposal.

Mr. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I had the curiosity to make myself acquainted with some of the grievances that appertain to those writers or copyists as they have been termed. Now, so far back as 1870, when it was first found necessary to introduce this body of men into the Public Offices of the State, the number was originally something like 5,000; but of that number a great many, though young, and of an age which, if they were able to pass an examination, would have had several branches of the Civil Service open to them—2,019 found their way to the Civil Service, but the total number have dwindled down to 1,400 odd. The Government are asked what will be done in the interests of 40 per cent of those occupying the position of copyists. It would be more satisfactory to Members of this House who have interested themselves on behalf of those copyists if the hon. Gentleman opposite had given a straight answer to what was put straightly to him by the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill). It is evidently the intention and desire of Her Majesty's Government to *chassée* as many of these copyists as they possibly can, and to reduce the number of them. A great many of those men have been for a number of years in the Service; the only inducement that has been offered to them to remain is the inducement of appointment to something like 30*s.* per week after they have been eight years in the Service. The 10*d.* an hour they earn for the copying work they do is certainly a very poor inducement which is offered them. Her Majesty's Government invited those gentlemen to come into those offices; they did not place them in the ruck of the Civil Service, but put them at the lower rate of pay received by scriveners for ordinary writer's work. No doubt the Treasury say—"If you are not satisfied with the position you occupy you can go elsewhere." Well, so far as an answer like that goes, it is certainly a very heartless answer to give to those unfortunate gentlemen. Supposing they do leave their positions, and apply for engagements elsewhere, they are met with this question—"What have you been doing elsewhere?" They will reply—"We have been in the employment of Her Majesty's Government, and in receipt of Her Majesty's pay." They are asked—"Why did you leave?" And the answer they will give—"Because we wish to benefit ourselves, and earn more money." Then they will be asked—"Where are your credentials?" There they are in a difficulty, for there is a strict rule prohibiting the Heads of Departments against giving those gentlemen any credentials or testimonials which would be useful in enabling them to get positions in the outer world. The hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) wished to have a decided answer as to whether there was no occupation for 40 per cent of Government officials referred to. Those gentlemen have been occupying confidential positions, and doing important duties; but the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury seemed to throw a doubt on the point which was put to him. But I would observe that there are, in a great many Public Offices, gentlemen who have to read private and confidential correspondence, and have to digest that correspondence, and make entries regarding it in the confidential registers. It is idle to say that those gentlemen do do not perform important, responsible, and confidential duties. Well, in the same office there may be gentlemen writing six hours a day and receiving 10*d.* an hour, their work being no less degree important than gentlemen's sitting on the opposite sides of their desk and receiving £200 or £300 a-year. This, I consider, is rather an important subject to have raised. Those are a deserving class of public servants.

MR. JACKSON: Hear, hear!

MR. O'HEA: The hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear!" Then I ask him what will he do in the interests of those persons? Will he hold out to 40 per cent of them that they shall be placed on the footing of Civil servants with the expectation of pensions when they have been a certain length of time in Her Majesty's Service? I do not wish to occupy the time of the Committee further. I think it is by no means an unimportant matter. It is essentially of importance that matters very closely concerning the interests of large bodies of Her Majesty's public servants should be discussed in this House; and favourable replies should be given by the Government when any grievances of a genuine character are brought before their notice.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £32,934, to complete the sum for the Exchequer and Audit Department.

(4.) £4,227, to complete the sum for the Friendly Societies Registry.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.): I have found, on the part of secretaries to friendly societies, considerable complaints as to the amount of time it takes for documents to pass through the Registry Office. There is a strong feeling that the work is not done with that kind of expedition which ought to characterize it. You will fully understand the inconvenience to which societies are put when documents they wish to have passed through that office are delayed over a very long period. Several friends of mine, secretaries of societies, have made a great deal of complaint upon this matter; and I do hope we shall have some promise that this work will be expedited, and that documents will be passed through much more rapidly than has been the case in the past. There is a strong feeling abroad—though I am not prepared to go into that question at present—that when the Chief Registrar is applied to for information with regard to the bodies carrying on friendly societies' business that he does not afford to inquirers that facility for investigation which he might do. I trust we shall have a promise from the Secretary to the Treasury that in future the work of this Registry Office will be done in a more business-like and more satisfactory manner.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I beg to give Notice to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) that if, between this and next year, nothing is done to make this Registry Office more effective I shall move to get rid of it altogether, on the ground that it is pernicious, instead of being useful. At the present time there are all manner of friendly societies being registered without difficulty, although it is well known that there are some of them existing ostensibly for the benefit of their members, who are spending no less than 80 per cent of their receipts on management, reserving only 20 per cent to be paid back to sick members or the relatives of deceased members. These societies are certificated by Act of Parliament, and in that way mislead the public. These societies have been going on for years making these enormous disbursements in connection with management without the Registrar doing anything to stop it. It is true, he is not vested with very substantial powers in this matter; but then those powers he has he does not use. There is one large society called the Universal Assurance Society which possesses several thousand members, and the Board of Directors spend something like 80 per cent of the receipts in the management. An application was made by some of the members of this society as to the way in which very poor people were to get the whole affair investigated, and the Registrar, I believe, promised to institute an investigation if the members handed in £50. He treated them as the Treasury treated the crofters—that is to say, put them under impossible conditions in seeking to avail themselves of the powers already provided by law for redressing what they conceived to be their grievances. The consequence was that the thing burst up, and the result is that thousands of people who have been paying money into this society, some of them for 20 years, have lost every farthing of their savings. Now, last year the members of another large friendly society, the Royal Liver Society, desired to obtain an investigation into its workings. They brought before the Registrar the fact that the two secretaries of the society were getting better salaries than Cabinet Ministers—that they were, as a matter of fact, receiving over £6,000 a-year each as salary and commission. Some of the poor people connected with the society who were aware of this fact wanted to have a change. The Act permits the Registrar to inspect the books of the societies; but in order to prevent frivolous applications, and in order to prevent his being put to the trouble and expense of making an investigation in cases where it turned out that no investigation ought to have been held, it is necessary that the members asking for the inspection should deposit a certain sum by way of covering costs. Well, in the case I refer to, this notorious case in which the secretaries were getting between them £12,000 a-year for amusing themselves by carrying on the society, and to cover the great expense of their moving around, the Registrar refused to appoint an inspection until those applying for inspection deposited £50. The members of this society would have met a similar fate to the members of the United Assurance Society if it had not been for the fact that the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) took the matter up, and wrote about it in his paper, and himself gave these people the necessary £50. Well, an investigation was made by Mr. Stanley, who ascertained that those men who acted as secretaries hired a number of clerks, and filled up the meetings of members which were held from time to time, and who voted the salaries of the officials. Well, the result of this investigation was that those secretaries, for fear of criminal prosecutions, resigned their positions, and a new secretary was appointed at a salary of £1,000 a-year. The point is that you are allowing societies, which are not carried on in a satisfactory way, and which are not always in a satisfactory financial condition, to be registered by the Government Registrar, giving the members the impression that the enterprizes are sound, and under Government guarantee—the complaint is that, although you do this, you do not afford sufficient protection, even when complaints are made, and application is made for investigation. There are about 9,000,000 of people in the United Kingdom who belong to those

Industrial and Insurance Companies and Friendly Societies, and some of those enterprizes have incomes of £400,000 a-year, as in the case of the Royal Liver Society. The Prudential, I believe, has has an income of £3,000,000. If hon. Members will consider the possibilities in connection with insurance societies of this nature they will see that there is grave cause for alarm. In the event of a serious epidemic of cholera, or small-pox, or anything else of an unusual character which may carry off a large number of people of the lower classes, it is obvious that those insurance societies will find it difficult, if not impossible, to pay their death policies. And yet they are registered; that registration means little or nothing, although it is seriously misleading to the poor people who join those societies. I hold that unless this registration means something you had better abolish it altogether, so that poor people will not be taken in by agents, who may come round to them and say—"Join this society; you see it is all right; it is registered according to Act of Parliament."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): I am not at all sure that it is wise—indeed, I am not sure that it is possible—to raise the whole question involved in the observations which have been made by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) on this Vote; but it is certain that in the bulk of those societies there is a system in operation which amounts to absolute fraud on the great mass of the population of this country. I have during the last 20 years had occasion to examine over and over again into the soundness of those societies, at the request of people who have applied to me for information. Over and over again I have examined very carefully into their means of existence. I have been very unfavourably impressed with the financial condition of many of these societies, and the Committee has just heard how a very large enterprize of this kind has been extinguished, and how necessary it has been for the condition of another one, which is not so absolutely insolvent, should be inquired into. It is clear that a great many of those societies would be found to be absolutely insolvent, if it were not for the practice of inducing small policy holders to allow their policies to lapse. It is with the premiums on lapsed policies that they manage to carry on their business, each renewal being on a higher scale, the holders forfeiting what they have paid in before; the agent being given as a bribe a large premium to obtain a new policy, thus encouraging the extinguishing the old one. It is perfectly true that the poor people who belong to these societies believe that the fact of registration gives them some sort of protection. This, however, is absolutely illusory, and though it may not be the time to raise this question on the present Vote, it will be needful for Parliament to take action with regard to it as soon as possible, before some horrible scandal arises in consequence of the insolvency of some of those societies maintaining themselves in a manner which is altogether to be condemned. The present practice leads to fraud on the part of the insurance societies themselves, and those who actually insure the people. They transfer the policy holders from one office to another; they specially pay to make new business, and they do this in a most reckless manner; the managers, indeed, seem to have not the slightest regard for the people they insure. The expenses of management are atrocious, and if it were possible for the members of the societies to subject the financial condition of the concerns to a sort of official audit whenever they considered there was reason to suspect that all was not well, the facts would be ascertained, and would go out to the world, and the interests of the poor investors would be protected. To require these poor people to deposit a certain number of pounds before an investigation can take place is the biggest farce which, in a matter of this kind, you could possibly put before the world. If this Office of Registrar of Friendly Societies is to continue, and be a success, they should do as, I believe, is done in the United States. When there is a suspicion of insolvency in the case of an Insurance Society, an Inspector is sent down suddenly; he audits the accounts for himself, and if he finds that anything of a questionable nature is taking place, he calmly locks up the office and hands over the case to the district attorney. This course is adopted if the accounts are found to be deficient. If such a course were adopted in this country, I verily believe that there are many directors of friendly societies who would not long continue in the business.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): I think the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) has done very great service in calling attention to this matter, though I am not quite so certain that we can thoroughly deal with it on the question of the particular Vote before us. I believe that it will require the attention of Parliament at a very early date, when some of the other difficulties which stand in the way of legislative progress in this House have been removed. My experience is like that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). Hardly a day passes over in which I do not receive some application for assistance on behalf of members of friendly societies, of members who have not been able to get to the bottom of the affairs of their societies, and who, if they did, would find those societies seriously, if not hopelessly, involved. I do not know anything which has tended more seriously to retard habits of thrift than some of these poor people finding themselves very frequently in the position which the hon. Member for Northampton has described. Many of those societies, owing to the reckless system in which they are managed, find in times of depression such as we had last year, and such as we have been going through lately, that new members do not come forward, and an examination of their affairs shows them that they have become or are becoming hopelessly insolvent, and those who have put their little savings into these societies find that they have lost every penny, and in many cases awake, when they most require assistance, to the fact that they are hopelessly ruined. In many cases the agents receive so much from the societies that they absolutely themselves go on paying the premiums for weeks and months, establishing new claims upon the people themselves, even upon their household goods. I am afraid it is no use to discuss the question upon this Vote, but I am sure very good service has been done by the hon. Member for Caithness in raising the question. I am one of those who think that if this Registry Office is to exist at all, it must exist with much stronger powers than it has at present, or else it is better out of the way, as it only raises false hopes amongst the people who think that the Office gives a Government guarantee to the societies connected with it. The poor people have this impression, whereas, as a matter of fact, registration gives no guarantee whatever at the present moment of the stability of the Society so registered.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I quite agree with what has been said as to the necessity of increasing the power of the law with reference to these societies; but I do not think it is possible to test the sense of the House in the matter of this Registry on the present Vote. I think—and I have had some knowledge of this Office for a number of years past—that if there is any one Department belonging to the Government, or under the Government, in which the officials work hard and devote a large number of hours to their business, it is this Office of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. They have a great number of departments, if I may so speak, under their supervision and control. The pressure which is exhibited in this Office is owing to the anxiety of the Registrar to deal with all cases as they come up. I have had many cases before him myself, but with very unsatisfactory results. I am glad the Government are taking the matter in hand to some extent, and that at an early day we shall be asked to consent to the second reading of a Bill touching one portion of the subject. But I say, so far as the Registrar is concerned, and those under him in the Office, I think they endeavour to carry out the law to the best of their ability. It is 15 years since the Act consolidating the law relating to friendly societies was passed, and since then we have had a great deal of experience in the matter. What has been shown to exist in the case of a great many of those societies, in the course of the discussion which has taken place to-day, should induce the Government to take this matter in hand, and prepare during the coming Recess a measure which will deal with the whole question of friendly societies and savings banks, outside the Post Office Savings Bank, as well as some other matters which at present come under the control of the Registrar of Friendly Societies. If the Government will do this, they will engage themselves upon a useful and valuable work.

SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON (Oxfordshire, Banbury): The point, I think, is not so much that the Registrar does not possess all the powers which he should possess, as that he is prevented from properly exercising those powers with which by law he is invested. I do not blame the Registrar of Friendly Societies, but I blame the Treasury. The fact is that in many cases the Registrar has been ready and willing to prosecute where absolute fraud has occurred; but when he has applied to the Treasury, the Treasury has refused to allow him the necessary funds. I think this is a matter which the House of Commons is bound to bring under the notice of the Treasury, and I trust that some different line of action will be taken in the future to that which has been pursued in the past. I know that cases have been brought under the notice of the Treasury in which action ought to have been taken, but in which nothing has been done—in which the Registrar has not moved, because he has been unable to get the necessary funds from the Treasury.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead): I am sure the Committee will agree with the remarks of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). I rise for the purpose of expressing concurrence in the remarks of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Banbury Division of Oxfordshire (Sir Bernhard Samuelson) to the effect that in endeavouring to remedy the state of things which at present exists with regard to the registration of friendly societies we must not rely too much on legislation. I think it will be much better, where fraud actually exists, that the Treasury and the Government should undertake public prosecutions. I have often conversed with those who, like myself, have interested themselves in the management of these societies—especially the larger ones—and they have always expressed to me one opinion and one view, and that is that they should be left alone. These societies do an enormous amount of good; it may almost be said that a great proportion of our national prosperity is owing to their work; and I should very much deprecate, therefore, subjecting such enterprizes to constant legislation in this House. I am sure that the more you institute prosecutions, and the more you offer facilities for acquiring the best possible information as to the soundness of such societies, the better. By such a course of action as that, you go a long way towards preventing the recurrence of such scandals in connection with friendly societies as those which have been described in the course of this debate.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I have had considerable experience of the working of these societies, and I am fully acquainted with the total failure of some of them to pay up their liabilities. I agree with what has been said, that those people who pay into these friendly societies depend very much on the registration in forming their opinion as to their security. I do not know a matter in which the industrial population of this country are more interested than in the efficient protection of the money they pay into these societies in order to provide themselves with sustenance in sickness and disease. Whatever we can do to protect the funds of the poor in these respects I hold that we are bound to do. The poor are entitled to claim as much from us, and, to my mind, there is nothing the House can turn its attention to with more advantage than seeing how they can protect the funds of the poor which are set aside for a rainy day. We ought to give as much attention to the protection of the savings of the poor as we afford to the savings of the rich.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): This is not a time to go into the whole question of legislation in regard to friendly societies; but it is a time to inquire whether this Registry Office is acting in the spirit of the Act. I submit that the cases cited by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) show that the Office is not acting in the spirit of the Act when it refuses to provide proper investigation. Three conditions are imposed previous to instituting inquiries. In the first place, there must be a minimum number of applicants composed of members of the society; 500 is sufficient, however large the society is, and in a case within my own knowledge no fewer than 750 joined in an application to the Registrar to grant an inquiry. That condition is an absolute condition. The second condition is also an absolute condition, and it is that the Registrar shall be satisfied that there is a reasonable *primâ facie* case, and that the applicants are not actuated by malicious motives. A third condition is mentioned, but it is not an absolute one. It provides that the Registrar may, if he thinks fit, require that the applicants shall lodge a sum of money as a guarantee for the payment of costs. I submit that this condition is far less important than the two others, and that if the Registrar receives an application signed by a sufficient number of the members of a society, and there is fair reason to believe that there is a *primâ facie* case, then he ought to grant the application, the more so because it is provided that all expenses incidental to the inspection may be defrayed either by the members making the application, or out of the funds of the society.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.): I cannot help thinking that it is necessary that this Act should be revised. As it stands, it does not appear to me to afford sufficient protection against fraud. There is no doubt in the world that these friendly societies are admirable institutions, and that we ought to do what we can to increase the number of the societies and to increase their facilities for doing good to the people who belong to them. At the same time, I think we must be on our guard against the possibility of any of those societies going wrong. I hold in my hand a list of the friendly societies, and I must say that it is interesting to go over it. There is nothing more remarkable than the manner in which these societies have increased in number. Between the years 1876 and 1885 the number has increased by over 5,000, and the number now in existence is, I believe, some 25,000. We have no means of knowing how many societies have been formed and have not been registered; and I think it is most important that action should be taken to remedy this, because I see, further, that there is practically very little known at the Registry Office of those societies which dissolve and break up. In 1884 there were 110 societies which gave notice of dissolution; but I believe there were a much larger number dissolved, of which no information has been afforded at all. There is another point upon which I should like to say a word, and that is as to the valuers of these societies. I think it would be a desirable arrangement if those who are placed in the position of valuers of these societies were required to belong to some public body. If they belonged to some of the English or Scotch Institutes where they have to take out special diplomas, it would be a great advantage to the public. Then I should like to say a word about the appointment of the Inspectors. They also, I think, should be qualified persons, because an Inspector is practically of no use at all unless you have some men appointed who are recognized by the public as being properly qualified to deal with such questions. Sir, the main weakness of the Act, according to this Report relating to friendly societies from which I have quoted, arises from this—that the Registry Office in London is not able to deal with all the work which it has to do. In this Office, I believe, there are only 17 hands all told, and these people have to look after something like 25,000 bodies all over England. It is preposterous to suppose that 17 men, no matter how great their ability may be, can attend to the amount of work involved in the existence of these bodies, particularly when we remember the peculiar nature of the work that has to be done. Some people contend that the State ought to take over the management of these friendly societies altogether. There are sound objections raised against such a course as that; but, at any rate, the House should take care to see the Act relating to these societies amended in such a way as to prevent all possibility of fraud, and, at the same time, to give the greatest amount of benefit to the poor people who have invested their savings in them.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): There are three points in which this Act ought to be altered. The first is this—that the Registrar should not have the option of granting or refusing an inquiry unless the sum of £50 is produced by someone belonging to the society, or some other person. In the case of the Royal Liver Society, where there were 1,500,000 subscribers, it was found impossible to collect this £50 amongst the members. They were all poor people, and they were scattered all over the country; and though they were familiar with the fact that the society was being fraudulently conducted, this £50 could not be obtained, and the Registrar refused to grant an inquiry unless that amount were lodged. Another point in which the Act ought to be altered is this—the collectors ought not to be allowed to take above a certain commission. According to the present system, 25 per cent is taken by the agents. Some persons at the head of these societies offer sub-agents 12½ per cent for the business they introduce, and in respect of that business they themselves take another 12½ per cent. To show the extent to which this is worked, I would mention the fact that there is a brother of a Member of this House who is a collector of the Royal Liver Society, and gets 12½ per cent for business introduced. There is a third point in which I think an alteration ought to be made, which I think the most important of all. At present the auditors and actuaries are appointed by the societies. They have to send in their Reports to the Board of Trade, I think it is, or to some other Government Office, I think every five years. So long as the auditor and actuary are appointed by the society, it follows that if the society has anything to conceal, it will take very good care to appoint an auditor and actuary ready and willing to conceal that matter in a mass of figures. I think that nothing can conduce so much to putting all these matters on a sound footing as that the auditor and actuary should be appointed by the Inspector—that is to say, by the Government. You would thus have an independent audit and an independent actuarial investigation of the friendly societies of the country. If you did this, you would be perfectly certain at the end of every five years that an Inspector would be in a thorough position to judge himself as to whether anything wrong was going on in the society, and whether the affair was really as sound as its directors professed. No doubt, the auditors and actuaries appointed in connection with these societies, particularly the larger ones, are men of high position; but it must frequently be the case that their retention of their position is dependent upon the making of favourable Reports. In this way Inspectors are not always enabled to form an accurate opinion as to what is going on, and whether everything is as it should be. If the Government make these three changes to which I have referred, particularly the last one, the result would be, I think, to put these societies upon a sound footing.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I will not follow hon. Members who have spoken into the very large question they have raised. I may say that the Government is entirely alive to the importance, if possible, of doing something to improve the security of the funds in the hands of these friendly societies. I need not, however, point out to the Committee how many difficulties there are in connection with this question. It has been pointed out that, under the present system, the registration which takes place is illusory, and conveys to the minds of the members of those societies a security which does not exist. One difficulty which exists, and which Parliament will have to be very careful of in dealing with this matter is this. If you once establish the fact that a mere registration by the Government is to be a guarantee of the soundness of a friendly society, the Government will have to go a step further, and afford an absolute guarantee in the matter, and that opens up a question which, I think, very few Chancellors of the Exchequer—if I may venture to say so—would like to entertain at present. But the Government are very desirous to do everything they can in the direction of strengthening and improving the financial position of these societies. With regard to the question raised by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) and the hon. Member for the Banbury Division of Oxfordshire (Sir Bernhard Samuelson), it is said that the Treasury is to blame in many cases for not supplying the Registrar with funds in order to enable him to undertake prosecutions. In reply I have to say this—that, certainly since I have been at the Treasury, there has never been an application made to the Treasury for funds for an investigation of this kind which the Treasury has refused to comply with.

SIR BERNHARD SAMUELSON: The Registrar has become so well aware that he will get no satisfaction from the Treasury, that he does not trouble himself to apply to them, but refuses to take up these cases.

MR. JACKSON: I do not think the hon. Member is quite justified in saying that the Treasury stands in the way, and has refused to do a certain thing, and then to go on to say—"Well, no application has been made to the Treasury, because they know very well that it would be of no use." That is what it amounts to. I say at once that I feel very strongly upon this question. I may be permitted to say that, for many years, I have taken a personal and active interest in the matter of friendly societies, and that, therefore, I am anxious to do all I can to promote their success. I think that friendly societies in this country have done an incalculable amount of good, and that they deserve at the hands of the Government, and from everyone who can help them, all the assistance which can reasonably be given to them. With regard to the question of the Registrar requiring a certain sum of money to be deposited before he will undertake an investigation—it may be £50 or £75—I agree with the hon. Member for Caithness that to pay an arbitrator a sum of that kind would be rather to defeat the spirit and intention of the Act than to facilitate the working of it. So far as that portion of the matter is concerned, I will undertake to call the attention of the Registrar General to it, with the view of getting some better system adopted. The question raised by the hon. Member for East Finsbury (Mr. J. Rowlands) was raised last year, and I think those who raised the question were satisfied that the delay had not occurred through the fault of the Registrar, but in consequence of communications having to pass backwards and forwards in order to correct answers which were given on one side and the other. I think I need not say more on the present occasion than to assure the Committee that the sympathies of the Government are all on the side of hon. Members who have spoken upon this subject.

Mr. BRADLAUGH: If the Registrar of Friendly Societies had instructions to send in to the Director of Public Prosecutions for investigation every case coming under his notice involving fraud, the condition of things would be much better than it is at present. Generally, in the instances that come under my notice, although absolute fraud has been committed, compromises have been entered into, for the reason that the poor people whose interests have been damaged have not been able to fight the cases themselves. If the Registrar handed cases of this kind over to the Director of Public Prosecutions, it would have the effect of curing many of the evils which are known to exist, because then the people who trade on the inability of the poor to institute legal proceedings, and who prey upon the savings of the poor, would not be able to adopt that course any longer.

Mr. JACKSON: I think the point the hon. Member raises is worthy of consideration; and, assuming that the Registrar General is himself satisfied in these matters, I think it would be only reasonable that he should exercise some such power as is suggested.

Dr. CLARK: I understand that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury has been in communication with some friendly societies for some time, and is considering the drafting of a Bill upon this question. Well, I should like to point out to him that in such a Bill it would be well to provide that the auditors should be appointed by the Registrar and paid by the society, and that the actuaries should be appointed and paid in the same way.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I should just like to say one or two words on this subject. I do not think that anyone who is listening to the discussion can doubt the enormous importance of it, and the necessity of something being done. This is one instance showing the importance of Parliamentary interference with regard to matters of our social legislation. It seems to me that up to this time in this country we have not had sufficient laws dealing with swindling. We have cases of fraud and cases of swindling brought before our notice almost every day, not only in connection with friendly societies, but also in connection with other matters. The law of England is old and antiquated, and is not sufficiently strong to deal with such cases. There is an extreme tendency in this country to throw the burden of prosecution in these cases on private individuals. This is too heavy a burden and expense to throw upon private persons. We are a democratic country; and I think, therefore, we are bound to devise some more efficient system whereby justice shall be done to the public through the ordinary legal channels without the intervention of individuals.

Mr. JACKSON: I omitted to tell the Committee of a point which bears upon this question, and one which, I think, the Committee will be interested to know. The Government, holding the views they do in regard to this question, are endeavouring to give effect to them upon one branch which has been mentioned in the course of this discussion—I mean in reference to the trustees of savings banks. I intend to bring in a Bill, which I hope to be able to put upon the Table in a day or two, to facilitate prosecutions, and the instituting of inquiries where frauds have been committed or are suspected in the case of these banks.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury seems inclined to support the view advanced by the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) that there is great danger of too much legislation in this matter. I suppose the idea is that the poor people interested in these societies can take care of themselves. But I would point out that at present there is either too much legislation or too little. There is too much legislation, inasmuch as the poor people who are putting money into these friendly societies think that the safety of their savings are guaranteed when they see that the societies to whose funds they subscribe are registered under the Friendly Societies Act. They think the Government are at their back. These poor people are not learned in the law, and they are led to believe that they get almost a Government guarantee, or, at any rate, that the Government protects them. I think that when we have got so far we are almost bound to go a little farther, and make that protection really what it has been believed to be on insufficient grounds. I do not see what danger there could be in going as far in this matter as some States of the Union go, and giving power to some responsible authority to inspect the accounts of these societies. Let some authority have power to visit these societies and examine them, and shut up the whole concern where it is found that anything fraudulent has taken place.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I quite agree with what has fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson)—namely, that the Government attach the greatest possible importance to this question, and I will willingly undertake, on the part of the Government, to give it a thoroughly exhaustive examination. I shall be glad to communicate with any hon. Members who take an interest in the subject, and to entertain any suggestion they may make. However, we cannot but remember that on former occasions when we have legislated on these matters we have experienced considerable difficulty owing to the attitude of the friendly societies themselves, they objecting rather strongly to anything like a compulsory audit. Large societies have particularly raised difficulties in the way of legislation, owing to the fact that they prefer not to have a Government audit. I think everyone will agree that the friendly societies are fully entitled to be heard, and that they have a right to have the views communicated to us put before the House and carefully examined. There is no interest more deserving of attention than those institutions which promote the thrift of the people. Every possible safeguard must be taken to avoid doing anything which would counteract the useful effect which these institutions are producing throughout the country. I should be extremely sorry to take any step which would discourage friendly societies from pursuing that splendid course which some of them have followed so trustworthily. They have conferred infinite benefit upon the country, and I think the country owes them a deep debt of gratitude as having shown us how capable the working classes are of managing their own affairs in a great many instances. We will see how we can deal with the weaker bodies, and what can be done to strengthen the safeguards against fraud, while, at the same time, leaving a considerable amount of self-government still existing to the societies.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £12,797, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Land Commissioners for England, and for defraying the repayable Expenses to be incurred in matters of Inclosure and Land Improvement, and under 'The Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886.'"

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): This is a very heavy charge, amounting altogether, taking the Non-Effective Vote and Stationery, to something like £37,000. Now, Sir, if I understand the account correctly, £20,000 of this is to be dealt with as expenses repayable by the parties for whom the work is done, and there is an appropriation of £10,000, being estimated receipts this year towards that £20,000. What I would call the attention of the Committee to is this—that there are £15,000 put down for office expenses, against which there is an estimated receipt of something like £4,600. I venture to think that this Department is not one the cost of which should be thrown on the public taxpayer. This Department is carried on for the purpose of facilitating certain transactions in land, certain exchanges, enclosures, and redemptions of tithes, and I certainly think it ought to be self-supporting. That principle is already recognized, because the Department requires the people who apply to have work done to pay fees. I would ask the Secretary to the Treasury whether he will not consider the advisability of making this change—namely, that the fees shall be increased to such an amount as will make the office self-supporting? There is no reason why the public should be appealed to to make up the expense of carrying on an office which I admit is a very valuable one, but which should be made self-supporting.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine): I must say that I think the way in which this Vote is presented is very unsatisfactory. The receipts are in this Vote used as appropriations in aid of the gross expenditure, thereby diminishing the liability and reducing the receipts. It is illegal in regard to the Civil Service, and ought to be stopped.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): In answer to my right hon. Friend, I have to say that I will consider the point he has raised. When the Estimates were prepared I decided to go into this matter thoroughly; but, inasmuch as there was at that particular time thrown on the Land Commissioners a very large amount of extra work in connection with the Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act of 1886, it seems to me as though we had found quite enough work for them this year. I certainly sympathize with the right hon. Gentleman's views. As to what fell from the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir George Balfour), I entirely agree with him it is undesirable to have these net sums taken; but the only reason it was done in this case was in consequence of a special expenditure.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): The result of the change in the system which has been adopted in regard to this Vote is that whereas the increase in the Vote as compared with last is apparently only £2,600, yet, as a matter of fact, the increase is really over £12,000. Changes of this kind in the form of the Estimate make it almost impossible to understand the situation in which we are placed. I quite agree with the remark of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Kincardine (Sir George Balfour) that the Estimate itself is open to every adverse criticism. The system of appropriation in aid is dangerous in respect of the administration of an Office which is able to avail itself of it. But in regard to this Vote for the Land Commission, on page 125 there is a new item of no less than £8,125, for the Assistant Commissioners and Surveyors under the Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act of 1886. It is not stated how many Assistant Commissioners and Surveyors are to be employed. There are several other items put down under the same Act. It seems to me that £8,000 would pay the expenses of a large number of Commissioners and Surveyors, and it is rather to be regretted that the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Vote did not offer some explanation of it when presenting it now for the first time.

MR. JACKSON: I ought to have stated that the whole of these expenses have to be paid by the persons for whom the work is done. These officials are to be paid by fees on a scale which has been carefully revised, and it is hoped that the sum which will be received will be in excess of the amount voted by Parliament.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: There are already 51 Inspectors and Surveyors in connection with this Department, and the work which requires to be done under the Act of 1886 it seems to me can be thoroughly well done by the existing officials. I would submit that the number of Inspectors and Surveyors, even having regard to the work to be done under the Extraordinary Tithe

Redemption Act of 1886, are more in number than they ought to be. The clerical staff is as follows:—There is a chief clerk, a senior first-class clerk, and other clerks; and there are all these Inspectors and Surveyors. What do the clerks and Inspectors do? Why, half their time they are doing nothing. Of course, the ordinary red tape processes prevail, and they are obliged to do a great deal of unnecessary work in consequence, but——

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to report Progress.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon Friday at Two of the clock.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [19th July] *reported.*

Resolutions read a second time.

First Resolution *agreed to.*

Second Resolution *postponed.*

Third and Fourth Resolutions *agreed to.*

Fifth Resolution *postponed.*

Postponed Resolutions to be considered *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

—o—

SCOTLAND—VALUATION AND RATING OF WATERWORKS BELONGING TO LOCAL AUTHORITIES.

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the Law relating to the Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities in Scotland, and to report what alterations are necessary therein." — (*Mr. Edward Robertson.*)

MR. J. C. BOLTON (Stirling) opposed the Motion.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL.

Reported from the Select Committee.

Special Report, with Minutes of Evidence, *brought up,* and read; Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed.* [No. 231.]

Bill, as amended, to be *printed* [Bill 335]; *re-committed* to a Committee of the whole House for *Wednesday* next.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

In reply to Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.),

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, it was proposed that the Civil Service Estimates should be taken on Friday at 2 o'clock.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne) asked whether it was intended to-morrow not to proceed with the Irish Land Bill beyond the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair; or, whether they would actually go on with Committee? He also wished to know what Business would be taken on Friday?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, the Government had come to the conclusion that it would not be for the convenience of the House probably that they should go beyond the Motion to get the Speaker out of the Chair to-morrow evening; but the right hon. Gentleman would, he thought, himself see that it was absolutely necessary that they should arrive at that, and ask the House to go into Committee on the Bill. As soon as that was done, the Government proposed to report Progress and proceed with the Bill *de die in diem* from Monday next. They proposed to continue with Supply on Friday at 2 o'clock. He hoped some progresss would be made then and also on Friday night, if they could keep a House.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, what course the Government intended to take with regard to the Bill? Would a Ministerial statement be made to-morrow upon the Motion for going into Committee?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think the question of the hon. Member a little unreasonable. It is not usual for the Government to anticipate the course they will take with regard to a Bill on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; but I may inform the hon. Member that we shall exercise our discretion as to the course we think it right to take when the Speaker is out of the Chair.

House adjourned at five Minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 21*st July*, 1887.

MINUTES]—Public Bills—*First Reading*—Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) * (183).

Second Reading—Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) (169); Coroners (177).

Committee—First Offenders (140-182).

Committee—Report—Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment * (176).

Report—Copyhold Enfranchisement (180).

Provisional Order Bills—*First Reading*—Tramways * (181).

Third Reading — Public Health (Scotland) (Cowdenbeath Water) * (154); Public Health (Scotland) (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) * (167); Pier and Harbour (No. 2) * (137); Gas and Water * (131), and *passed*.

THE MAR PEERAGE.

POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

The Earl of GALLOWAY, who had the following Motion on the Paper:—

> "That the prayer of the Earl of Mar in his petition presented on the 27th ultimo, for an investigation into the connection between the Mar estates and the ancient Mar dignity, with the view to obtain an unprejudiced re-hearing in a court of law, of his right to the estates of Mar, be granted."

said that, not having been able to bring his Motion on in the House at the conclusion of Tuesday's Sitting he put it down for to-night, and he could not now proceed with it, owing to the number of Bills which had since been placed on the Notice Paper which took precedence of it. He begged to give Notice that he would postpone the Motion till Tuesday, the 2nd August. He could not put it down for an earlier date, as until then he should have to be in Scotland in consequence of official duties. He wished to make an appeal to the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, in the absence of the Prime Minister, to prevent any Government Bills being put down for that date which would necessarily have precedence of it. He thought he had some claim to this indulgence, as he could have brought on the Motion on Monday, but he gave way in order that the Government might bring on the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill.

The Earl of SELBORNE said, he thought it his duty to inform the noble Lord, that if the Motion was ever made he should be obliged to submit to the House that it ought not to be entertained. Not only was it a private matter which could only be dealt with judicially by the House, but it was in regard to property which had been the subject of solemn litigation, and of a decision by the Court of Session, affirmed by their Lordships 10 years ago, as the Court of Final Appeal. There was a Standing Order of the House, that matters pending, or which at any former time had been pending before the House in its judicial capacity, should be referred to the Committee of Appeals. This Notice was in direct contravention of that Standing Order. When he saw the Notice on the Paper it occurred to him that it was not one that should be permitted to be debated, as it might lead to serious results. He was not in favour of one person more than another in the matter. With him it was merely a matter of principle. It seemed to him that no more illegal or unconstitutional Notice was ever put upon the Table of this House. If the Motion came before their Lordships, he should move that the Question be not put, as the most respectful way of dealing with it.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, that he must refer the noble Earl (the Earl of Galloway) to the Prime Minister for an answer to his question.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, that he had put the Motion on the Table of the House several times, and his only motive for postponing it was to suit the convenience of the House. Of course, after the statement which had been made by the noble and learned Lord (the Earl of Selborne), he would consider whether it would be right on his part to proceed with his Motion. But it would have been much better if the noble and learned Lord had heard the grounds on which he made the request. He was sure that his noble and learned Friend would not take exception to anything which he would have to say. He was simply going to urge that the prayer of the Petition which had been presented should be answered. He had nothing whatever to do with the Petition itself, and he did not attempt to approve of all its terms. The noble Duke, who had first placed the Motion on the Paper, was not able to be present, and had asked him to undertake it. He did not feel inclined to say "No." If he did not bring it on, it would appear as if he were running away from what he had undertaken.

He hoped the noble and learned Lord would not think it was out of any disrespect to him if he ventured to put the Motion down in order that he might have an opportunity of explaining the special grounds why, without going into the judicial or legislative questions, it would not be out of reason to entertain the Motion. He would, therefore, ask their Lordships' attention to the subject, and hoped the Prime Minister would prevent Government Bills interfering with its consideration on the 2nd August.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, he did not think his noble Friend was aware of the state of the Orders of the House. On Tuesdays or Thursdays any Bill, Government or not, that was put down took precedence of all Notices of Motion, and if the Government was to abstain from putting down Bills they could have no security that the noble Lord's Motion would be considered. Why should not the noble Lord put down his Motion for Monday 1st instead of Tuesday 2nd August?

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: It will be Bank holiday.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: There is nothing to prevent us sitting on that day. It would be an admirable day for such a discussion.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY: Then I will put the Motion down for Monday the 1st August.

Motion *postponed.*

FIRST OFFENDERS BILL.—(No. 140.)

(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Belmore.*)

Amendment *moved,* to leave out all the words after the word ("That") and insert ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee)."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that the Lord Chief Justice had expressed his desire for some such measure as this, and opposed the reference to a Select Committe.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, he agreed with the Lord Chief Justice, and earnestly hoped the Bill would be proceeded with, and not referred to a Select Committee.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he should be very sorry if their Lordships objected to the Bill. He considered its objects excellent.

THE EARL OF BELMORE said, that the Amendments of the Lord Chancellor, which he accepted, would alter the scope of the Bill to a considerable extent in the way of limitation; they would make the Bill shorter and clearer; and, therefore, he thought it would be better that the Bill should be reprinted with those Amendments. He hoped, however, that their Lordships would go into Committee *pro formâ.*

Amendment (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

Motion *agreed to;* House in Committee accordingly.

Amendments made: The Report thereof to be received *To-morrow;* and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 182.)

SMOKE NUISANCE ABATEMENT (METROPOLIS) BILL.—(No. 43.)

(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he hoped that their Lordships would not consent to go into Committee until the evidence taken before the Select Committee which had considered this question was before the House. This was a most important measure, seeing that it was not confined to manufactories, but extended to every private dwelling in the Metropolis; and the effect of the Bill would be that it would be open to an inspector to enter any room in any house, and see what sort of fires they were burning. That would be, he submitted, an intolerably inquisitorial power. The Bill also gave to the vestries the power of drawing a line between houses of particular valuations, with a view to exempting some. He had received a letter from the Vestry of St. James's, in which they objected strongly to the principle of the Bill, and especially to the exemption of property above or below a certain valuation. He was most anxious that their Lordships should have before them the evidence to which he had referred; and he, therefore, would ask his noble Friend to kindly postpone this stage of the Bill.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL said, that the Government had an Amendment down dealing with the point to which the noble Earl took exception, and when that was reached the noble Earl could support it.

EARL BROWNLOW said, that the evidence taken before the Committee was of very great importance, and it was most desirable that it should be before the House before the Bill was considered. He, therefore, felt bound to appeal to the noble Lord in charge of the Bill to postpone this stage.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL said, he was not aware that the evidence had not come before their Lordships. Under the circumstances, he should ask leave to postpone the order till Monday.

Committee of the Whole House *put off* to *Monday* next.

MARGARINE (FRAUDULENT SALE) BILL.—(No. 169.)

(*The Viscount Powerscourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to prevent the sale of a certain compound, not butter, under that name. A letter had appeared in *The Times*, which their Lordships no doubt had seen, from Sir Lyon Playfair, suggesting that, instead of margarine, this substance should be called "butter substitute." Others suggested that it should be known by the name of "butterine." The object of a Bill of this kind was to make the law as difficult of evasion as possible. After many consultations on the subject, in some of which he had taken part, the agriculturists of England and Ireland had decided that the name "margarine" was most likely to carry out the desired object. Therefore, he hoped their Lordships would retain that name in the Bill. There were one or two matters with regard to the clauses of the Bill which he should like to notice. In the second clause it was proposed to be enacted that the word "margarine" should mean the various substances mentioned in the clause, and that they should not be sold except under the name of "margarine." That was the view of people who were engaged in the butter trade. To the third clause an Amendment was suggested, but these were matters to be dealt with in Committee. Clause 5 was also proposed to be amended; but it should not be done unless a proviso was inserted that a person giving a warranty should not be a man of straw, but a man of substance. Since coming to the House he had received a Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the Bill had been referred, and the evidence taken by that Committee could be sent for. The noble Viscount concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*Viscount Powerscourt.*)

LORD HOUGHTON said, that this was by no means the first time this question had come before Parliament. Last Session a Bill was introduced into the other House, backed by the names of Members from Ireland, and a Bill was also introduced last year into their Lordships' House by Lord Vernon, which he professed his willingness to modify in accordance with suggestions made by the then Government. The present Bill was referred to a Select Committee in the other House, and that Select Committee had made certain recommendations with reference to the sale of margarine, of which the noble Lord had spoken. One of the recommendations of the Select Committee relating to the name under which the commodity should be sold was opposed in the other House, and rejected by a majority. The hon. Members who carried that vote had not had an opportunity of reading the evidence upon which the Committee founded its Report; and it was most desirable that their Lordships should not be in the same position in deciding the question. Therefore, it would be better to wait until the House had the evidence taken by the Select Committee before it. He understood the noble Viscount was willing to postpone the Committee stage of the Bill till the end of next week.

LORD BASING said, that as he was Chairman of the Select Committee of the other House with reference to this Bill, he should like to make one or two observations. The provisions of the Bill, with one exception, were practically agreed to by all Parties on the Committee. The persons representing the trade in this butter substitute were very honourably distinguished by the readiness with which they agreed to accept any restrictions or regulations which Parliament might think fit to impose with a view of carrying out the objects of the Bill. Unfortunately, there was great difference of opinion as to whether the butter substitute should be called "butterine" or "margarine." Upon that question he would only make this observation—that by the use of the term "butterine" this substance had become so well known as to obtain a great market. That, on the one hand, was in favour of butterine; but, on the other, it could not be doubted that the word "butterine" had greatly increased the fraudulent sale of the article. The appearance of the material produced, which was manufactured with care and as a proper and wholesome article of food—its appearance as well as its name had greatly increased its sale. The practical importance of the Bill being agreed upon, he ventured to hope that their Lordships would pass the second reading, although he agreed that some time ought to elapse before coming to a decision upon the only important question that arose with regard to the Bill. The noble Lord opposite had referred to Clause 5 as needing some Amendment; but he would point out that it was practically only a reprint of a clause in the Food and Drugs Act, and had never done any mischief. It did not follow that because the allegation was made that an article had been sold in the same state as it was received with a warranty from the wholesale dealer the Court would accept that statement without evidence. He ventured to hope that the clause might be retained in the Bill. He should like also to suggest that the commencement of the Act should be postponed till the 1st of January next year, as it would be hard on many persons that it should be brought into immediate operation.

LORD EGERTON OF TATTON said, whatever might have been the evidence offered to the Committee, there was a strong feeling amongst agriculturists, which had reached him from various quarters against the use of the term "butterine," which, obviously, was a word open to misrepresentation. It was clear that a tradesman in exposing the title "butterine" to his customers could so manipulate the ticket that the customer should only see the word "butter," and not the final "ine." The result of the use of the word had been that the substance was mistaken for butter and its price had been raised. While butterine was only worth from 4½*d.* to 6*d.* per pound, through being mistaken for butter, its price had risen to 10½*d.* to 1*s.* per pound. Practical agriculturists and farmers were unanimous in wishing that the sale of pure butter should be insured by a substitute not being permitted to be sold under a name which caused it to be mistaken for butter. Unless some strong reason were shown, he trusted their Lordships would retain the name adopted by the other House.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that in Committee he intended to move that the word "butterine" should be substituted wherever "margarine" occurred in the Bill. The Committee of the House of Commons, having heard the evidence, adopted the word butterine on Division by 2 to 1. It was not margarine, and it was not desirable to give it a false name. Margarine was the substance from which butterine was made. Margarine was pressed fat, and was manufactured into butterine by a wholesome process in which milk was used. The substance so manufactured had been known in the trade for the last 12 years as butterine, and during that period it had been sold to the extent of £4,000,000 in value. It would be most unfair now to throw suspicion upon the article by changing its name from butterine to margarine. If any thing were to be done to prevent fraud and adulteration as regards articles of this character it should be effected by means of a general Act, and not by a Bill of this character. He should endeavour to draw up a general Bill of the nature he had indicated. Of the 87 who voted in the House of Commons in favour of margarine 46 were Irish Members, who were interested in suppressing butterine as a rival of butter; but it should be remembered that farmers were interested in the sale of suet, from which butterine was largely made. He was glad to hear that the Committee stage of the Bill was to be postponed for a week in order that their Lordships might have an opportunity of reading the evidence given before the Committee which had been appointed to consider this subject.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he thought all were agreed that it was desirable to give a second reading to the Bill, and that there should be an interval of some days before the Committee. In his opinion it would be equally absurd to object to the term "velveteen" instead of worsted, because of its similarity to "velvet," as to object to the term butterine. There are two textures, one is called velvet, the other velveteen, the former of a much finer material, the second, probably as worn for clothing. What would be thought of a Bill rejecting the name of velveteen which has been known for years, in order to give the substance the name of worsted, which does not describe it, but which describes one element of it, upon the excuse of its being necessary to protect the velvet makers?

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, that the object of those who objected to the word butterine was to prevent the public from being imposed upon. He thought that the question might be settled by the introduction of both words, "margarine and butterine" being given to the title of the Bill, as both these substances, which were quite different from one another, were strictly defined in the Bill.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, that he had seen the substance called butterine, which resembled butter, but which contained no trace of butter. The term butterine was calculated to mislead people into believing that the substance was of the nature of butter. It was therefore necessary to discriminate between those who made a well-manufactured article and those who made a bad and unwholesome mixture; otherwise the Bill would be an idle one.

LORD BRAMWELL said, he objected to the substance being called by the name of margarine, which it certainly was not.

EARL FORTESCUE thought that it would be better to discuss all these points in Committee after the evidence which had been taken on the subject was in their hands.

LORD FITZGERALD said, what was wanted was an honest name. "Butterine" was a false name adopted to deceive the public.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Monday* the 1*st of August* next.

CORONERS BILL.—(No. 176.)

(*The Lord Chanellor.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was simply a measure for consolidating existing Statutes.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Chancellor.*)

LORD HERSCHELL said, he hoped that with this Consolidation Bill the subject of the amendment of the law would not be lost sight of. He could not help feeling impressed by the slow way in which we moved in matters of this sort. Some years ago he recommended an amendment of the law, and pointed out the direction which it should take. The consequence of the observations which he made was that an Act was passed by the State of Massachusetts, and he believed at least one other State followed the example. He had since heard that the Act was working extremely well. In this country where his observations had been made the law stood just as it was when he spoke 10 years ago.

LORD BRAMWELL said, that one of the most successful pieces of our legislation had its origin with his noble and learned Friend, he meant the consolidation of the law with respect to bills of exchange. One argument in support of the course proposed by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack he derived from his noble and learned Friend—namely, that the best way to see what Amendments were required in any body of law, was to consolidate the existing laws.

LORD THRING, as Chairman of the Committee for the Revision of the Statute Law, said, he hoped the Bill would be passed without any amendment altering the law. Any material improvement in the form of the Statute Law must be made by the aid of numerous Acts consolidating the scattered provisions of the law; and experience showed that such Acts could not be passed unless an assurance was given that they did not materially alter the law.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he did not mean that their Lordships should not pass this Consolidation Bill; but he hoped that that would not interfere with the amendment of the law relating to Coroners.

THE EARL OF SELBORNE said, that when any change was made in the law, it would be very necessary to deal with the question of the election of Coroners. As the freeholders of a county elected a Coroner, there was a long and expensive canvass, whenever there was a contest, as in most cases happened; and he knew for certain that the usefulness of some coroners had been permanently injured by the embarrassments into which they had fallen in consequence.

VISCOUNT CROSS said, that when he had the honour of being at the Home Office he brought in a Bill dealing with Coroners' elections. He knew the enormous expense of such contests in Lancashire, and he believed that it had seriously affected the usefulness of those officers. He, for one, would wish to see some other mode of election, but the first step to reform would be the consolidation of the law.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly.

COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

(*The Lord Hobhouse.*)

(NO. 180.) REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Amendments *reported* (according to Order).

LORD HERSCHELL said, that all their Lordships were agreed that where, in fact, the right of forfeiture was not of any pecuniary value at all, which was the case in the vast majority of instances, it ought to be excluded from consideration. He proposed, on the third reading, to move an Amendment to that effect.

Bill to be read 3ª on *Tuesday* next.

NEW ZEALAND.

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

LORD SANDHURST said, he had ventured to put on the Paper a Notice referring to the subject of the emigration of pensioners to New Zealand for two reasons. First, he hoped to induce their Lordships to agree with him that the idea he was about to ventilate was one which would be beneficial to the pensioner and to the Colony, and also to the advantage of the Mother Country; and, secondly, he proposed to call their Lordships' attention to the circumstances of the pensioner who, although in receipt of a pension, was not, owing to regulations, in a position to avail himself of the advantages which the receipt of such a pension should suggest. His object was to improve the position of the pensioner, direct his attention to the advantages of emigration, and facilitate that emigration which should not interfere with the labour market in the Colony. If, by a process of this kind, we could induce a stream of those men to go out, we should be forming a fresh link and direct association with the Colony, which, in itself, was sufficient to recommend the general idea to their Lordships. Again, the majority of those pensioners lived near and in the towns. The labour market was, as they were all painfully aware, greatly congested even in the agricultural districts, and if they could provide a system of this kind of emigration they might, though perhaps, imperceptably at first lessen the pressure. Successful men in the Colonies attracted others, and that pensioners had been successful as Colonists there was little difficulty in showing. There had been lately great interest taken in the subject of Colonial defence. He could not, of course, say what determination Her Majesty's Government had come to at the Colonial Conference; but whatever that determination might be, a body of pensioners could not fail to be of use in assisting any scheme. If only a small body went out they would form a valuable disciplined nucleus for a defence force, for he should suggest, if his plan came to anything, the pensioners being made liable to serve in New Zealand for Colonial defence, as they were liable to be called on by the War Office up to a certain age. If, on the other hand, a large number emigrated, he thought that the Imperial and Colonial Governments would find them of the greatest use. There was this difference between Australia and New Zealand in regard to defence. He believed that between Sydney and Victoria, there was no point at which a large force could be landed with a prospect of doing great harm if one of the great cities were attacked, the railway system was such that forces could be brought from Brisbane to Adelaide. New Zealand was different, it was a difficult country to defend on account of its innumerable harbours, and the formation of the country did not admit of sufficiently rapid communication between all parts. If they had stations of pensioners—disciplined veterans—who could be available, he thought that the men would materially aid in naval defence. No one travelling in New Zealand could fail to be struck by the advantages which that Colony offered for emigration, whether from England, India, or elsewhere. The Colony had truly been described as a paradise for working men. A comparatively short time ago the Government of New Zealand, with the dual purpose of opening up the country and attracting populations to settle on the land instead of staying in the towns, passed a Bill leasing on very advantageous terms to the occupier holdings from one to 50 acres. Success attended the effort, and Captain Daveney, the Imperial pensions officer, a gentleman of great experience and knowledge, bearing in mind the successful attempt of Sir George Grey to establish pensioners' settlements, perceived that great opportunities were offered for pensioners. He obtained from the Minister of Lands leave to send information on the subject to India in case there might be time-expired men who might be desirous of settling in New Zealand instead of returning to England, for their Lordships would remember that a time-expired man in India was given his choice of a passage home or to a colony; and, moreover, the Minister remarked that if anything came of the plan he would direct the Surveyor General to set aside good land for pensioners' settlements. These leases were on very favourable terms, and, moreover, there were great advantages for poor men in the Colony. Elementary education was free, and food was generally cheaper than in England. There was far more chance for a man raising himself and gaining a competency there than here, and his children would no doubt prosper more than himself, as there would be plenty of employment for them as they grew up. The idea was really a development under more favourable conditions of what was done in this way by Sir George Grey, and now there was no chance of disturbances with the Maoris which the early pioneers had to fear. He was informed that all who stayed on their land did well. He had received the following from the Imperial pensions officer:—

> "Sir George Grey founded five settlements. The pensioners lived on their lands until death. They managed not only to live well and bring up their families respectably, but numbers of their descendants still cling to their allotments and would not part with them. About 150 of these men still remain. I go out quarterly to pay their pensions, and it is a pleasure to look at their neat cottages and gardens. Most of them have been 40 years in their present abode."

Sir George Grey also testified to the success of the scheme. He had received a letter from the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Sir M. O'Rorke, who said—

> "I am very glad you are endeavouring to promote the introduction of additional pensioners into this Colony, and I hasten to offer you my testimony in favour of the scheme. I settled in the pensioners' settlements 31 years ago, and have represented it for 27 years uninterruptedly in the New Zealand Parliament. These settlements are unlike anything I have seen in Australia; the pensioners and their families having evidently taken root in the soil, and not indulging in the rambling propensities of other classes of Colonists. I can hardly decide in looking back over the last 30 years whether the Colony or the pensioners profited most by Sir George Grey's scheme. I consider it absolutely necessary that the pensioners should be accompanied by their wives."

That, he considered, was very valuable testimony. The pensioner was himself a capitalist with this advantage, that he could not spend his money in gin shops immediately on arrival at the port of debarkation. The men who go out must be pensioners and not those who had commuted the whole of their pension. Therefore, he did not wish to ask the Government for capital to carry out this idea. But there was a difficulty confronting them which might easily be got over—namely, the payment of passages out to New Zealand of a pensioner and his family. With regard to Army pensioners, there were some 85,000. The average age at which a soldier after 21 years' service went on the non-effective list was 39 to 40, and the average rate of pension of a sound, healthy man was 15*d.* to 16*d.*, the average number discharged per annum being 2,000. The pensioner might have his pension paid him in any part of Her Majesty's Dominions without having to obtain leave to go; therefore he might go to any Colony. If, however, he went to any foreign country before the age of 50 his pension was stopped. After 50 he might draw his pension in any part of the world. He could not commute his pension until after 50, and he must commute the whole or none. If he did commute his pension, he only capitalized it at four years' purchase instead of at the actuarial rate allowed to officers, which would be 11 years' purchase. The principle of allowing a man to commute the whole of his pension was, in his opinion, a bad one, because after a time, having had every temptation to throw his money away, and never having been in possession of such a sum before, he was very likely to return starving. But although he was opposed to commutation, he did think that if it was allowed at all it ought to be allowed at such an estimate of years' purchase as would be obtainable from an annuity company. An officer could commute a portion of his pension so long as he did not leave less than a third of it, or less than £80, and the computation of the number of years' purchase was based upon actuarial calculation. He thought it hard that a private soldier should have to take four years' purchase at 50 years of age when the proper rate would be 11. If at 39 he were allowed to commute a small proportion, he might then have sufficient to pay his passage, or, at any rate, to pay all but a very small margin of his passage out. Then he should like to remind their Lordships that this system of four years' purchase was started under very different circumstances than the present. In 1830 it was thought desirable to emigrate 1,500. When they were sent out their pension was commuted at only four years' purchase, as the land given them then was supposed to represent the remaining value. Now the four years' system obtains, although the land representing the remaining value was not given. As he had said, he was strongly opposed to pensions being entirely commuted, as were also the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. But, at the same time, if the principle were allowed it ought to be done at a fair rate, and, as was the case with officers, a portion might with advantage be commuted if the family were desirous to emigrate, so as to give a pensioner enough to pay his passage and leaving him the remainder of the pension to be received on landing. An advance of nine months was already given; but that was of use only to single men, for the sum realized would not be sufficient to pay for a family, and as the voyage only takes six or seven weeks, the emigrant would find himself without means on arrival. Possibly if the noble Lord did not approve this plan, perhaps he would consider the desirability of a loan, with repayment spread over a term of years, which would be deducted from the pension. He hoped the question would be carefully considered, both by the War Office and the Colonial Office. He had treated the pension as a reward for past services, and not entirely as a retainer for the future. But he had been told that his proposal would denude the country of some of its Reserve Forces. But the pensioners were only a substratum of reserve, were never called out, and were paid by Post Office order where they liked. The enrolled pensioners, who, no doubt, were a valuable force, served under an agreement at £1 per quarter. Pensioners did not belong to it merely from the fact of their being pensioners; it was an enlistment on their part, though he did not underrate pensioners, and he thought the pensioner would be more useful as a defender in New Zealand than he would be England. The idea had been approved by many in New Zealand, and the Auckland Chamber of Commerce passed a Resolution in its favour. Some time ago the Prime Minister received a deputation, headed by Lord Meath, and the difficulty he pointed out was that for such an undertaking as that alluded to in the speeches of the members of the deputation a gigantic loan would be required, therefore a complete scheme must be submitted to Government before such a proposal could be submitted to Parliament. But he asked for no large loan, the only difficulty was that of passage money, and he had indicated a method of overcoming that difficulty. He had had the advantage of conversation with many well-informed gentlemen who had watched the rapid growth of the Colonies, and in many cases assisted in the building of them up, and they greatly encouraged him in the idea that emigrant colonization would be attended with good results. He hoped, therefore, that his recommendation as to pensioners would meet with favourable consideration from the Under Secretary for War, who had shown an interest in the Army which would be praiseworthy in a soldier but was remarkable in a civilian. If he and the noble Earl the Under Secretary for the Colonies would allow him to assist them they would set in motion a plan of which the results might at first be small, but might lay a groundwork for a far larger scheme with far more remarkable results in the future. He begged to move for Papers on the subject.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House Papers relating to the emigration of pensioners to New Zealand."—(*The Lord Sandhurst.*)

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA said, he thought the House was indebted to the noble and gallant Lord for having brought the subject forward. It was matter of great regret that men who had served their country well should be reduced to a condition of want, and if means could be devised of assisting them and their families to a Colony in which they would have better prospects than lay before them at home, a great blessing would have been conferred on them and the country.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord HARRIS) said, he was extremely grateful to the noble and gallant Lord for bringing before the House a question which was not only a question of considerable interest to every noble Lord who had at heart the welfare of these men who had fought for their Queen and country, but a large and important question. The noble and gallant Lord suggested that pensioners should be assisted by the State in the way of an advance of money or more favourable terms of commutation in order to enable them to emigrate to the Colonies. Up to 50 years of age a pensioner was liable to serve in this country, or if he is in a Colony might be called up by the Governor of that Colony, or by the lawful authority in this country. But the pension was not altogether a pension, it was also in the nature of a retaining fee for future services. After 50 the pensioner was absolutely free, and his pension must be paid without any liability as to service on his part. With respect to the propriety of making advances to pensioners the Board of Commissioners at Chelsea had more than once endeavoured to induce the Treasury to allow advances in a lump sum for two years to enable the pensioner to emigrate, with the understanding that if he was not able to find employment in the Colony and returned his pension would go on as before. But the Treasury had not acceded to the suggestion, and the utmost advance they would make was from six to nine months' pension. The question of commutation was an intricate though interesting question. It had been recognized so far back as Queen Anne's reign, but it was not carried into effect until 1830, when British soldiers were allowed to commute their pension for four years in order to emigrate to Canada where tracts of land were granted them. A large number of men availed themselves of the privilege; but being unable to get on in their new home were compelled to return to this country. Considerable complaints were made of the War Office authorities for having induced the men to accept these terms. In 1831 the Secretary of State wrote to the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital, and pointed out to them what those terms were. The Commissioners expostulated that the terms were not good enough, and that a man's pension was worth more than four years' purchase; but the Secretary of State replied that he was bound by the Act of 1830. The difference between the terms which officers were allowed to obtain and what the pensioners could obtain had only existed within the last 20 years. 1869 was the first time that statutory authority was given to an officer to commute his half-pay on an actuarial value, whereas a pensioner remained under the old Act of 1830, and could only obtain four years' purchase for his pension. He was exceedingly obliged to his noble and gallant Friend for having brought forward this subject. He thought it was one which ought to be carefully considered by the country. This was, however, hardly a matter with which their Lordships could deal, for if a change were made in the amount which a pensioner could obtain as commutation the subject would have to be dealt with in a Money Bill in the other House of Parliament. But it was a matter which he thought was worthy the consideration of Parliament. He was exceedingly obliged to the noble and gallant Lord for having drawn attention to it, and he could assure him that it had not escaped the notice of the Secretary of State for War. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Stanhope) was quite prepared to take it into consideration; but it was impossible for their Lordships to go any further at this moment under the circumstances he had stated. It was a very large question, and it was hardly one with regard to which he could pledge himself at this moment. He had not found in the War Office any Papers which bore on this subject. The most interesting details were to be found in the reports of of the Parliamentary debates about 1831 and 1832; but if the noble Lord would call at the War Office he should be afforded an opportunity of seeing the Papers there that related to the subject of his Motion.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he wished that the Colonial Conference, of the existence of which they had heard so much and seen so little, had been now sitting, because this was a question which might well come before them. He confessed he thought the Treasury was taking what they sometimes thought it did—a somewhat pettifogging view with reference to this matter. This question of State aided emigration was very important, especially in connection with the proposal now brought forward. Here it was not merely a question of relieving over-population, but of reviving the old Roman form of colonization in this country by providing for the defence of our Colonies and settling great numbers of deserving men who could not find employment. This question of State-aided emigration would, in its full scope, soon have to be faced by the Government, and he regretted that the Government did not see their way to face it even in this small connection on the present occasion. There were very few questions on which the country felt so great an interest at this moment as the question of emigration. In the present case the colony was willing to receive the emigrants if the Imperial Government would facilitate the sending of them out. In conclusion, he hoped that the Colonial Office and the War Office would endeavour to force a more statesman-like view of this question on the Treasury.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (The EARL of ONSLOW) said, this question of emigration was not among the subjects to be brought before the Colonial Conference, and therefore the Conference was not invited to pronounce an opinion upon it. There were a number of noble Lords and of hon. Members who had taken up the question of emigration with great zeal and energy, and who at the time the Conference was sitting had lengthened interviews with distinguished delegates who attended its meetings and who expressed to them their views on the subject. In regard to the particular question brought forward by the noble Lord, he could only say that the colony of New Zealand and the Colonial Office were always glad that there should be such an addition to our colonists as was likely to be of service to the colony. One of the great difficulties which they had to contend with in any scheme of emigration was as to the class of men who proposed to go out. These men who had served their Queen and country with distinction were men whom any colony ought to be proud to receive. The noble and gallant Lord had asked that some papers on the subject might be laid upon the Table of the House. His noble Friend had stated that there were none in the War Office, and he might add that there were none in the Colonial Department. He believed the only Papers consisted of a collection of letters printed and circulated by the noble and gallant Lord who had brought forward this Motion. These showed that the noble and gallant Lord had been in communication with representatives of the Colony of New Zealand, and he might, perhaps, express a hope that the noble and gallant Lord would exercise his influence with the representatives of the Colonies in order to induce them to do something to get over what appeared to be the main difficuty—namely, the payment of the passages of the emigrants.

Lord HARRIS said, it was no doubt a question whether it was wise that the country should lose these men who, in the event of an invasion, might be exceedingly useful; but as a matter of fact the State had actually assisted them to emigrate.

Lord SANDHURST, in thanking the Under Secretary of State for War for his sympathetic reply, said, he fully admitted that they could not go further at this moment. He regretted that the noble Lord (Lord Harris) and himself approached the question of pensions from two different standpoints, the noble Lord saying it was a retainer for the future, and he (Lord Sandhurst) regarding it as a reward for past services. The noble Lord also seemed to lay much stress upon the value of pensioners' services at home; and regarding the payment of passages, suggested by the noble Earl (the Earl of Onslow), he would venture to remind him that New Zealand had already paid upwards of £2,000,000 in assisting emigration.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—THE CHANCERY DIVISION.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

The Earl of SELBORNE asked the Lord Chancellor, Whether any steps are likely soon to be taken to carry into effect the recommendations of the Committee, lately presided over by the Master of the Rolls, as to the business of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice? The noble and learned Lord said that the Committee, which consisted of the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Justice Kay, the late Mr. Justice Pearson—whose name he could not mention without expressing his sense of the eminent judicial services of that learned and excellent Judge, and of the great loss which the country had sustained by his death—Mr. Justice Stirling, Sir Horace Davey, and four other gentlemen, made their Report on August 7, 1885; and though there were some differences of opinion, the conclusion they came to was that it was clear that the actual number of Judges attached to the Chancery Division was unequal to cope with the business, and therefore they thought it necessary that the Chancery Division should be reinforced by an additional Judge. That might be done in either of two ways—either by transferring a Judge from the Queen's Bench to the Chancery Division, or by increasing the whole number of Judges. He found that the number of causes standing for hearing on the 16th of October, 1884, was 842; on the 23rd of May, 1885, 667; at the beginning of the present Trinity sittings 786, above 100 more than in May, 1885; and on the 20th of July, 1887, the number was 826. He thought their Lordships would be of opinion that under the circumstances it was desirable that steps should at once be taken to do whatever could be done to accelerate the despatch of business in that important Division of the Court.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, that the Report was brought under his notice some time ago, and he had considered it. It was impossible not to feel that much depended on the appointment of an additional Judge; and he quite agreed that it was absolutely essential, in order to clear off the arrears, that additional assistance should be given. Much injury and additional cost was caused to suitors by the present state of things. They had to come up from the country once, twice, and perhaps oftener, to have their cases disposed of. The difficulty of dealing with this matter was the state of business in the other House. There was a power to appoint an additional Judge under the 18th section of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, by an Address of both Houses; and he was prepared to move their Lordships' House in the matter. After communication with the First Lord of the Treasury, it was impossible to say whether time could be found in the other House for a Motion upon the subject. Although it was a very urgent matter, there were other even more urgent questions; and, in the present state of business, his right hon. Friend informed him that it was impossible to name a day for making such a Motion, though the opportunity might occur before the Session came to an end.

Lord HERSCHELL said, he thought that those who were averse to making this change were not sufficiently alive to the frightful injury which the present state of affairs was inflicting on suitors.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD LAMINGTON said, he rose to call the attention of the House to the very inconvenient arrangements made by the Admiralty to enable the Members of both Houses of Parliament to see the Naval Review. The arrangements for the Members of both Houses and their ladies were most unsatisfactory. They would be taken down to Portsmouth by special train, but left to get back to London as best they could. It was stated that they must return in any class of carriage they might be able to get into. The arrangements made by the Admiralty were not intelligible; and he would ask why, if they could have special trains down from London, they could not have special trains back to town, as he thought might be arranged with the most perfect ease? The arrangements made for the Naval Review of 1856 were also very bad. Many Peers and Peeresses on that occasion did not get back to London until 3 o'clock in the morning. The whole affair was a disgrace to the Admiralty, as the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) well knew; and he trusted that the mistakes made then were not going to be repeated on Saturday.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that, as his noble Friend had appealed to him, he would say that, partly from his recollection of the eventful day to which reference was made, and partly from his own want of confidence in Her Majesty's present Government, he intended to entrust himself entirely to the hospitality of the Mercantile Marine, and not to that of the Royal Navy.

LORD ELPHINSTONE (A LORD in WAITING) regretted exceedingly that his noble Friend was not satisfied with the arrangements made by the Admiralty for the convenience of both Houses of Parliament. The Board had made the best arrangements in their power, and they hoped they would be successful in every respect and that every person would be satisfied. He had taken the trouble to go to the Waterloo Railway Station, and he learned from the manager that there was only room in the dockyard for one train at a time. The difficulty was to get a train into the dockyard and out of it: under ordinary circumstances, and if the way was clear it occupied 20 minutes, not allowing five minutes for filling up. The Admiralty guests, who numbered 2,900, would fill seven trains, and they would occupy about three hours in getting away. If a special train were in waiting when the guests were landed, no doubt his noble Friend, with his stalwart frame, would be able to get a seat, but smaller and weaker men like himself would be left behind. It was only six and a-half minutes' walk from the landing stage to the Harbour Station, where the trains would be continuous. It was thought very much better that the Admiralty guests should go from the Harbour Station, carriages being reserved for them in each special train despatched. It would be much more for the convenience of Members of Parliament that this course should be adopted, as otherwise they might be kept waiting a long time for special trains. Moreover, noble Lords and Members of Parliament, with the other Admiralty guests, would be landed at different times from Her Majesty's Ships, and would leave for town as they came ashore without waiting for a special train at a stated hour. He thought that the Railway Company had done the best they could, having regard to the fact that the company was answerable for the lives of all the passengers they carried. The Admiralty had, he thought, made the best arrangements possible under the circumstances with the Railway Company in arranging that two carriages should be reserved for noble Lords and Members of Parliament in each special train despatched for London.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS asked whether arrangements could not be made for more than two carriages for ours to be attached to special trains for the Admiralty guests to start from Portsmouth Harbour Station at stated hours?

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, he thought it would cause a great deal of inconvenience unless more than two carriages were reserved by each train for the Admiralty guests.

LORD ELPHINSTONE said, he wished to remind noble Lords that all the trains despatched from Portsmouth Harbour would be special trains. As all the Admiralty guests would not be landed at the same moment, it would be inconvenient to run special trains at stated hours for the Members of Parliament. If two carriages were not enough by each train, all the rest of the train was open to their Lordships and Members of Parliament.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

Leave given to the following Lords to sign the Protest against the Third Reading, although their Lordships were not present when the question was put; viz.,

M. Ripon.
E. Chesterfield.
E. Granville.
E. Kimberley.
E. Sydney.
V. Hampden.
V. Oxenbridge.
L. Camoys.
L. Braye.
L. Rosebery.
L. Leigh.
L. Houghton.
L. Acton.
L. Wolverton.
L. Greville.
L. Sandhurst.
L. Hothfield.
L. Northbourne.
L. Monskwell.
L. Hobhouse.
L. Herschell.
L. Kensington.
L. Burton.
L. Hamilton of Dalzell.
L. Thring.

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 21st July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBERS SWORN—Arthur Frederick Jeffreys, esquire, *for* County of Hants (Northern or Basingstoke Division); Honble. George Godolphin Osborne, commonly called Marquess of Carmarthen, *for* Borough of Lambeth (Brixton Division); Henry Charles Stephens, esquire, *for* County of Middlesex (Hornsey Division).

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Postponed Resolutions* [July 19] *agreed to*.
Resolutions [July 20] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Committee*—Irish Land Law [308]—R.P.; Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment [323]—R.P.

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2)* [331], and *passed*.

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS—*Report*—Local Government (No. 9)* [296]; Local Government (Ireland) (Dublin, &c.)* [312].

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

WILLESDEN LOCAL BOARD BILL
(by Order).

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Order for Consideration of Lords' Amendments read.

Lords' Amendments *considered*.

MR. HASTINGS (Worcestershire, E.): I have to move, in page 6, line 10, to leave out—

> "Have been examined as to such knowledge in such manner as the Local Board may from time to time direct," in order to insert "hold a Certificate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, or of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or of the Institution of Surveyors, or of such other body as the Local Government Board may from time to time approve, that he has been examined and is competent for such office."

The object of the Amendment is to insure that the persons appointed by the Local Board under the Bill, and entrusted with the important duty of reporting whether sanitary requirements have been properly carried out, should be men fully competent to exercise the duties of the office. A Select Committee appointed by this House in 1882 in connection with the Sanitary Regulations Bill were strongly of opinion that the building surveyor ought to have a certificate of fitness from some Body competent to examine him and give such a certificate; and a provision was inserted in the Bill requiring him to undergo an examination, either before the Royal Institute of British Architects, or some other Public Body. The House of Lords, however, struck out that provision, and left it an open qualification, determinable by the Local Board. Now, I maintain that that is mischievous, and a principle which this House should endeavour to guard against. Certainly, as the Local Board have the patronage, something should be done to secure that the persons they appoint are fully competent to perform the duties of the office. My proposal is that the Inspectors appointed by the Local Board should obtain a certificate from one of the three chartered Bodies mentioned in my Amendment, which I now beg to move.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 10, to leave out "have been examined as to such knowledge in such manner as the Local Board may from time to time direct."—(*Mr. Hastings.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Amendment."

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan): I hope the House will allow me to say one or two words in support of the Amendment moved by my hon. Friend. I had the pleasure of sharing with him the labours of the Committee to which he has referred; and I can bear testimony to the extreme care with which every point was investigated. But no point received more care and attention than this. The question is one of the utmost importance. The Inspectors to be appointed under the Bill are intrusted with powers of an extraordinary character. They have much greater powers than are given to the Local Authorities in ordinary cases. They have power to examine buildings during successive stages of their construction; and if they are incompetent to discharge the duties of the office, very great hardship may be inflicted upon those who are engaged in building transactions, to the injury of the community at large if unwholesome buildings are sanctioned. What is wanted is a certificate from some Public Body that the persons employed are properly qualified for this important position. The Amendment of my hon. Friend is entirely in harmony with our general policy that those who occupy the position of Inspectors should undergo some test as to their abilities. There is no hard, cast-iron qualification laid down, but one of an extremely elastic character, because the Local Board, from time to time, will have power to alter and amend it in order to guard the interests of those who are engaged in building operations, and, on the other hand, to secure that the interests of the community are made equally safe. It is in order that there may be some such security that my hon. Friend and myself respectfully submit this Amendment to the House.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed,

To insert the words "hold a Certificate of the Royal Institute of British Architects, or of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or of the Institution of Surveyors, or of such other body as the Local Government may from time to time approve, that he has been examined and is competent for such office."—(*Mr. Hastings.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Lords' Amendments, as amended, *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

—o—

INCOME TAX—RETURNS OF PERSONS EMPLOYED BY JOINT STOCK, &c., COMPANIES.

MR. SALT (Stafford) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether persons in the employment of private firms or of individuals are permitted to make Returns of Income Tax based upon a three years' average as provided in 16 & 17 *Vict.* c. 34, s. 48, but that persons employed by Joint Stock or other public Companies are not allowed a similar privilege; and, what is the cause that this difference is made between persons of similar position and occupation?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): So far as the individuals employed in private firms are concerned, they are entitled to make returns for assessment to Income Tax on the three years' average. But with respect to *employés* in Joint Stock and some other Companies, the practice of making their returns on the principle of the three years' average is confined to clerks, buyers, salesmen, travellers, agents, &c., the Board of Inland Revenue being advised that managing directors, secretaries, and other officers of that standing are chargeable on the income which they actually receive in the year.

GENERAL REGISTER OF SASINES, EDINBURGH—ATTENDANCE OF CLERKS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he will be good enough to state in what document the conditions of service are set forth by which the clerks in the Office of the General Register of Sasines at Edinburgh may be expected to give additional attendance without extra remuneration; whether the "usual condition" on which the hours of said Department are fixed (referred to on page 11 of the Treasury Minute of 27th March, 1881) is the usual condition respecting additional attendance throughout the Civil Service; whether, in the other branches of the Service liable to periodic increases of work (such as the Post Office, &c.) extra remuneration is given for additional attendance; and, whether the clerks (including the Assistant Keeper) in the Sasines Office, who were required to give additional attendance to overtake the arrears of work caused by the extra pressure of the Whitsunday term, will be remunerated according to such usual conditions?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The conditions of service by which the clerks in the Office of the General Register of Sasines at Edinburgh might be expected to give additional attendance without extra remuneration are contained in the Treasury Minute of March 27, 1881, under the heading "Hours of Attendance." The salaries sanctioned by that Minute were fixed in view of the fact that the pressure of work varied during the year, and they were intended to cover the performance of all the work of the Department, although it should entail attendance in times of pressure beyond the usual office hours. The question of payment for extra duty is one that the Treasury is obliged to deal with on the merits of each case; and even if such payments are made in the Post Office it does not follow that they must necessarily be made in every other Department whenever extra attendance is required.

LONDON BROKERS' RELIEF ACT—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will consent to the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the operation of the London Brokers' Relief Act (33 & 34 *Vict.* c. 60), by which Act the Aldermen of the City of London were relieved of the duty of making inquiries as to the fitness of persons to act as stockbrokers in the City of London, and to take further evidence relating to the management of the Stock Exchange since the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission in 1878; and, whether the Government, if they cannot consent to the appointment of such Royal Commission, will bring in a measure to give effect to the suggestion of the Commissioners in their Report of 1878—namely, of investing the existing Association with a public character, in the shape of a Charter of Incorporation, as a protection to the public in Stock Exchange transactions?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government are of opinion that the evidence taken before the Royal Commission in 1878 as to the conduct of business on the Stock Exchange was adequate and complete; and as no material change in the conditions has occurred in the interval they see no necessity for the appointment of another Commission upon the subject. I am informed that the recommendations of the Royal Commission have, in the main, been adopted by the Stock Exchange, with the exception of that which suggested that they should be incorporated by Royal Charter, on which the Members of the Royal Commission were not unanimous. Successive Governments, between 1878 and 1887, have not thought it expedient to proceed further in the matter; but the present Government will consider, during the Recess, whether it would be consistent with sound policy that any further steps should be taken to invest the Association with a public character.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND) — EVICTIONS ON THE BROOKE ESTATE, COOLGREANY—CAPTAIN HAMILTON.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the following paragraph in *The Pall Mall Gazette* of 14th July—

> "Pat Grenell swore that he was concealed in his own house, when he heard a voice say three times 'put a match to it,' and, being then in fear of being burned alive, he cried 'Police,' and that police came in and dragged him out. Robert Hart swore that while concealed in the orchard, 12 yards from the house, he saw Captain Hamilton go through the motion of rubbing matches on his leg, then step upon some old timber, lift the thatch, and insert something, then press the thatch down again, and that a few minutes afterwards fire burst out from the place. Matthew Cunan swore the same, and so did B. Kavanagh, and several witnesses heard a constable exclaim with an oath, 'Hamilton has set fire to the house!'"

whether, in spite of this evidence, Captain Slacke, R.M., refused to issue a warrant against Captain Hamilton; and, whether the Government will institute an independent inquiry into the conduct of the magistrate in this case?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, Patrick Grenell did swear that he was concealed in his house when he heard a voice say "Put a match to it," and he was then removed; but he did not cry out for the police, as alleged. Hart and Kavanagh swore that they saw Captain Hamilton "striking a match, or something similar;" that he put it to the eave of the house and set fire to the thatch; and that a policeman exclaimed —"By the Eternal, he is setting fire to the house!" Cunan did not swear the same. He swore only that he saw no smoke until he saw Captain Hamilton move away from the house. These informations were so directly opposed to the real facts of the case, and so contrary to the statements of other spectators who are prepared to give evidence in the case, that the two Resident Magistrates who were present, and the Divisional Magistrate, Captain Slacke, unhesitatingly refused to issue a warrant for Captain Hamilton's arrest. They, however, informed Grenell's solicitor that he could proceed by summons, which would cause a full investigation of the charge. This step has not up to the present been taken. The Government see no ground for instituting an inquiry.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE LISMACARAL (DERRY) SCHOOL.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Board of Irish National Education have for more than 12 months placed the Lismacaral (County Derry) School outside the Board; if the attendance is as great as in places of a similar kind; if the present teacher has received nothing from the Board for the last 12 months; if the average attendance has been equal to that of the period when the school was under the Board; if the district is exclusively Protestant and Presbyterian; and, if the Government will agree to have the school placed under the Board once more?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the National Education Commissioners reported in May, 1885, that the Lismacaral School was struck off the roll of National schools because the average attendance had been below the required minimum. The school having been reopened under a competent teacher, and the average attendance having become sufficient, the Commissioners revived the grant.

ADMIRALTY—USE OF PETROLEUM AS FUEL FOR THE NAVY.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether his attention has been called to the use of petroleum, as fuel for steamers, by the Russian Government; whether any experiments have been made by the Admiralty Department to ascertain if oil could be used in the ships of the Royal Navy for that purpose; and, whether he has any information to show that oil is cleaner in its use than coal, less expensive to work, and occupies half the space in stowage?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The question of the use of petroleum as fuel for steamers is being closely watched by the Admiralty. Experiments have been carried out, from time to time, with various appliances to test the efficiency of the system, and it is the case that oil is cleaner in its use than coal and occupies less space. Hitherto, however, experiments show that, under present conditions, it is more costly than coal for a given power, and does not conform so well to the conditions necessary for the rapid generation of steam.

PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND)—INSANITARY CONDITION OF PORTARLINGTON.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the attention of the Government has been directed to the pestilential condition of a portion of the town of Portarlington and the impossibility of adequately draining the town, owing to the fact that the bed of the River Barrow, which flows through it, is higher than the level of the drains; and, whether the Treasury will direct some works to be undertaken, in the present favourable season, to guard against a possible outbreak of disease in the town?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The Royal Commission on Irish Public Works paid special attention to this point in connection with the general question of the drainage of the River Barrow; and the works recommended by them would, if carried out, have the effect of lowering the bed of the river at Portarlington, so as to afford a proper fall for the drainage of the town. But, even if it were practicable to begin these works this year without any legal powers, it would not be physically possible to produce any satisfactory result at Portarlington until the work lower down the river had been carried out.

IRELAND — ARTIZANS' DWELLINGS, KINGSTOWN.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has arrived at any decision regarding the Kingstown Artizans Dwelling scheme, concerning which a deputation from the Township Commissioners recently waited upon him?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the Irish Government were still in communication with the Local Government Board with reference to the proposed scheme.

PUBLIC HEALTH—INSANITARY CONDITION OF MARGATE.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he proposes to take any action in consequence of the official Report of Dr. Page to the Local Government Board, stating that—

> "The Town Council of Margate continues in default in not providing for the pressing (sanitary) requirements of their district,"

and that—

> "The infant mortality in Margate has during the last five years been 170 per 1,000; whereas the infant mortality of the rest of England is 142 per 1,000;"

and, whether it will be possible to provide for the periodical publication of Reports on the sanitary condition of other towns by independent Medical Inspectors of the Local Government Board?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Board have sent copies of the Report to the Town Council, and requested that they will at once give it their serious consideration, and inform the Board of the action which they propose to take with regard to the matters to which it refers. The Reports of the Board's Medical Inspectors on the sanitary condition of districts inspected by them are usually printed; and, when it is considered expedient, they are placed on sale. When a Report is in print, and not on sale, the Board are always willing to supply copies to persons interested.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY FUND.

MR. P. M'DONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a Memorial has been received from the Royal Irish Constabulary Pensioners praying that the fund known as the Royal Irish Constabulary Fund might now be wound up; what the intention of the Government is with respect to the Fund in question if the prayer of the Memorial be not acceded to at present; and, whether this Fund, established in 1836 and originally intended for the benefit of the widows and orphans of policemen, now amounts to £133,489?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: Memorials praying for the winding-up of the Constabulary Force Fund have been received on behalf of some of the pensioners from the Royal Irish Constabulary; but the Government do not consider it advisable to comply with the prayer. This Fund, the scope of which was enlarged by the Constabulary Act of 1866, has been applied strictly to the purposes laid down by that Act —namely the reward of meritorious members of the Constabulary Force, and also for the relief of the widows and children of the members of that Force. The intention is to continue to apply the Fund strictly to those purposes till all the existing charges on the Fund shall have been paid off as they mature from time to time. So far as can now be estimated these claims will absorb the greater portion of the accumulated fund, amounting to £133,489.

METEOROLOGICAL OFFICE — INVENTION OF MR. B. A. COLLINS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Has he received any reply from the Meteorological Office regarding the invention of Mr. B. A. Collins; and, if the apparatus has been rejected, will he give the reason for such rejection?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have received a letter from the Meteorological Office on a proposal made by various persons, and recently renewed by Mr. B. A. Collins, for the mooring of buoys in the Atlantic and communicating by means of mechanical and electrical apparatus with the shore, so as to record the height of the barometer fixed on the buoy. The proposal to obtain telegraphic reports of weather and other phenomena in the open sea from buoys furnished with automatic instruments is not new, and has been before the Meteorological Authorities since 1872. Parliament has not, however, placed at the disposal of the State any funds either for making experiments in the matter, or for establishing such a system should experiments prove of value. As regards the particular form of apparatus proposed by Mr. Collins, the Board of Trade have received no opinion from the Meteorological Office. The Office have not rejected it, as they have no power and no funds to enable them to take steps to test it and so enable them to form any practical opinion on it.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA—RESIGNATION OF MR. HENSMAN, ATTORNEY GENERAL.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, What reason was assigned for the resignation of Mr. Hensman as Attorney General of Western Australia; was the Governor of the Colony censured for his conduct towards Mr. Hensman; and, will he lay upon the Table of the House the whole Correspondence relating to the question?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): Mr. Hensman resigned on the ground that he considered that the Governor had made grave and unjust charges against him and had reflected on his professional honour, and had charged him with discrediting and disgracing his office. The Governor has not been formally censured; but his conduct has been, in some respects, disapproved; and as to the matter referred to in his letter of resignation, Mr. Hensman was informed by my Predecessor that he appeared to have advised the Governor in perfect good faith, and that his conduct had not laid him open to any just imputations of professional misconduct. I may add that he has since been offered the Attorney Generalship of Barbadoes, which he was unable to accept. The Papers are very bulky, and in part confidential, and I cannot, I fear, undertake to present them. The matter is not one of public interest; and Mr. Hensman's character, as I have before pointed out, has been cleared from any charge of professional misconduct.

HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE—"BILLING v. BROGDEN."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether a case of "Billing *v.* Brogden" was heard before Mr. Justice North in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in March, 1886; whether judgment has yet been delivered; and, if he can state what is the cause of the 16 months' delay?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight), in reply, said, it was a fact that judgment had not yet been delivered in the case referred to. The learned Judge informed him that the delay had arisen from the great difficulty and the complicated nature of the case. The arguments had extended over 14 days; and there were in the case a great many matters of account which required the closest attention. Judgment would, however, be delivered in a few days.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. THOMAS HEWSON, B.L.

MR. M. J. KENNY (Tyrone, Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Thomas Hewson, B.L., has applied for the position of Resident Magistrate; if his name is on the list of candidates; and, if there is any intention on the part of the Irish Government to appoint him to the position indicated?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, he understood that Mr. Thomas Hewson had applied to the Government for the appointment of Resident Magistrate, and his name had been, in the ordinary course, submitted as a candidate, without in any way entering into the merits of the case. The Government, in accordance with the general practice, declined to declare how they exercised the discretionary powers vested in them with regard to such matters.

MR. M. J. KENNY gave Notice that he would call attention to the proposed intention of the appointment of this man as a Resident Magistrate in Ireland on the Chief Secretary's Vote.

LAND COURTS (IRELAND)—TENANTS OF MAJOR GALLWAY, DINGLE, CO. KERRY.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether tenants of Major Gallway, near Dingle, County Kerry, on the expiration of their leases served originating notices in the Land Courts last November; and, whether any Sub-Commission has since been held in Dingle, or elsewhere, to decide their cases, or any others now pending in the Dingle District; and, if not, when will such sittings be held?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the Land Commission reported that eight tenants on the estate of Major Gallway, in the Union of Dingle, served originating notices last November. These notices were listed for hearing before the Sub-Commission sitting for the County of Kerry in April last; but the time at the disposal of the Sub-Commission did not permit of its having any of the cases listed for the Union of Dingle. It was not probable that there would be a Sub-Commission sitting for the County of Kerry before the end of the year.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON asked, if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was aware that these tenants were liable for rent which was between three and four times the Government valuation pending the arrangement by the Sub-Commission?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he he had no information on the subject.

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT — LABOURERS' COTTAGES — SOUTH DUBLIN UNION.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the initial steps to have several labourers' cottages built in the Electoral Divisions of Clondalkin, Rathfarnham, and Tallaght, in the South Dublin Union, were taken so far back as December, 1885; whether a single one of those cottages has yet been built; and, if not, what is the reason of the delay; and, whether it is true that the Local Government Board has hitherto, by delays, thrown difficulties in the way of carrying out the schemes; and, if so, what he proposes to do with a view to quickening the action of the Local Government Board in the matter, and thus hastening the completion of a much needed public work?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, the proposed scheme was not lodged with the Local Government Board till the 27th of August, 1886. Owing to amendments to the scheme being adopted by the Guardians, delay occurred, and their case was not ready for inquiry until the 17th of January this year. An inquiry took place in February, and the result was communicated to the Guardians in March. Further information was required by the Local Government Board before they could issue a Provisional Order. This information had not been supplied by the Guardians until the 29th of June. The Provisional Order was issued on the 7th of July. Any unnecessary delay that occurred was owing entirely to the Board of Guardians.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—APPEALS—INSPECTION OF REPORTS BY LITIGANTS.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it was the original practice of the Land Commission to have a Report as to the value of every holding, regarding which there was an appeal from the decision of a Sub-Commission, made by one or more Court valuers; whether it was the original practice to allow these Reports to be inspected by the litigants before the cases came on for hearing; and, if not, when this practice was first introduced, and whether there was an increase in the number of appeals for the three months following the commencement of this practice, compared with the previous three months; whether this practice of allowing litigants to inspect these Reports before the hearing of cases was abandoned or modified in December, 1884; and, if so, for what reason; whether there was any diminution or increase in the number of appeals lodged or withdrawn in the 12 months following such change compared with the previous 12 months; and, whether any further change or modification has been made in said practice since December, 1884; and, if so, if he would state to the House what change or modification, also when and for what purpose such change was made, and what is the existing practice?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The practice of having Court valuations in every case of appeals without expense to the parties began with the first sittings of the Appeal Court; and therefore there can be no comparison between the number of appeals before and after the establishment of the practice. The inspection of the Reports of valuers has never been, and is not now, allowed until after the hearing of the cases they refer to; but litigants have always been informed of the amounts of the valuations as soon as the valautions were made. In December, 1884, the system of Court valuation was changed by discontinuing the practice of free valuation, and by providing that any suitor might have a valuation made of a holding, the rent of which was in dispute, on the payment of a fee. The reasons of this change were —(1) that under the system of free valuation large numbers of appeals were brought, apparently with the object only of getting a valuation without expense to the appellant. Then, on the amount of the valuation being ascertained, the appellant withdrew or prosecuted his appeal, as suited him best. (2) The knowledge that a free valuation would be made in every appeal case, besides tending to increase vastly the number of appeals, induced suitors to take no trouble to produce evidence of value before the Sub-Commission or Civil Bill Court. They became inclined rather to disregard the lower Court and to reserve themselves for the Court of Appeal, which was thus in the way of becoming a Court of First Instance. (3) The great expense to the public of free valuations. The practice of granting a Court valuation on the payment of a fee began in December, 1884, and was continued till February 28, 1886. It was then abandoned, because it was found that the valuation obtained on the requisition and at the cost of one of the appellants was looked upon with suspicion by the opposite party, on the ground that it was likely to be partial and in favour of the party paying for it. The practice adopted in February, 1886, and still in force, is to grant valuations without cost to the parties in such cases only where it appears to the Commissioners themselves that such valuations will assist them in arriving at just decisions; and the Commissioners order valuations by Court valuers to be made after hearing cases as well as before if, at the hearing, such valuations seem desirable. With regard to the number of appeals lodged or withdrawn respectively in the 12 months before and the 12 months after December, 1884, when free valuations ceased and paid valuations commenced, they were as follows:—In the 12 months ending December 31, 1884, 5,290 were lodged, and 1,684 withdrawn: in the 12 months after that date, 1,683 were lodged, and 2,149 withdrawn; but these figures are, to a certain extent, misleading, for in the first 12 months named there was an average of 57 Assistant Commissioners at work, and in the second 12 months an average of 27. There was, therefore, a much larger number of cases heard by the lower Courts in 1884 than in 1885.

In reply to Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.),

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he would lay this answer on the Table of the House.

LAW AND POLICE — CONDITION OF CELLS AT POLICE STATIONS (METROPOLIS).

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the following description of the condition of the police cells at Molyneux Street Police Station, Edgware Road, and at Marylebone Police Court, in a book entitled *Imprisoned in the House of Detention for Libel*, written by Mr. John Dawson:—

> "No sooner had I stretched myself on my wooden pallet than a whole army of rascals in brown uniform began to attack me. They swarmed down the walls, up from the floor, and ran a race as if for dear life, to be the first to gorge themselves with my blood. Of course, I speedily arose, and, looking about, saw that the cell was literally swarming with the filthy creatures. Police cells, I am given to understand, are invariably in this dirty state, and it is impossible, it is said, to keep them clean;"

and, whether, if this description be correct, he will issue immediate orders to have a reform made in the police cells of the Metropolis?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have not seen the statement quoted in the Question; but I am informed by the Commissioner of Police that the cells at the Molyneux Street Police Station are kept as clean as possible; but it is not possible, even with daily washing and frequent fumigation, to keep the buildings quite free from vermin, in consequence of the condition of those who are daily lodged in them. There has been no previous complaint as to the state of the cells at the Marylebone Police Court; but I have ordered an immediate inquiry to take place as to their alleged condition. I may add that a large sum is annually spent on the improvement of the cells of the Metropolis, and last year improvements were made in six stations. I hope that by the substitution which is being made of iron and hard wood for the soft material of which the old Benches were composed the matters complained of may be remedied.

MERSEY DOCK AND HARBOUR BOARD—FERRY COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BOOTLE AND NEW BRIGHTON.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been directed to the fact that efforts have been repeatedly made by the Corporation of Bootle and the Wallasey Local Board, with the object of having ferry communication established between Bootle and New Brighton; whether he is aware that the distance in a direct line across the Mersey, between Bootle and New Brighton, which is a popular and largely frequented watering-place, is about one mile, and that, in order to reach there, the inhabitants of Bootle, Walton, Kirkdale, Seaforth, Everton, and the northern portions of the City of Liverpool have to travel distances varying from three to five miles to the Liverpool Landing Stage, and thence a distance of over three miles by water; whether he is aware that, notwithstanding the exertions of the above-named Public Bodies and strongly expressed public feeling in the matter by the large population affected, the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board have persistently refused to allow any facilities for embarking or landing passengers; and, whether he will exercise his influence to induce the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board to afford the required accommodation?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): I have communicated with the Mersey Dock and Harbour Board. With every desire to meet the views of the Bootle Authorities, the Dock Board are unable to assent to the establishment of this new ferry, as it would seriously interfere with, and retard the working of, the dock traffic at the entrance of the Canada basin, and which it is essentially necessary should be conducted with the utmost regularity and despatch. The Board of Trade are not in a position to interfere with the discretion of the Dock Board in this respect.

BURIALS (METROPOLIS)—BROMPTON CEMETERY.

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK (Kensington, S.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether, with regard to the great number of burials in the Brompton Cemetery, which is now surrounded by a dense and increasing population, he will direct a Return of the number of burials up to date, and of the daily and yearly averages; and, whether, in compliance with the Acts relating to intramural interments, he will direct that this cemetery, the property of Government, be closed?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): In answer to the first part of the Question of my hon. Friend, as I have already stated, the total number of burials at Brompton Cemetery up to February last was 135,617, and the average during the last three years has been in round numbers, 5,000. I shall always be glad to give information on this subject; but I do not think it is necessary to publish an annual Return. As to the second part of the question, under the Acts referred by my hon. Friend the Secretary of State is the authority who decides as to the closing of burial grounds; but special provision is made in those Acts for the keeping open of Brompton Cemetery, subject to special Rules and Regulations laid down by the Home Office. I cannot admit that any case has been made out for the closing of the cemetery.

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK gave Notice that on an early occasion he would call attention to the subject.

LUNACY (SCOTLAND) — LOANS CONTRACTED BY THE DISTRICT BOARDS OF LUNACY.

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE (Fifeshire, W.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the amounts of the loans contracted by the District Boards of Lunacy, and secured on the county rates, are set forth in the Local Taxation Returns (Scotland); and, if so, under what heading; and, whether these loans are included in Table 7, on page 5, which purports to give a summary of local indebtedness?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): In reply to the hon. Member's Question, loans raised by District Lunacy Boards are not included in the Local Taxation Returns—simply the amount of interest and repayment of principal by Commissioners of Supply. This arises partly from the fact that by the Local Taxation Returns Act, 1881, it is provided that where any annual Return is now by law required to be made to the Secretary of State (now Secretary for Scotland), or any Public Department, the Act shall not render necessary any other Return. The accounts of the Lunacy Boards have not, accordingly, as yet been brought under the operation of the Local Taxation Returns. It is right to point out, however, that power is given in the above Act to the Secretary for Scotland to cause these Returns, if he thought desirable, to be made under that Act; and although the subject is one, for various reasons, not without difficulty, the Secretary for Scotland will be glad to consider whether a change should not be effected in the direction indicated by the hon. Member.

FOREIGN ENLISTMENT ACT—MR. BAIRD.

MR. STAVELEY HILL (Staffordshire, Kingswinford) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the result of the proceedings against Mr. Baird under the Foreign Enlistment Act, to which allusion was made, affected "his character or repute," or indicated him to be "a person to whom a Government contract or permit should not be granted?"

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): It does not seem to the Secretary of State that Mr. Baird's character is at all affected by the prosecution instituted against him for an offence against the Foreign Enlistment Act. Mr. Justice Smith, who tried the case, stated several times that there was no evidence at all against Mr. Baird, and directed the jury to find him not guilty.

ADMIRALTY — DOCKYARD APPRENTICES AT SHEERNESS.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it has hitherto been the custom to allow certain Dockyard apprentices, at Sheerness, to retain, with their names written in them, school books which have been supplied to them by the Government; whether, recently, certain apprentices, having been given and taken home these books as usual, have been ordered to return them; whether, if this be true, and considered a necessary economy, he will direct that the books should not be given out at all, rather than given and then demanded back; and, whether he will re-consider the present decision, and direct a return to the usual practice, which has hitherto given great satisfaction to a numerous and deserving class?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. FORWOOD) (Lancashire, Ormskirk): Until recently the practice as regards the Dockyard apprentices and their school books was that indicated by my hon. Friend's Question. The new Regulation provides that such books shall only be allowed as a loan. In order, however, to encourage the students in their work, and to draw a distinction between those who work and those who shirk, the Regulation further provides—

> "That the more expensive books are to be awarded as prizes to those apprentices who are recommended in lieu of the often unsuitable books now given."

It has, however, been decided that those apprentices who obtain at least 60 per cent of marks at their final examination shall be allowed to retain the text-books as their personal property.

SALE OF INDECENT BOOKS AND PICTURES.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following statement in *The British Weekly* regarding the sale of indecent books and pictures:—

> "One of the worst and most obtrusive evils of the present time is the sale of indecent books and pictures. Zola's novels, which are allowed in America only in expurgated editions, were sold in London till recently at a somewhat high price. They have now been reduced to 2*s*., and may be been in City book-shops side by side with Bibles. There are French novels still more corrupt, and these also are beginning to be translated. And as to indecent pictures, our attention has been called to a shop passed every day by thousands of City youth where the most flagrantly indecent French pictures are constantly on exhibition in the windows;"

and, whether the Government will take steps to suppress the sale of such indecent publications?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No, Sir; I have not seen the statement to which the hon. Member calls my attention. The Question is too general for me to express any opinion upon the propriety of suppressing the sale of the publications referred to. I have been in communication with the Police Authorities upon this question; and I may assure the hon. Member that no efforts have been, or will be, spared in dealing with the sale of literature and photographs of an indecent nature. But the action of the police must necessarily depend upon the particular circumstances of each case.

INDIAN CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACT—REPEAL.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government have taken any steps to procure the repeal of the Indian Contagious Diseases Act (Act XIV. of 1868); and, if not, whether they are now prepared to take any steps to procure its repeal?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State is in communication with the Government of India upon this subject; but their reply has not yet been received.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN THE EAST—THE SUEZ CANAL AND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE ROUTE.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there has ever been a conference or deliberations between the Naval and Military Authorities as to the relative desirability of sending troops or merchandize under convoy to the East through the Suez Canal or by way of the Cape; and, if so, what was the result of this conference or of these deliberations?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The question referred to has been carefully considered between the Naval and Military Departments, with the result that, under certain circumstances, the balance of advantage might incline to either route. It would not be for the public interest to detail those circumstances to the House.

INDIA—PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT—A MOSQUE AT BIJAPUR.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that the Public Works Department has capped with a corrugated iron roof, painted and boarded up, and turned into a post office, a mosque at Bijapur, which "is perfect in structure and beautiful in decoration?"

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State knows nothing of the act of vandalism alleged by the hon. Member; but inquiries shall be made. I may add that when this mosque was turned into a post office, the greatest care was taken to preserve its architectural features.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ATTACK ON THE CHILDREN OF THE WESTPORT PROTESTANT SUNDAY SCHOOL, CO. MAYO.

Mr. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in *The Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, of 18th July:—

> "News reached Dublin on Saturday afternoon of an attack made on the children of the Westport Protestant Sunday Schools in County Mayo. When returning from a picnic, the roads were lined with people, who threw large stones as the excursionists drove past. One girl was injured in the spine, and a magistrate's daughter had her cheek cut open, and was knocked senseless. She now lies in a precarious state. The children cowered down in the brakes, and most of them escaped injury. Two carters, who had charge of the provisions for the excursionists, were severely beaten, and all the things they had destroyed;"

and, whether there is any foundation for it; and, if so, whether any steps have been taken in relation to it?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Before the Question is answered, I should like to ask whether this is taken simply from an anonymous letter in *The Daily Express*, and transferred by *The Daily Express* correspondent to *The Daily Express* editor, who is the correspondent of *The Times*, and sent by him to *The Times*, and rests simply upon anonymity?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: I cannot possibly tell whether the article in a Sheffield paper, which I have not seen, has been taken from *The Daily Express* or any other paper.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: That is not the question. I want to know whether this does not rest on the anonymous statement of an anonymous correspondent?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: I have not taken my information from any newspaper. In consequence of my hon. Friend's Question, I caused inquiries to be made, and the official Report says that an organized attack was made on these school children. One young lady who was with the party was struck by a stone in the face, and so badly that the doctor does not pronounce her out of danger. Others were hit, including little children; but no one else was dangerously wounded. Three persons were arrested and remanded to next Petty Sessions, and the names of eight others were taken to be made amenable by summonses.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Has the right hon. and gallant Gentleman any further information as to the causes of the attack?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Perhaps I had better read the Report of the Resident Magistrate, which is to the following effect:—

> "Yesterday Miss Kelly, who lives near here, gave an excursion to the Westport Sunday School children. About 90 or 100 in all proceeded to the strand at Oldhead, near Louisburgh—the children, some ladies, and a few gentlemen—in several vehicles. Some of the children carried small flags to mark the course for footraces they intended having. Several people gathered in a threatening manner at Oldhead; but though they used very brutal language, they were prevented from doing violence by the interference of Mr. Wilbraham, J.P., of Oldhead, and the Rev. W. Joyce, parish priest of Louisburgh. Stones had been built on the road in readiness for the return of the party; but owing to the influence of Mr. Garney, of Merrisk, they were removed. On the return of the party they were attacked with stones, clods, and other missiles, at Lecanvy, and along the road as far as Merrisk, where the attack became hottest, and a young lady, Miss L. Powell, daughter of the agent to the Marquess of Sligo, was badly hit in the face—so badly that Dr. Allman does not pronounce her out of danger. Others were hit, even little children; but no one else was dangerously wounded. From what was told me to-day, the escape of the party from many serious wounds is marvellous. Two young men and a boy were brought before me to-day charged with stone-throwing, and I remanded them to Westport Petty Sessions on Thursday next on a formal information. The only motive suggested for this attack is that this Sunday School children excursion was an 'Orange walk,' and that the flags mentioned were party flags."

Mr. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the name of the Resident Magistrate?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, the Resident Magistrate was Mr. Horne, and the Chief Inspector Mr. Milling.

RATING OF MACHINERY BILL—VALUATION OF MUNICIPAL WATERWORKS.

Mr. J. C. BOLTON (Stirling) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether in consenting to refer the question of the valuation of municipal waterworks to a Select

Committee, he has taken into account the fact, that a Bill in reference to the rating of machinery is now before a Select Committee of this House, and that any modification of the system of rating one description of property must necessarily affect all other property subject to the same rating authority?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): In consenting to a Select Committee on the Valuation of Water Works, Her Majesty's Government had in view the fact that a cognate question relating to valuation of machinery was before another Select Committee. There can be no doubt that any modification of the system of rating one class of property will affect other property. The Secretary for Scotland will be glad to consider any practical suggestion my hon. Friend may make as to the scope of the remit of the Select Committee.

ALASKA (NORTH AMERICA)—SEIZURE OF A BRITISH SHIP.

MR. BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give the House any further information as to the reported seizure of the British steam schooner *Annie Beck* in Alaskan waters, especially as to the specific charge against the schooner, and the precise locality of the offence and of the capture?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) Manchester, N.E.): No official information has yet reached Her Majesty's Government of the reported seizure of the vessel in question. We are in correspondence with Her Majesty's Minister at Washington in regard to the seizure in Alaskan waters last autumn of three British schooners, while engaged in seal fishing, by an American Revenue cruiser, and Sir L. West has been directed to ask for copies of the judicial records in those cases.

POST OFFICE — NEW BUILDINGS (COLDBATH FIELDS PRISON).

CAPTAIN PENTON (Finsbury, Central) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has yet selected the site for the new buildings, in connection with the Post Office, which it is proposed to erect on part of the present site of the disused Coldbath Fields Prison; and, how much of the ground will be required for the purpose?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I am not yet in a position to furnish the information asked for, as the whole question is still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member will repeat his Question in a week.

PARKS (METROPOLIS) — SUPPLY OF CHAIRS.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Commissioner of Works, To whom the fees for chairs in the parks go to; whether anything is paid for the privilege of letting these chairs; whether he is aware that many persons, not knowing that there is a fee to occupy them, sit upon them, and are then pounced upon for a fee; and, whether he will consider if it would not be desirable to provide chairs, and to allow the public to occupy them without fees?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): The fees for the chairs in the Parks go to the owners of the chairs. Nothing is paid for the privilege of letting the chairs. We do supply a certain number of additional seats in the Parks every year, for which money is voted; but to provide chairs gratuitously to the extent now done by private enterprise in the Parks would cost several thousand pounds, and that would involve Treasury sanction, which I do not think I should obtain?

ADMIRALTY — THE JUBILEE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—COLLISION OF THE "AJAX" AND "DEVASTATION."

MR. GOURLEY (Sunderland) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he can inform the House the cause of the collision between the *Ajax* and *Devastation*, and the extent of damage to each vessel; if it was necessary, and in accordance with the Rules of Navigation, as reported by the Press, that the latter should cross the bows of the *Ajax* for the purpose of taking up her position as leader of the second line; whether the doors of the bulkheads and anchor gear of both vessels were examined before starting, and if the ships comprising the Squadron were proceeding in grand divisions; if so, at what distance apart; and, if the Fleet at the forthcoming Naval Review are to be manœuvred; if so, in what formation, and the distance at which ramming ships are to steam apart from ships in their front?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The *Black Prince* struck the *Agincourt* on Wednesday, but no damage was done. The collision between the *Ajax* and the *Devastation* was more serious. It occurred owing to the *Devastation* fouling the *Ajax* when taking up her position at the head of the line. The Report of the inquiry into the cause of the collision between the *Ajax* and *Devastation*, or the extent of their damage, has not yet been received. There is no necessity for a ship, when performing any manœuvre, to place herself within colliding distance of another. Safety to the ship is the governing principle in the performance of all evolutions. The doors of bulkheads are kept ready for closing at all times, night or day, at sea or in harbour, and the anchor gear is examined and reported upon at regular established intervals. The Squadron was in two divisions, and at the regulated distance apart, which is governed by the number of ships in the line. There is no intention of manœuvring the Fleet at the forthcoming Naval Review.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—PILOTS' CERTIFICATES TO ALIENS—"THE QUEEN v. TRINITY HOUSE CORPORATION."

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the decision in the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of "The Queen *v.* The Trinity House Corporation;" and, whether, by the terms of that decision, the Licensing Boards may refuse to grant pilots' certificates to aliens?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Board of Trade have not yet received a copy of the judgment referred to; but they understand that the Court refused a *mandamus*, on the ground that the Pilotage Authorities had a discretion under the Act; and, further, that there was under the Act an appeal to the Board of Trade from the decision of those Authorities.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—ALLOTMENT OF TICKETS.

SIR JOSEPH BAILEY (Hereford) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the whole of the tickets for the *Crocodile* have been allotted to Members of Parliament and their wives; and, whether a certain number of tickets given for that ship, which might have been allotted to the officers of the House according to the usual custom, were recalled by the Admiralty?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The whole of the tickets for the *Crocodile*, 700 in number, were sent to the Speaker for distribution. No *Crocodile* tickets were recalled by the Admiralty. On the contrary, on their learning that the distribution of the 700 tickets still left some of the officers of the House unprovided for, 30 additional tickets for the *Assistance*, which ship would have the same facilities as the *Crocodile*, were sent for their use. It might be stated that whereas, in 1867, 500 tickets were provided for the House of Commons, they had on this occasion been provided with 730.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD—NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) (for Mr. J. W. LOWTHER) (Cumberland, Penrith) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true that the Admiralty has prohibited newspaper correspondents from accompanying the Fleet during its evolutions after its departure from Spithead at the conclusion of the Naval Review; if so, whether, considering the great and growing interest taken by the public in matters affecting the efficiency of the Navy, the Admiralty will re-consider a decision which will practically deprive the public of all information respecting the evolutions; and, whether it will be possible to permit newspaper corespondents to accompany the Fleet, on the condition that all their reports should be submitted to censorship before being despatched?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The main object of the operations is to endeavour to represent, under the conditions which would be observed in time of war, such operations in connection with the atack of our coasts, commercial ports and commerce, as may be anticipated, and to provide as effectually as possible for their protection. It must be clear that if any really valuable experience is to be gained, every effort must be made to prevent the enemy from being able to ascertain the movements of the protecting force, and also the protecting force from knowing the plans of attack of the enemy. If newspaper correspondents were to be permitted to be on board the vessels of the enemy's ships as well as those of the protecting squadrons secrecy would be impossible, and the object of the operations entirely frustrated. The Board, therefore, regret that the decision arrived at not to permit newspaper correspondents to be on board the vessels engaged in these operations cannot be re-considered. The nature of the operations which are to be carried out subsequent to the Review have already been sent to the Press and published; but it is, of course, impossible to enter into these details.

EGYPT—SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF'S MISSION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When Her Majesty's Government intend to present to the House Papers giving the later history of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission, and the negotiations regarding the Egyptian Convention, from 31st May down to Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's departure from Constantinople on 15th July?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I hope to lay these Papers on the Table on some day in next week. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff will probably reach this country on Sunday.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MR. SAUNDERS, POLICE MAGISTRATE.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following paragraph in yesterday's *Daily News*:—

> "A respectably-dressed man applied to Mr. Saunders for a summons against Constable 293 K for assaulting him by striking him on the nose.—Applicant on Sunday night wanted to give a man into custody. The officer would not take the man; and then Constable 293 came up and struck him on the bridge of the nose. —Mr. Saunders: Why did he do it?—Applicant:—I don't know, sir.—Mr. Saunders: Oh, nonsense. I don't believe a constable would do such a thing without provocation. Go away;"

and, whether he will communicate with Mr. Saunders, with a view to ascertain whether the facts are correctly stated?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have communicated with Mr. Saunders, who informs me that, in the exercise of his discretion, he refused to grant a summons to this applicant, because, in his opinion, the answers which the applicant gave to the questions put to him were so unsatisfactory that he did not consider the application a genuine one.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—CASE OF MR. WILLIAMS.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the decision of the Middlesex Magistrates on Saturday, quashing the conviction of Mr. Williams, who, along with six other defendants, was sentenced by Mr. De Rutzen, on the 27th April, at the Marylebone Police Court, to six months' imprisonment, with hard labour, on a charge of assaulting the police in the execution of their duty; whether Mr. De Rutzen then stated that the sentence was—

> "Wholly inadequate in the case of Williams, whom he designated as the leader, and the person most to blame;"

whether Mr. Williams on Saturday called witnesses who "described the police as having been very rough indeed;" whether he is aware that the other defendants, or several of them, were prevented from appealing by their poverty and inability to obtain bail, which Mr. De Rutzen refused to reduce; and, whether, in all the circumstances of the case, he will at once order the release of all the defendants who are now in prison?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): There was no joint charge proceeded with before Mr. De Rutzen; but only separate charges against the several defendants for assaulting different police constables in the execution of their duty. This course was taken on the responsibility of the prosecuting counsel; and it gave the defendants the advantage of being admissible witnesses in all the cases except the one in which each was charged with what he himself had done. The Middlesex Quarter Sessions quashed the conviction of Williams on the production of fresh evidence which had not been produced before Mr. De Rutzen, and which raised doubt in their minds as to the fact of the assault by him. This decision does not, so far as I know, throw any doubt upon the propriety of Mr. De Rutzen's decision in the case of the other defendants, nor, indeed, in the case of Williams, upon the evidence as it stood in the Police Court. The usual rules were followed in the matter of bail as to the other defendants who did not appeal. I cannot, therefore, follow the course suggested by the hon. Member of at once ordering their release; but I have applied to the Middlesex Chairman for a copy of the evidence before him, with a view to seeing whether it in any way affects the case of defendants other than Williams.

MR. PICKERSGILL asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention had been specially drawn to the fact that, in passing sentence, Mr. De Rutzen stated that Williams was the leader and person most to blame; and whether the meaning of the quashing of the sentence against Williams was that the Middlesex Magistrates did not believe the testimony of the police, and yet the six other defendants were convicted upon the uncorroborated evidence of the police?

MR. MATTHEWS believed that Mr. De Rutzen did use the expression quoted, or words to that effect; but, according to the Report he had received, the Middlesex Quarter Sessions received fresh evidence, which induced them to doubt the accuracy of the evidence on which Mr. De Rutzen founded his decision.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, whether, seeing that the disturbances with which the prisoners were said to have been connected had long ceased, and the sentences were undoubtedly severe, the case might not be one for the mercy of the Crown?

MR. MATTHEWS: That matter is well worthy of consideration.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—RESCUE FROM DROWNING—POLICE CONSTABLE 483 J.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the report of a case heard on Tuesday last at Worship Street Police Court, in the course of which Mr. Bushby highly commended Police Constable 483 J for his successful efforts to rescue a woman from drowning; and, whether he will take care that the gallantry of this constable shall be suitably acknowledged?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): This is one of many similar cases. The police constable has already been recommended for a reward, which will be granted by the Commissioners in the usual way. His case will also be brought before the Humane Society, and the matter published in Police Orders.

WAR OFFICE—ELECTION FOR THE BASINGSTOKE DIVISION OF HANTS—PASSES.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether leave was given on Monday last to a number of men entitled to vote at Aldershot, in the election for the Basingstoke Division of Hants; and, if so, will he grant a Return of the passes so granted; will he state where the men were stationed; will he state in what manner, and at whose instance, applications were made, and by whose authority they were granted; and, whether they are granted to all who apply for them?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The usual instruction was sent to the General commanding requiring him to keep in camp during the election all soldiers not requiring to go out for the purpose of voting, and I have no doubt the instruction was duly acted on. If the hon. Member is aware of any case in which facilities for voting were withheld I shall be happy to have it inquired into.

HARES PRESERVATION BILL—A "CLOSE TIME."

Colonel DAWNAY (York, N.R., Thirsk) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the anxiety of all classes, especially of tenant farmers, for the establishment of a "close time" for hares, and the fact, as proved by Petitions from all parts of the country, that there is an almost unanimous assent to the measure which has been introduced this Session, Her Majesty's Government are prepared to assist in forwarding a similar measure next Session?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I am aware of the favour shown by many Members who represent agricultural constituencies towards the Close Time for Hares Bill; but I am afraid it is impossible for the Government to give any pledges as regards the Bill and next Session.

Mr. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.): Will the Government establish a close time for the Irish tenants?

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LEGAL PROCEEDINGS REPORTS BILL.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will give facilities to bring forward the Legal Proceedings Reports Bill; and, whether they will introduce legislation of their own to deal with the evil of publishing demoralising details of divorce cases?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): The highest legal authorities see no objection to the Legal Proceedings Reports Bill; and I hope the hon. Gentleman will find an opportunity of passing the Bill into law in the course of the present Session?

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION BILL.

Mr. JACOBY (Derbyshire, Mid) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, in consideration of the late period of the Session, and the unsatisfactory progress made in the negotiations upstairs, he can now name a day for proceeding with the Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill?

Mr. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) also asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman can now definitely fix a day for the further consideration of the Bill?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): After further progress has been made in Supply and the Committee on the Irish Land Law Bill has been finished, I hope to be in a position to fix a day for proceeding with the Coal Mines Regulation, &c. Bill, and to go on until it is concluded. It will not be taken next week.

DUCHY OF LANCASTER—THE CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHY.

Mr. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he could inform the House how soon the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Duchy (Lord John Manners) was likely to be able to resume his place in the House, and to transact the business of his Department?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I am happy to say that my noble Friend is recovering from his severe illness. I am sure this news will be gratifying to the House. My noble Friend hopes to be in his place in the course of a week or 10 days.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN—PARDON OF OFFENDERS—THE ROYAL NAVY.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) (for Mr. Cunninghame Graham) (Lanark, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Royal pardon to be granted in celebration of the Jubilee to deserters from the Army will be extended to deserters from the Royal Navy?

The FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): It is not usual for questions to be addressed to Ministers with reference to the exercise of the clemency of the Crown. I think that is a rule which the House generally will think it well to observe. I am unable, with reference to the question now put, to hold out any hope that the request will be granted.

Mr. CONYBEARE pointed out that the object of the question was to ascertain whether the same clemency was to be extended to deserters from the Navy as had been accorded to deserters from the Army.

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is hardly fair to say that the same clemency has not been extended to the Navy as to the Army. Several privileges have been granted to the Navy, but deserters from it have not received the Royal pardon.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Does not Her Majesty in all these matters act upon the advice of Her Ministers?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Certainly.

CELEBRATION OF THE JUBILEE YEAR OF HER MAJESTY'S REIGN — ADDRESS OF THE GRAND COUNCIL OF THE PRIMROSE LEAGUE.

MR. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now in a position to furnish a precedent for the recent reception of an Address from the Grand Council of the Primrose League?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): If the hon. Gentleman will refer to *The Gazette* of the 16th of May, 1884, he will find mention of a very large number of addresses from Liberal Associations, presented to Her Majesty, expressing sorrow for the loss of the Duke of Albany. And there have been other cases of a similar character.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA—REPORTED DEATH OF MR. STANLEY.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any information with regard to the reported death of Mr. Stanley?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): No, Sir, I have not received any intelligence.

THE IRISH LAND LAW BILL.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he adheres to the intention, announced to the House the other day in reply to the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), of making a statement to-night regarding the changes which the Government propose in the Irish Land Law Bill when he makes the Motion for going into Committee?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Motion to go into Committee will be made by my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant; but such changes as they are are changes entirely within the principles of the Bill. It will save the time of the House if we proceed to consider the Bill in Committee and upon the clauses to deal with the Amendments as they arise.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: A statement has been made out of doors as to the proposed changes; and are we to understand that no announcement is to be made to the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: My right hon. Friend will deal with that question in the course of the debate, and on the Motion that you, Sir, do leave the Chair, if it appears necessary to the House; but I am not aware that a private meeting of the Members of a Party renders it necessary that a grave and serious statement should be made to the House of Commons. It is not, I believe, usual for the Members of the Opposition, or even for the Leader of the Opposition, to make such a statement himself as to the course of policy which the Opposition may think it right to pursue with regard to a Bill.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that on the occasion of the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1886 there was a meeting out of doors, and that a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman, the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), moved the adjournment of the House as a protest?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think it is quite possible that he may have done so. I should be exceedingly sorry if any delay hindered our progress. The course which the Government desired to take is one intended to meet the convenience of the House as far as possible, and to save the time of the House. The right hon. Gentleman takes exception to that course; but on the Motion that you, Sir, leave the Chair we shall give such explanations as are necessary.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: It would have been more convenient, and more in accordance with custom, if the Government had placed their Amendments on the Paper, so that they might be considered.

SPAIN—ALLEGED MURDER OF A SEAMAN AT BILBAO BY A SPANISH SENTRY.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he had seen the report in the newspapers stating that a merchant seaman had been deliberately shot dead by a Spanish sentry on the quay at the Port of Bilbao; and, whether he would inquire into the matter and demand satisfaction for the outrage and compensation for the poor man's family?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.), in reply, said, undoubtedly such an occurrence would receive inquiry. A Report would be obtained. Of course, it would be quite premature to say what would be done until the result of the inquiry was made known.

IRISH LAND LAW BILL.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, why the Amendments put down to this Bill had not been numbered on the Notice Paper, as was done in the case of the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND) (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, that so far the Amendments did not equal in number those put down in the case of the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill.

PRIVILEGE.

——o——

PARLIAMENT—PRIVILEGE—COMPLAINT (DR. TANNER).—RESOLUTION.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read for the Attendance of Dr. Tanner, and Dr. Tanner being in his place:—

Order read for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th July],

> "That in consequence of the disgraceful and insulting words addressed in the Lobby of the House on Friday evening last, by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, to an honourable Member of this House, Dr. Tanner be suspended from the Service of the House, and excluded from its precincts for a Month."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

DR. TANNER (Cork, Co. Mid.): Sir, in the first place, in rising to make my explanation of the unfortunate occurrence which took place on last Friday evening, I must express my deep regret that this House has been put to such inconvenience in connection with this matter. I also still further express my regret that a highly estimable officer of this House has been put to the inconvenience at this season of the year of undertaking a long journey of about 1,000 miles to let me know the wish of this House that I present myself here this afternoon. I can assure you, Sir, and the House that directly I became aware of the fact that notice was to be taken of the incident on Friday, and that it was to be brought before the House, I then and there determined without any delay to present myself before the House and to acquaint them with my version of what occurred. Now, Sir, I understand that the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) in making his complaint in connection with this incident said that he committed his recollection of it to writing, and with the permission of the House, as I have done the same, I will read what I have written as my recollection of the occurrence. On Friday evening, Sir, in connection with the second vote for the Motion for the closure, after I had complained that my vote was not recorded, I considered that I was jeered at from the opposite side of the House, and at the adjournment which then took place I was addressed on the subject of the mistake that I had made while walking down the floor of the House by a Member of the Conservative Party under circumstances which annoyed me considerably. I had never spoken to the Gentleman in my life and I did not know his name. When, therefore, I reached the Lobby, I was again accosted at the Post Office by another hon. Gentleman, whom I also did not know, in a tone and manner which I considered—however it may have been intended—was an attempt to throw ridicule on me on the part of Members acting, as I had supposed, in concert. I heard before this Gentleman accosted me the tittering going on behind me, and then this Gentleman, the hon. Member for Devizes, advanced and said to me "That was a nice sell you got." I said "Who are you? I have not addressed you. Are you a Tory?" He gave a sneering laugh and said "Certainly." I rejoined "I wish you to know that I do not want to be addressed by any of your d—d lot." I deny, Sir, having used any of the further expletives on the occasion in question which have been attributed to me by the hon. Member. The hon. Member for West Donegal was present at the time, and can also state what occurred. It is true that I spoke in haste, and the incident would never have arisen but that I considered that I had been twice importuned on a subject with regard to which I was smarting from annoyance at the moment by hostile Members whom I do not know, and who I considered ought to have abstained from addressing in private Members of a Party whom they constantly denounce in public. Sir, I regret very much what has occurred for my own sake as well as on account of the House; and I can only say that, but for the fact that I regarded the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) and his Friends as aggressors, I should not have used the expression complained of. Finally, it remains for me to withdraw that portion of my language which was indecorous and improper, and also to express to the House my regret for having used it.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman will withdraw.

Dr. TANNER withdrew accordingly.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes): I am aware, Sir, that I can only now address the House by the indulgence of the House, as I have already spoken in the debate. But I trust I shall be allowed to say a few words in answer to the explanation just made by the hon. Member——

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I do not wish to interrupt the hon. Member; but I submit to you, Sir, that the hon. Member for Mid Cork ought in fairness to be allowed to be present to hear any reiteration of the charge made against him by the hon. Member for Devizes; otherwise he will be placed at a great disadvantage.

MR. SPEAKER: If it be the general wish of the House, I see no objection to the hon. Member for Mid Cork being present.

Dr. TANNER was, with the assent of the House, recalled, and resumed his seat.

MR. LONG: I am very glad that the hon. and learned Member for Longford suggested that the hon. Member for Mid Cork should be in attendance. I have but very few words to add to those which I spoke in this House the other day. I have to deny absolutely that I used the word "sell," or any other words than those which I stated to the House when I addressed it on Monday. With reference to the hon. Member for Mid Cork's statement that the incident concluded with the first remark, I have only to repeat——

DR. TANNER: I did not say that.

MR. LONG: I understood the hon. Member to say that——

MR. T. M. HEALY: He said he used no further expletives.

MR. LONG: I adhere to the statement that I made to the House last Monday, which I believe now, as I said then, to be absolutely and literally correct. I deny the statement that I used the word "sell," or that by word or manner I gave the hon. Member for Mid Cork cause for offence; and although I regret that it has been necessary in this House or anywhere else to call upon anybody to pledge for my statement, I am compelled to ask those hon. Gentlemen who were present at the time, two of whom heard everything that passed from the beginning to the end, my hon. Friend the Member for the Brentford Division of Middlesex (Mr. Bigwood), the hon. Member for East Dorset (Mr. Bond), and the hon. Member for the Tyneside Division (Mr. W. B. Beaumont). I will ask them to say to the House whether or no my account of what took place is accurate. I have nothing beyond that to add to what I have already addressed to the House.

MR. BIGWOOD (Middlesex, Brentford): As my name has been mentioned by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Devizes Division, I think it well to explain to the House what occurred on the occasion in question so far as I am aware. I passed, immediately after the Division, into the Lobby, and was standing near the Post Office, when the hon. Member for Devizes came up, passed me, and spoke to the hon. Member for Mid Cork. I had, therefore, an opportunity of hearing all that was said, and I certainly do not remember the use of the word "sell" in connection with the conversation.

The conversation as reported to the House seems to be particularly accurate, and why I know it is accurate is that the language affected me at the time so much that I proceeded to write down the words myself.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Why did you write it down?

An hon. Member: It is a plot.

Mr. BIGWOOD: When the hon. Member for Devizes read the words to me I looked at what I had taken down, and I found that they corresponded exactly. The hon. Member for Devizes has been particularly accurate in the statement given to the House; but he has not made, perhaps, so much as he might have made of it. He has not alluded to the very offensive manner in which the words were spoken. I may inform the House that the impression I had when the conversation commenced was that the hon. Member for Devizes was officially inquiring into the mistake; for it will be in the recollection of those who were in the House that the hon. Member for Mid Cork particularly asked the question what was to be done; and it occurred to me—not recognizing for the instant the hon. Member for Devizes—that he was making an official inquiry. That must remove from the minds of hon. Members the idea that there was any conversation of a bantering description or of a light character. The conversation was almost word for word such as has been stated, and I must say that I do not recollect the use of any such word as "sell" during the conversation. [An hon. Member: Read.] I have nothing to read. Perhaps, as a proof of the assertion I make, I may say that in a copy of *The Birmingham Daily Mail* there appears a statement very much of the same character as that I make——

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Supplied by you.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. T. M. HEALY: The hon. Gentleman refers to what appears in *The Birmingham Daily Mail.* May I ask him whether he is not himself the correspondent who supplied it?

Mr. BIGWOOD: Certainly not. I was not under the impression that those words would be seen in print. I certainly conveyed to a gentleman in the outer Lobby the fact that I was extremely indignant at what I had heard, and that I thought it was the duty of some person to bring forward such conduct to the notice of the House of Commons.

Mr. O'HANLON (Cavan, E.): Will the hon. Member read his notes?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. BIGWOOD: I thought for the honour of this House that language of that sort ought to be brought forward, because, being spoken in the presence of strangers, I deemed it to be a very grave offence against the dignity of the House.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): As the hon. Gentleman has mentioned that he took a note of the conversation, I think the hon. Member should be asked to read it.

Mr. BIGWOOD: I have not those notes with me.

Mr. BOND (Dorset, E.): Having been in company with the hon. Member for Devizes on the occasion referred to, I most distinctly say — and I left the House with him and was in his company during the whole incident — that the words imputed by the hon. Member for Mid Cork to the hon. Member for Devizes were not used. I must say, further, that the manner of the hon. Member for Devizes was such as could not have caused the slightest irritation to the hon. Member for Mid Cork. His manner was most courteous, and I may also say that the hon. Member for Mid Cork was at the time, I think, reading a letter, and upon being addressed by the hon. Member for Devizes he looked up with a smiling countenance. When he asked the hon. Member for Devizes whether he was a Tory, I thought it was done in joke. I must say that the hon. Member for Devizes has given a fair and impartial statement of the case, and all I can add is that I most heartily endorse every word he said.

Mr. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I, Sir, am under the disadvantage of not having on the spot committed to writing what took place, and must, therefore, trust to my memory. I was in the House at the time when my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork asked the Chairman of Committees with regard to his vote—"What was to be done?" He and I walked out of that door together. Behind us I distinctly heard tittering and jeering, as if hon. Members were making fun for themselves at the expense of my hon. Friend. In the centre of the Lobby an hon. Gentleman, I think—for my vision is rather imperfect—the Member for Devizes, said—"What is this nice sell you have got into, Dr. Tanner?" At this time my hon. Friend was considerably chagrined with regard to his vote, and the conversation he had with me was as to how the mistake he had fallen into could be remedied. I considered that he was unnecessarily worrying himself in the matter; but it was evident to any person that he had taken it very seriously to heart. In the centre of the Lobby the words I have quoted were used, and my hon. Friend turned round and said—"I have not addressed you; I do not know who you are. Are you a Tory? —perhaps you are a Tory," or something like that. There was a laughing reply given in the affirmative. Of the words my hon. Friend used my recollection is quite as distinct as that of any hon. Member who has spoken. The words he used were—"I wish you to know that I do not desire to address or to be addressed by you, or by any of your d——d lot," or d——d something, or words to that effect. When he went away, I remonstrated with my hon. Friend on the heat he had displayed, and he said—"Why on earth do not they mind their own business?" That is what I can bear testimony to, and, though not having committed the matter to writing, that is the evidence I should give if I were placed in the witness-box.

MR. W. B. BEAUMONT (Northumberland, Tyneside): I have been appealed to to say a few words. In the first place, I cannot help expressing my regret, which I think must be shared in generally, that my hon. Relative (Mr. Long) did not adhere to the determination he expressed to me at the termination of this unfortunate incident, and that was to let the matter drop. But, Sir, be that as it may, having been appealed to, I am bound to speak, and I will tell, to the best of my recollection, exactly what occurred. I was posting a letter, and I heard a considerable noise, the hon. Member for Mid Cork using language which he has himself described. I turned to my hon. Relative, and I said, "What is this?" And he said, "There is chaff going on." I will not be certain that he used the words "going on;" but I am perfectly certain that he used the word "chaff," and that word appeared to convey something beyond that which has been mentioned in the House. Having said that, I do not think that I am able to throw any more light on the subject.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): I think it is time the House should ask itself whether this matter ought not now to close? The hon. Member for Mid Cork has, I think, apologized to the hon. Member for Devizes for the language which he used. and we all know that he is of an excitable nature.

MR. SPEAKER: I was under the impression that the hon. Baronet was about to give some evidence on the actual facts. I only intervene because I think it proper that the hon. Member for Mid Cork should now withdraw.

DR. TANNER withdrew accordingly.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID: It is our experience that men in the excitement of the moment use language they afterwards regret. Over and over again it has been ruled that language used outside the House ought not to be discussed in this House, it being resolved by some hon. Members, as I was told just now, to give as good as they got, as the homely phrase is, rather than to trouble the House. I think I have a right to speak, as I have been addressed by the hon. Member for Mid Cork in language which I considered most unsuitable. Knowing something of the excitable character of the hon. Member, I thought it would be useless and unnecessary to trouble the House with the matter. Now, Sir, I would suggest to the hon. Member for Devizes opposite, whom everyone knows to be of a kindly and courteous disposition, that in the interests of the House he should drop this subject, and that the House should go to the next Business. This would be far better than to occupy more valuable time in discussing an incident which every hon. Member in the House must deplore. I think the House will agree with me that the use of strong language does not add to the force of one's observations, for it shows lack of temper and judgment. In the little controversy I had with the hon. Member I did not use any strong language at all, and yet I think I got the best of it. I think it would be well if hon. Members remembered the excitable temper of the hon. Member for Mid Cork, and came to the conclusion that it is not worth while to bring the hon. Member's language in the Lobbies to the notice of the House. I hope that the First Lord of the Treasury will now allow the matter to drop.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I know, Sir, it is only by the indulgence of the House, as I have already spoken, that I can be allowed to speak again; but I regret that I am not able to take the view which the hon. Baronet (Sir Julian Goldsmid) takes upon the conditions which should exist in the Lobby. I understand him to take the view that strong language—as he calls it—may be used in the Lobby, and that hon. Gentlemen should take no notice of it. Well, I am afraid that if that view were sanctioned by the House we should be exposed to incidents that would throw great discredit on this House. It is obviously impossible that this House should refuse to extend its jurisdiction to language spoken and acts done within the precincts of the House, though not in the House itself. If so, hon. Gentlemen who considered themselves insulted might take the remedy into their own hands, and we might have very disgraceful scenes within the precincts of the House. Unless the House is prepared to recognize a principle which it has never yet sanctioned, the House must insure that order and decency are maintained in the Lobby as well as in the House. I have listened with care to the statement of the hon. Member for Mid Cork. He has called in question the accuracy of the statement of the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long), although that statement is sustained and corroborated by the hon. Member for Brentford (Mr. Bigwood) and the hon. Member for East Dorset (Mr. Bond). The attributing of falsehood to the hon. Member for Devizes, thus corroborated, is an aggravation of the original offence.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I wish, as a point of Order, to ask you, Sir, whether, with regard to the statement of the hon. Member for West Donegal (Mr. O'Hea), who corroborated the statement of the hon. Member for Mid Cork, it is in Order to speak of that as an imputation of falsehood? The statement——

MR. SPEAKER: No point of Order has arisen. The right hon. Gentleman is only drawing an inference.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I think it will be more convenient if the hon. and learned Member waits until I have concluded, and then corrects any statement I may make. I consider that an imputation of falsehood has been cast upon my hon. Friend the Member for Devizes, and that is an aggravation of the offence. But there is one other point to which I am anxious to draw the attention of the House. No explanation whatever has been given by the hon. Member for Mid Cork of the failure to attend in his place on Monday. He received the letter giving notice that it was the intention of the hon. Member for Devizes to call the attention of the House to his conduct on Friday afternoon. He returned the letter to the hon. Gentleman opened, showing that he had received and read it. He left this House and went away from the precincts of this House altogether, and conveyed to the House no explanation of any kind, and the House received no explanation, except that which was tendered by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) on his own motion, without instructions as to the cause of the absence of the hon. Member for Mid Cork. I think the House must mark its view of the conduct of the hon. Member, who failed to regard the rules and customs of this House, and set at nought regulations which are laid down for the good order of this House. I say so without regard to the question as to where any hon. Member sits in this House. But circumstances within the knowledge of this House—I will not repeat what has been said by the hon. Member for St. Pancras (Sir Julian Goldsmid)—but I say circumstances within the knowledge of this House render it in my judgment necessary and expedient that the House should, as regards any Member, assert its authority, and make it distinctly clear that it intends that decency and order shall be maintained not only in debate, but in the House itself after debate, and within the precincts of the House. If the House does not assert that authority, and make it clear that a severe censure and punishment shall follow upon any breach of that order, then I apprehend that some of those disorders which we unfortunately have seen during the present Session may be repeated with very serious consequences to the dignity of the House. I must, therefore, persist with the Motion I have made, though—so far as I am concerned—if the House is of opinion that one month is an unduly long period of suspension, I am willing to amend the Motion in that particular and shorten it.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): In justice to the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), I should say it was at my suggestion he omitted any reference in his statement as to the letter. He consulted me about it; he had it in his explanation; and I blame myself for his taking it out. It was an error of judgment—but it was mine; and the reason I advised him to omit it was because I considered it to be a subsidiary incident to what I supposed to be the gravamen of the charge. My hon. Friend's explanation was this—and I assure the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devizes (Mr. Long) I do not wish for a moment to convey any additional circumstances of aggravation to the other side. The explanation of my hon. Friend was this—that he considered the sending of this letter to be a portion of the offence which, in his opinion—[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and interruptions*]—well, now, hon. Gentlemen surely know that there are two sides to every question, and my hon. Friend considered he was not the aggressor. He said the hon. Gentleman opposite was the aggressor, and his explanation of the sending back of the letter was that it was a further attempt to keep up what has been termed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Tyneside Division of Northumberland (Mr. W. B. Beaumont) as this "chaff"—this "offensive chaff." That was the explanation which my hon. Friend gave to me, and I said, after all, that was not the grievance of which the House complained—the grievance of which the House complained was that these offensive words should be used in the Lobby, and it is that I said with which your statement must deal and nothing else. When my hon. Friend consulted me, he consulted, perhaps, a bad adviser. If he has made a mistake I am entirely to blame for it, and there is no reason whatever why the blame should be shared by the hon. Gentleman. I considered it was controversial, and would add fuel to the fire, by saying he considered the letter addressed to him was an additional circumstance of aggravation, and so I advised that that portion of his explanation should be omitted. And now, having said that much, may I be allowed to say one or two words on the general merits of the question? Is it to be said that because a statement made by an hon. Gentleman opposite, and corroborated by two of his Friends, and where on this side a counter and rebutting statement is made, corroborated by one of our Friends, and certainly not uncorroborated by the relative of the hon. Gentleman opposite, is it to be said that this House, which has important affairs of the Empire to attend to, and just now has the grievances of 500,000 Irish tenants to give its attention to, is going to continue to occupy its time with this trumpery and miserable case? There is only one precedent for words spoken in the Lobby having been noticed by the House—that of Dr. Kenealy and the late Mr. A. M. Sullivan, and that was a case in which Mr. Sullivan brought under the notice of the House words which had been used towards him by Dr. Kenealy, who called him, I think, "a d——d liar." Now, these words had arisen in reference to a debate in this House, and for that the explanation and apology of Dr. Kenealy were accepted, he being an English Member; and now are you going to say that in a matter on which doubt has been cast that this House is going to take—[*Cries of* "No!"] I do not say doubt in an offensive sense, and I do not think there is the least imputation on the hon. Gentleman opposite. But in a Court of Justice do not witnesses take different views of a case? And that is what has occurred in this instance. My hon. Friend admits the use of the expression "d——d." The hon. Gentleman opposite thinks it was used more than once, and I put it to the House, is it a desirable thing that the House should engage in such a frivolous case in a species of investigation, when doubt has been cast upon the matter, when we are not unanimous, and when we are all anxious to suppress disorder in all parts of the House? [*Cries of* "No, no!"] I challenge the hon. Gentleman opposite to say, whatever my action in this House has been, that I have ever given the least offence outside it, or have ever addressed any hon. Gentleman whom I did not know. We Irish Members occupy admittedly a peculiar position. We have been denounced outside the House, and some of us in it; and I say if there is this attempt to circumscribe us, and distinguish between the Irish and English Members, I say it is an unfortunate thing. I will put it no further—that this conversation should have been initiated, I will not say by the aggressor, but, at any rate, by the complainant in the case. I think the hon. Gentleman himself will be the first to admit that. I have an Amendment down, which I do not desire to move, so as to prolong the discussion; but I will move it formally. I do not do so with any desire to prolong this controversy; but we know very well that while it is absolutely necessary to repress disorder outside the House—we know very well that Mr. Speaker is a fair arbiter, and my Amendment comes to this—that any hon. Gentleman having addressed himself to Mr. Speaker with regard to offensive words which might have been used towards him, and the hon. Member so offending having made an ample apology then and there, the House will be prepared to take immediate and stringent action. That is an Amendment which the Government might accept as being a fitting close to this deplorable incident. We do not desire for one moment to at all labour this point. We desire that this matter should be brought to a close, and I have not the slightest doubt that what has taken place will be a lesson to all Parties, both English and Irish, Liberal and Tory, and will cause them to keep, I will not say the demeanour that has been maintained in the House, but to avoid all causes of offence. I can only say this—our position in this House, and in this country, is peculiar enough and unfortunate enough without adding any additional circumstance of aggravation to it; and I think, after the explanation entered into on both sides of the House, it would be an unfair thing, and that the English public will regard it as an unfair thing, that this House should, against an Irish Member, take punitive and unusual steps absolutely unprecedented and never once taken before. I have referred to precedent in this Amendment, and we know that Mr. Speaker has accommodated differences between private Members where allegations were made involving a complaint of language being used of an equally offensive character as that complained of. I rest myself upon that precedent. We all feel in these delicate matters that we can appeal fully and fairly to Mr. Speaker; and certainly, if I may be allowed to say so, whenever we have had occasion in private to appeal to him, he has always met us in the spirit which anyone occupying his great and eminent position should do. We recognize that, and my Amendment recognizes it; and I trust, in asking leave to move it, I am not adding any element to the controversy. The hon. and learned Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed to be made to the Question,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House is of opinion that, as the words complained of by Mr. W. Long were not spoken within the House, and resulted from a conversation initiated by him, the better course for the honourable Gentleman aggrieved would have been to have first claimed the good offices of Mr. Speaker, in accordance with precedent; but that this House is prepared, should the private intervention of Mr. Speaker prove ineffectual, to repress all disorders in the Lobbies as in the House itself,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Sir JOHN R. MOWBRAY (Oxford University): I do not desire to prolong this controversy, but I must protest against the statement made by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) that there is any doubt about the present question. No doubt exists that the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) used language which was an insult to an hon. Member in the Lobby of this House. If the language he used had been used in this House, you, Mr. Speaker, would have intervened to restore order, and the hon. Member for Mid Cork would probably have apologized in his place. The hon. Member for Mid Cork was informed that the matter, having occurred outside the House, would be brought before the House the next time it met, on Monday. The hon. Member has given no explanation why he did not attend on that day. Indeed, we learn it was by the advice of the hon. Member for North Longford that that explanation was not given.

MR. T. M. HEALY: My hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) stated on Monday that the reason why the hon. Member for Mid Cork had to absent himself was that he was one of the signatories to a notice calling a convention for the county of Cork, and that he was obliged to attend.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY: The hon. Member for Mid Cork did not repeat that statement himself, nor did he send any written answer to the letter of my hon. Friend the Member for Devizes (Mr. Long). If the hon. Member for Mid Cork had asked the hon. Member for Devizes to postpone the matter until he could attend there might have been grounds for appealing to the generosity and indulgence of the House; but the hon. Member for Mid Cork did nothing of the kind. He left my hon. Friend to bring the matter before the House, and so force the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House to submit a Motion on the subject. This House cannot afford to pass over the matter. We should have been glad to do it if the hon. Member had told us he would take the first opportunity of offering a full and frank apology for the language used.

MR. T. M. HEALY: He has done that.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY: Both for the language used and for his demeanour towards the hon. Member. When a matter of this kind is brought before the House, as this has been, the House must have regard to its own dignity. It is not in the power of the Speaker to maintain the dignity of our proceedings unless the House shows itself jealous of its own dignity and maintains its own character. I think the House would be to blame if it passed over this matter; and, therefore, I hope the House will support the Motion of its Leader, and show in some signal way its sense of the misconduct of the hon. Member for Mid Cork.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I shall detain the House only for a moment. I wish to add a word to what has been said by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy). I think that the Amendment which has been moved will meet all the circumstances of the case, and that in the circumstances the apology of the hon. Member for Mid Cork might be accepted. I feel, Sir, when you remember the peculiar circumstances connected with myself, that I may make an appeal that may have some weight with the House and the Government if I ask that the Motion may not be pressed.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London): I wish to say one word as to the words which were imputed to me by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford on Friday last. On the last occasion——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! It is impossible to go back to March last, and to a case which has no relevance whatever to the present subject.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir John Mowbray) appears to think that a punishment ought to be inflicted upon the hon. Member for Mid Cork, not on account of the principal offence, for which he has apologized, but on account of the conduct of the hon. Member after the first offence to the hon. Member for Devizes. [*Cries of* "No!" and "Yes!"] That is, as I understand the right hon. Gentleman, he proposes that the hon. Member for Mid Cork should be punished, not for the original offence, but on account of his conduct in the matter of the letter which the hon. Member for Devizes had addressed to him. That, at all events, is my construction of what the right hon. Gentleman says.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY: I wish to explain. I do not know what construction the right hon. Gentleman may put upon my words; but that is not the meaning which I intended to convey. I said the hon. Member for North Longford had stated that there had been a mistake and a misunderstanding. I said there was no mistake and no misunderstanding. There is no mistake about the insulting language, the use of which in the Lobby has been admitted to-night by the hon. Member for Mid Cork himself. But the letter is only an incident in the transaction. If the hon. Member for Mid Cork had appeared in his place on Monday, and had then apologized promptly for the language he used on Friday, the House might have passed it over; but the gravamen of the complaint is the language used on Friday in the Lobby to the hon. Member for Devizes.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: The construction I put on the language of the right hon. Gentleman is the construction I thought most favourable to his understanding and his judgment. But that construction he now repudiates. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that that portion of the proceedings which relates to the letter and to the non-appearance of the hon. Member in the House of Commons constitute the grounds on which we ought to censure the hon. Member. The right hon. Gentleman cannot but be aware that the hon. Member for Mid Cork has apologized. He has used language expressing his regret. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Is there the smallest doubt as to that fact? If not, I should desire that the hon. Member for Mid Cork should be recalled and requested again to read that portion of his statement in which he, as I understood, unequivocally and unconditionally expressed his regret for the improper language which he had used, and the grave offence which he had committed. And the right hon. Member for the University of Oxford said if he had apologized on Monday the apology might have been then accepted; but he did not appear on Monday; he has apologized on Thursday, and, therefore, his apology is not to be accepted. This raises an important question which I wish to state and to argue without prejudice. What I put to the House is this—that the offence, if there was one, was, it appears to me, very difficult to represent as an offence against the House. Am I to be told that if any hon. Gentleman gives me notice that he will bring my conduct at a certain date under the notice of the House I commit a punishable offence against the House if I take no notice of it? I may commit an error in many ways; I may commit an error in policy; I may commit an error in judgment; I may commit an error in courtesy. I should have said the hon. Member for Mid Cork did certainly commit an error in all these points of view if I had not to take into consideration two matters that have come before us. One is that the hon. Member for Mid Cork appears to have considered that he had a grave public duty to discharge elsewhere, which would prevent his attendance in this House; and, secondly, he had a strong belief, which must be considered an important factor in his view of the case, that he was originally the aggrieved and wronged party. He conceived that the proceeding of the hon. Member for Devizes was a distinct wrong—he has not used the word insult—upon himself. The hon. Member for Devizes called witnesses into court, and one of these witnesses has told us that the hon. Member for Devizes himself said there was "chaff going on." In that chaff there cannot be the smallest doubt who was the Gentleman to begin; there is no doubt about that. I do not hesitate for one moment to believe that the hon. Gentleman meant nothing discourteous in his chaff; but he himself described it as chaff, and surely he must feel that to address a Member who was excited and annoyed on account of an occurrence which had taken place in a tone which he himself has described as chaff was not a prudent or discreet proceeding. It seems to have created in the mind of the hon. Member for Mid Cork an untrue impression that the hon. Gentleman intended—and he was backed by others in the opinion—to do something offensive to him. It appears to me that the sending back of the letter of the hon. Gentleman was a matter of courtesy between the two Gentlemen; but I cannot understand how that is to be treated as an offence punishable by this House. Although I admit that in prudence and policy and courtesy the hon. Member should attend to a notice of that kind, yet I must say that if he does not attend I cannot understand how his non-attendance in reply to the notice of a private Member on a method which the House has never entertained, and on which it has laid down no distinct and positive rule, is to be constituted an offence punishable by the House. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) introduced, I must say, a most unfortunate and ill-advised element into this case. The right hon. Gentleman said that by the contradiction given to the hon. Member for Devizes there was an imputation cast upon that hon. Gentleman's word.

Mr. SEXTON: Of falsehood.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: An imputation of falsehood. Is that statement of the right hon. Gentleman one-sided or two-sided? Does the hon. Member for Devizes, by his assertion and re-assertion of every word—which he is quite entitled, in my opinion, to do, in obedience to his own recollection and conscience—cast any imputation of falsehood upon the hon. Member for Mid Cork? Is the imputation of falsehood on the hon. Member for Mid Cork to be treated as on a footing with the imputation of falsehood on an English Member? The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House appears to think that the imputation of falsehood upon a particular Irish Member is one thing, and an imputation of falsehood on an English Member another thing. I must say that a more unfortunate element could not have been introduced into a case of this kind. How do I deal with this question of imputation of falsehood? In the plainest and most unequivocal manner. There is no imputation of falsehood one way or the other. When contradictory statements are made by hon. Members in this House in their places in the House—unless it sees grave cause for formal inquiry under circumstances of a peculiar nature—I hold that our duty is to explain the whole contradiction by the involuntary method of comparison between the two sides, and for imputations of falsehood there is no place whatever. Anyone who introduces that element into the discussion commits a grave and serious indiscretion. How does the case stand? I stated myself that, presuming the facts remained unexplained, the question of the letter being returned and the offence not being purged would be an aggravation of the offence. I cannot conceive that the question, as it has been placed before us, constitutes an important portion of the subject-matter before the House, which is, whether a punishable offence has been committed against the House, and not whether sound judgment, or even right feeling, has been consulted in the personal relations and personal proceedings of one Member towards another Member. On the imputation of falsehood, in my opinion, there is no question to be entertained at all; and I ask the House to support me in that view. If, indeed, there be such things as imputation of falsehood to be recognized as facts, then, in my opinion, there should be a thorough sifting of the matter. The only other course is to decline to recognize such imputations. I say I believe absolutely in the perfect good faith of the hon. Member for Devizes, and in the perfect good faith of other statements made by different Members in various quarters of the House. How does this case stand? A point has been raised about the Lobby of the House. Well, Sir, I myself think that you in your wisdom will some day consider whether this question of the Lobby and the conduct of hon. Members of this House there requires any further examination or consideration; and I am quite sure that any decision you come to on the subject will be accepted with perfect confidence and satisfaction by the House. There is one precedent, that of a gentleman now, I believe, dead, who had, undoubtedly, committed a very gross offence. But that offence was purged by an apology. The hon. Member for Mid Cork has apologized. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Sir, is there the smallest doubt of that fact? If there is, I beg to ask that the hon. Member for Mid Cork be recalled. Sir, there is no doubt of the fact that the hon. Member for Mid Cork apologized for his offence. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] As these hon. Gentlemen call no, I ask that the hon. Member for Mid Cork be asked to again read that portion of his speech containing his apology.

MR. SPEAKER: If it will in any way tend to finish this very painful controversy, I should be very glad, if necessary, that the hon. Member for Mid Cork should return to state the actual terms of the apology he made.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The words are here. The hon. Member has left his papers behind him. The words are these—

> "Sir, I regret very much what has occurred, for my own sake as well as that of the House; and I can only say that, but for the fact that I regarded Mr. Long and his Friends as aggressors, I should not have used the expression complained of. Finally, it now remains for me to withdraw that portion of the language which was indecorous and improper, and also to express my regret to the House for having used it."

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That fact stands beyond dispute. Sir, I feel with you and with a large portion of the House a great desire that this matter should draw to a close. When an hon. Member has withdrawn offensive words complained of, and has expressed his regret and made his apology to the House for having used them, it is the principle and the practice of the House to consider that the hon. Member, I will not say *ipso facto* is absolved, but is entitled in prudence and policy to the indulgence of the House, and to pass from the matter without further consideration. I look upon that principle and practice as one of the utmost value; and I hope it will never be departed from. If it is departed from, I would rather it were departed from in the case of any other Member than in the case of any hon. Member who sits on that Bench. I would entreat the House to reflect upon setting a precedent for the first time. [Mr. De Lisle: No! *and cries of* "Name him!"]

Mr. SEXTON: I rise to Order. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call your attention to the fact that the hon. Member for Mid Leicestershire (Mr. De Lisle) has been guilty of disorderly interruption. I do ask you, Sir, to direct the hon. Member not to stand in the Gangway, but to take his seat.

Mr. SPEAKER: If I notice disorderly interruptions from any hon. Member it shall certainly be repressed to the utmost of my power. I hope it will not be resumed.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I am very sorry that such an interruption should have occurred for a moment, because of the extreme gravity of the matter with which we are endeavouring to deal. I trust the House will not overset one of its most wise, salutary, and necessary Rules, and establish an unfortunate precedent that after such an expression of regret for such language, and after such submission to the House by apology for the offence, the offence is still to be regarded as unpurged and punishment is to be inflicted by the House.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): Not one word shall fall from me which will, I hope, affect the minds of hon. Gentlemen who think that a lenient view should be taken of this matter. But, at the same time, I think it is impossible to allow the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) to pass without observing that it is directly contrary to the speech which he addressed to the House on Tuesday. I made a statement to the House on that occasion, which the right hon. Gentleman did me the honour to say was a moderate statement of facts; and he used language which I distinctly recollect, and which I have since verified, to the effect that if there was not a sufficient and proper explanation of the fact that the hon. Member for Mid Cork had not attended or sent any communication either to his Friends——

Mr. SEXTON: I beg pardon for one moment. I wish to remind the House that as soon as the hon. Member for Mid Cork learnt of Monday's proceedings he sent me a telegram, which I read at the close of that day's Sitting.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: The hon. Member for West Belfast was not following what I said. I am stating that prior to Monday—as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian pointed out—the hon. Member for Mid Cork had sent no communication either to his Friends or by letter, or even by telegraph, requesting that the matter might be postponed. On Monday the hon. Member for West Belfast, making the best defence that he could for the hon. Member for Mid Cork, threw doubt upon the possibility of the letter having reached that hon. Member.

Mr. SEXTON: No.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER: I am in the recollection of the House. The hon. Member for West Belfast asked the hon. Member for Devizes how the letter was addressed, and how it was delivered, and the hon. Member for Devizes stated at the Table that he had handed it to a messenger, who had come back to him after giving it to the hon. Member for Mid Cork. I hope the House will understand how this matter stands. On the corner of the envelope sent by the hon. Member for Devizes were the words, "W. H. Long," indicating that the communication, addressed to "C. K. Tanner, Esq.," came from a gentleman whose name was Long. Instead of the letter being sent back unopened, it is opened, and opened, as we know, by the hon. Member for Mid Cork, and is then returned, in the open envelope, to the hon. Member for Devizes by the same messenger. Now, I do appeal to the House that when the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian says or suggests that this matter had been properly explained——

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: I never said so. I said distinctly it was not properly explained, but pointed out that it was a question between Members, and not one that it was possible to make the subject of a punishable offence.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I must again remind the House that on Tuesday last the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian used these words—

> "I must say that unless the circumstances stated by the Attorney General can be met by some adequate explanation, they form a very serious aggravation of the offence."

Now, what does the statement of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) amount to? It was not that there was any explanation or even excuse given to the House for not replying to a perfectly civil letter, stating that the hon. Member's conduct would be brought before the House, but rather that the sending of the letter was in the nature of an insult, or as something which the hon. Member for Mid Cork was entitled to look upon as an act of aggravation of which the hon. Member for Devizes ought not to have been guilty.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I said it was looked upon as a continuation of the chaff.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: That does not come from the paper of the hon. Member for Mid Cork, because the word "chaff" had not been mentioned when the hon. Member read the paper to the House. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman opposite has dealt with the question of falsehood in a way which the House cannot regard as satisfactory. We heard the categorical statement made by my hon. Friend the Member for Devizes, and heard the explanation of the hon. Member for Mid Cork. A great part of the offensive language has not been dealt with by the hon. Member for Mid Cork at all. There has been no denial by the hon. Member, and no withdrawal of one part of the language.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Yes.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I am in the recollection of the House. This particular part — [An hon. MEMBER: Which part?] I will read it. What the hon. Member for Devizes said passed was this—

> "I said—'Did not something go wrong with you in the Division, Dr. Tanner; what was it?' His answer was—'You are one of the Tories, ain't you?' My reply was, 'Yes, certainly.' To that he replied, 'Then, I wish to God you would not speak to me. I have told you d——d Tories before not to speak to me. You have your own d——d lot, talk to them.' To which I replied, 'I beg your pardon, I was not aware that you did not wish to be spoken to;' to which he replied, 'Well, I wish you would keep your d——d tongue in your lips, and not make a d——d fool of yourself.'"

I say that ought to be denied categorically. It is not sufficient to take one sentence and say with regard to it—"I did use the expression, and so far as that offensive expression is concerned I withdraw it."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): He did not say that.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The House cannot get rid of this charge of falsehood, or, rather, suggestion of falsehood. If the hon. Member for Mid Cork wishes to make any further explanation, no doubt the House will hear him; but as the case now stands we are in the unfortunate position that three hon. Members of this House have heard this grossly offensive language, and there is not, even from the hon. Member for West Donegal (Mr. O'Hea), a contradiction or denial of it.

MR. O'HEA (Donegal, W.): I entirely deny that the hon. Member used such an expression as that "I wish to God you d——d Tories would not speak to me." It would have been impossible for him to have used those words without my having heard them.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I think the House will reconcile as best it can the statement of the hon. Member for Mid Cork, the partial admission he has made, and the statement of the hon. Member for West Donegal. I have but one word more to say. I hope the House will not recognize that there is any distinction between the Lobby and the House in this matter. The only distinction is this—in the House Mr. Speaker at once takes notice of a thing of this kind, whilst when it occurs in the Lobby it has to be brought to his notice. When within a few feet of this House language is used which one Gentleman would not use to another, I hope the House will take notice of it, and deal with it properly. I must say that it is not possible to deal with this matter as a light or trivial incident. I do not think that apologies are sufficient with regard to conduct of this kind, because, if such conduct is to be purged by apology, there is not much reason why serious notice should be taken of it. I fear the House must regard the matter as having been aggravated by the neglect to send an answer to my hon. Friend's notice; and I think the judgment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, on Monday last, was entitled to more weight than the judgment he has now given us. At any rate, the House must look at the whole facts, and will have to judge whether the explanation given by the hon. Member is satisfactory and sufficient, and to the judgment of the House I leave the whole case.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I desire to say only one or two words in this very painful controversy. It is greatly to be regretted that it seems to be impossible we should come to an unanimous or even a nearly unanimous decision; but as it is likely the question will come to something approaching a Party Division, I think it is due that I should say one or two words in explanation of the course which I propose myself to take. I am fully aware that in the opinion of a very large number of hon. Members of the House the offence against the order and decency of the House and its precincts was so grave that it was a moot or doubtful point whether it would be possible that the offence could be purged by any apology, however ample or complete. I must admit that there is a good deal to be said in support of that view. It is not a question between Member and Member. It is a question of the order and decency of the House—in which we have to transact our business—and its precincts. If the offence, which is to a great extent admitted, had been committed by any stranger, those who are entrusted with the guardianship of the precincts of the House would have known how to deal with it, and certainly it is not one that would have been condoned by an apology, however ample. And it does seem to me somewhat doubtful whether the House ought to be more lax in the way in which it deals with offences against its order committed by hon. Members themselves than the guardians of the precincts would be in the case of a stranger; but it is a very doubtful question whether, if this offence had been apologized for amply and frankly, the House would have thought it necessary to act. I am bound, however to say—after listening carefully to what has taken place—that it does not appear to me that the statement given by the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) does amount to that full and frank and satisfactory explanation, withdrawal, and apology which the House has a right to expect. That statement appeared to me to be in part a denial, in part a justification, and in part a very partial withdrawal of a portion of the language. And in the way in which that explanation struck me, it appears to me it is not one which can be considered as satisfactory to the House, or which the House ought to accept. Unfortunately, we have had lately a good deal of experience in these matters. It has frequently been necessary for the Speaker to call attention to breaches of Order in the House itself. We have heard over and over again a Member rise in his place and, in obedience to your order, Sir, withdraw the expression which has been taken notice of. He has done it sometimes with, sometimes without, an expression of regret, and the offence has been committed again almost immediately. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) says we ought not to act so as to create a new precedent. I am afraid the state of order and discipline in this House is such that it is quite possible there may be an absolute necessity that a new precedent—some more stringent condition than has hitherto been adopted — should be adopted by the House in order to mark its sense of the injury which is being from time to time inflicted on the order of the House by these incidents. I cannot altogether reconcile the view which my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition takes to-night as to the incident of returning the letter with the view which he took the other night. It appears to me that if an hon. Member has received formal notice from another hon. Member that his conduct is going to be made the subject of discussion in the House, it is due, not to that hon. Member as a personal matter, but to the House, that either he should attend in person or write an explanation to the Speaker, or commission one of his friends to explain the circumstances. It is evident that the manner in which the letter of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Devizes was received was either a studied indignity to the House, or else it showed that the hon. Member for Mid Cork thought the incident of no importance whatever, and not worth his while to take any notice of it or make any explanation. I agree with my right hon. Friend that it did constitute a serious aggravation of the offence, and that it should not have been thought necessary by the hon. Member for Mid Cork, or his adviser the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), to tender an explanation of that incident on the present occasion seems to me to show that neither of them appreciate even now the real gravity of the offence which has been committed against this House. For these reasons, though I regret extremely that it should be necessary on the part of the House to do anything in the nature of a penal character against the hon. Member, for whatever constituency in the country he may sit, I cannot forbear, if this question is pressed to a Division, voting for the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I do not think anyone on this side of the House will dispute what has been said by the Attorney General or my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale as to the gravity of the offence. Neither do I for a moment draw any distinction between action in this House and action in the Lobby. It is perfectly clear that hon. Gentlemen ought to treat one another with that courtesy and propriety in the Lobby which they should observe in the House. But the question is, this offence having been admitted to be a grave one, how ought the House to deal with it? How has it dealt with such matters in past times? I think everyone will agree that it would be a very serious mistake that we should demand in this particular instance to deal with the matter in a different manner from that in which it has been dealt with in respect of English Members in past times. My noble Friend has, for the first time, said that this is to be a Party Division. That explains a good deal, I think.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I said that I was afraid it appeared likely to become a Party Division.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is very likely to become a Party Division, especially after the speech of the noble Lord. The hon. Member for the Devizes Division told his hon. Relative that the whole thing was a piece of chaff, and another hon. Gentleman wrote down what occurred and communicated it at once to the Press.

MR. BIGWOOD: It is not the case that I communicated this matter to the Press. I met a gentleman in the outer Lobby. It will be in the recollection of hon. Members that the Sitting of the House was at an end; and I simply told this gentleman the occurrence, but not with the view of publication.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member must be a person of little experience if he meets a gentleman in the outer Lobby and communicates to him incidents of this character, and does not discover that he is the reporter of *The Birmingham Daily Mail.* In the innocence of his heart, and the hon. Member for Devizes not intending to appeal to the House or to the Speaker, this communication was made to *The Birmingham Daily Mail,* and hence the whole affair. The Attorney General has pointed out that there are two things which, in our own minds, we ought to keep distinct—the original offence, and what is called the gravity of the offence. As to the original offence, no one will palliate it. The language was perfectly indefensible. The Attorney General has endeavoured to draw a distinction between what the hon. Member for Mid Cork said and what he has denied; and he says that the hon. Member has not apologized for the whole, but only for a part. But the hon. and learned Gentleman overlooks the fact that a man cannot apologize for that which he says he never spoke. The hon. Member for Mid Cork denies that he said more than he had apologized for; and to say that that is an imputation of falsehood on the hon. Member for Devizes or the other hon. Gentleman is a monstrous assertion. Who has ever known a quarrel between two persons, each person giving the same account of the incident which occurred? It may well be that the two hon. Gentlemen have different recollections of what occurred; but I understood the hon. Member for Mid Cork had expressed his deep regret and had apologized for all he said. The question now is—"Will the Government—for they are the prosecutors in this affair—accept that apology?" The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University (Sir John Mowbray) has said that if the hon. Member for Mid Cork had come forward and made his apology on Monday, he thought the House might have dealt with him generously. But let us come to what is called the aggravation of the offence. The aggravation consisted in returning the letter of the hon. Member for Devizes without an answer. The explanation of that circumstance is given by the hon. Member for Mid Cork, who says that he believed that that was a continuation of the chaff. You have not given an opportunity to the hon. Member for Mid Cork himself to give a reason why he returned the letter, and the hon. and learned Member for Longford did not read what he would have said; but the fact remains that the hon. Member considered it to be a continuation of the chaff which he understood had begun.

Mr. LONG: I am sorry to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. I have not felt justified hitherto in taking notice of the statement of my hon. Friend and relative opposite; but as the whole of the right hon. Gentleman's speech is based on the assumption that this word "chaff" was used, and as I have a distinct recollection of what took place, I beg to say that the word "chaff" was never used by me.

Mr. W. B. BEAUMONT: With your permission, Sir, and with the permission of the House, I repeat that I distinctly recollect hearing my hon. Friend and Relative use the word "chaff."

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Which accuses the other of falsehood now! [*Ministerial cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Oh, yes, against an Irish Member it is falsehood; but against an English Member (the remainder of the sentence was lost in the loud interruptions from the Ministerial side). Will the First Lord of the Treasury charge the hon. Member for Mid Cork with having brought a charge of falsehood against the hon. Member for Devizes? Will he say the same of the hon. Member for Tyneside? Let us test the spirit of justice and impartiality of the right hon. Gentleman. Who does not know and believe that the hon. Member for Devizes and the hon. Member for Tyneside are both of them speaking conscientiously as to what they believe took place? Of course they are. Then why should another Member sitting below the Gangway be treated differently? It is unfair, it is unjust, it is improper, and does not comport with the dignity of the House in the treatment of such a question. The hon. Member for Devizes has said that he does not recollect using the word "sell." The hon. Member for West Donegal (Mr. O'Hea) states the contrary; but no imputation of falsehood is laid upon him at all. Everyone knows that when heated discussions of this kind take place men do not recollect exactly what they have said; and all I can say is that I understand the hon. Member for Mid Cork to have said that "as far as I recollect the improper language which I used I withdraw it and apologize." Let us see how the House has previously treated matters of this description. The case has been mentioned of Dr. Kenealy. What happened on that occasion? Dr. Kenealy in the Lobby called Mr. Sullivan a liar. Mr. Sullivan brought the matter before the House. Dr. Kenealy did not apologize, did not withdraw; he justified the use of the word on the ground of the provocation he had received. He said—

> "I now place myself in the hands of the House, and if the House thinks I have done wrong I will apologize to it; but, at the same time, I appeal to the hon. Members of this House, who are men of honour, to consider this matter without reference to the prejudice which the hon. Member sought to raise against me in a speech . . . . unprovoked by me; and I appeal to them whether, under the circumstances, I was not justified in using the expression?"—(3 *Hansard*, [233] 953.)

What was the course taken then? Did the Government of that day come forward and say, "Suspend Dr. Kenealy?" Not at all. Mr. W. E. Forster made a Motion in the nature of an Instruction to the Speaker—

> "That the honourable Member for Stoke be ordered to withdraw the offensive expression addressed by him, in the Lobby, to the honourable Member for Louth, and to apologize to the House for having used it."—(*Ibid.* 956.)

The Motion was agreed to. Why did you not make that Motion on Monday? Why are you to deal with the hon. Member for Mid Cork differently from the way in which the Government of the day dealt with Dr. Kenealy? That Resolution was moved, and then Dr. Kenealy came forward, and said he withdrew the expression that he had used in the Lobby and apologized to the House for using it. That is what the hon. Member for Mid Cork has done. What is the meaning of this Party and vindictive Motion? It is not to vindicate the dignity of the

House. ["Yes!"] Well, but I have shown you how the House vindicated its dignity in the case of Dr. Kenealy. Why have you departed from the course which your Predecessors in this House have taken, and why have you done it at this moment? Throughout the length and breadth of the land the question will be asked why, when you have a precedent to guide you, you have deliberately departed from it? In that case the House considered it sufficient to call upon a man to withdraw the offensive expression and apologize for it; but you say no apology and no withdrawal shall satisfy us. It seems to me that the position now taken by the Government is very difficult to justify. The Attorney General referred to what my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian said on Monday. My right hon. Friend, when he spoke on Monday about the aggravation of the letter, had never heard what was said by the hon. Member for Devizes. I do not impute anything to the hon. Member for Devizes. I respect him too much to do anything of the kind. It might have been, had the hon. Member consulted the Speaker, that the Speaker would have told him, as I believe he has told others, that it is not for the dignity of the House to bring these matters on. It might have been prevented and avoided had the hon. Member for Devizes followed his first instinct and not brought it on. I do not wish to excuse the conduct of the hon. Member for Mid Cork; I think that with reference to the letter it was most unwise, most improper, most discourteous. But the question is whether you are not to follow the rule that a full apology—["Oh!"] You are determined to accept no apology. The hon. Member who cried "Oh!" knows that if the hon. Member for Mid Cork came on his knees you would give exactly the same vote; and you are determined that under all circumstances this Motion shall be pressed to its fullest extent. All I can say is that I think it is a most unfortunate proceeding. It will be taken against every precedent of the House of Commons. There is no instance in which when a man has made an apology, after he has been ordered by the House to make an apology, the matter has been pressed so as to drive him out of the House. We must guess for ourselves why the precedents are to be thrown over, and why this particular moment is selected for repudiating the practice of the House of Commons. I can only say that I deeply regret it. I shall give my vote certainly not as a Party vote. I shall give it as a vote in support of the old traditions of the House of Commons, and against the revolutionary and vindictive spirit which has prompted this Motion.

MR. WHITBREAD (Bedford): If the House will allow me, I should like to make an effort to put an end to this discussion. No hon. Member who has sat so long as I have done in this House would suppose that I should stand up for a moment in support of disorderly language used either in the House or in the Lobby. I am strongly of opinion that such language ought to be repressed, and repressed it must be. But what I want to ask the House is this—Has not this incident gone far enough? Has not the House marked its sense of this language sufficiently? If this incident had occurred in the House the ruling of the Speaker as to the sufficiency or otherwise of the apology made would have been absolute and final. This matter occurred within a very few feet of the House, and what I desire to do, if I may be permitted, is, with great respect for the Chair, to ask you, Sir, whether in your opinion, after the apology, the affair has not gone far enough; and whether the offence, treated as it must be as an offence against the House, has not already been sufficiently marked, and whether the apology—the full apology—made by the hon. Member for Mid Cork, has not been sufficient for the occasion? I very much deprecate the idea that after an apology has once been made it is not to be accepted. I wish also to call the attention of the House to the very dangerous precedent which may be established. I do not mean that of not accepting an apology; but what strikes me as the very much graver danger of not seeking—earnestly seeking—the advice and decision of the Chair in a matter of this sort, instead of treating it as a question to be debated in the House. I am sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite must be aware that sometimes language — I hope not of a gross character, but still of a violent character—is used outside of the House. Often the aggrieved party has sought the intervention of the Chair, and that intervention has been found sufficient. The time of the House ought not to be taken up by matters of this kind if it can be avoided; and if they are to be debated at length I am afraid that we shall have more than one painful incident of this description. With these few words I should like to ask you, Sir, whether you feel justified in advising the House in this very difficult matter, as to whether, after the apology, the case, in your opinion, has not gone far enough for the dignity of the House, and whether the expression of the sense of the House as to the language used has not been sufficient?

Mr. SPEAKER: The appeal of the hon. Member places me in a somewhat difficult position, lest I should seem to venture to intervene between the House and the decision which would have otherwise been come to by its vote. The hon. Gentleman has stated that this matter might have been settled in the ordinary way. Now, I shall be perfectly frank with the House, and tell the House precisely what passed so far as I am concerned. The hon. Member for Devizes came to me late on Friday night and represented that an insult had been offered to him in the Lobby. He stated that there were two or three other Gentlemen who heard what passed, and could bear witness to it, adding that he was greatly hurt by what had occurred, and that he placed himself entirely in my hands. There have been repeated complaints made to me by Members of this House in the course of the Session of language used in the Lobbies which I have thought to be derogatory to the dignity and character of the House. The hon. Gentleman was deeply pained, and I told him that I thought that he was justified in bringing the matter before the House; that I thought it was not for me, in a case of that sort, to intervene; and that the House should decide for itself if he thought proper to bring the matter before the House. That is the history of the matter as far as I am concerned. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) has asked me whether I think that a sufficient apology has been tendered to the House. I hope, therefore, that the House will allow me, in these circumstances, without prejudicing its proceedings, to state my view. ["Hear, hear!"] It seems to be desired by a large portion of the House that I should do so. [*Cheers.*] I frankly own that if an appeal of that kind had been made to me some time ago I should have expressed the opinion that the incident should terminate. I consider that the incident may terminate without the least imputation resting on the honour of the hon. Member for Devizes (Mr. Long), or on the honour of the hon. Member for West Donegal (Mr. O'Hea), or on the honour of the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), so far as regards what they have said here to-night as to what passed during the transaction in the Lobby. There can be no doubt as to their honour and conscientiousness in stating whatever they have stated to the House to-night on this painful matter. But unquestionably the House, as it seems to me, is unanimous on one thing, and that is in the opinion that offensive and un-Parliamentary language has been used—that un-Parliamentary and offensive language used in the Lobby is an offence against this House—as much an offence, I might almost say, as if it were actually used in the House itself. But, on the other hand, I consider that the hon. Member for Mid Cork has made an apology which covers all the offensive and un-Parliamentary expressions which have been used. He says that he regrets them; he says that he apologizes to the House for having used them. I know very well that there are many offences committed against this House which the House may justly deem not to be sufficiently met and atoned for by an apology. But, on the other hand, I must, with all respect to the House, point out that the incidents of this evening have been of a very marked and a very solemn character. The House has distinctly stigmatized the use of such expressions in the House or out of the House; the whole transaction is before the country in the most public and formal manner; and with the record of this evening's proceedings before the House and before the country, it is not likely that any offence of the same nature will be lightly committed. I hardly know whether I have transgressed the bounds of my duty to the House in what I have said; but I would respectfully urge the House, after the formal, distinct, and unreserved apology, as I regard it, that that apology should be accepted by the House, and that the House should no longer pursue this question.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I may be allowed now to say, after the very complete expression of the views which you hold, Mr. Speaker, as to the incident which has been under the discussion of the House, there is only one course to pursue, and that is to ask permission to withdraw the Motion. I hope the House will understand that in taking the course which I have taken, and which appeared to me to be incumbent upon me to take, I felt that that course was necessary to maintain, as far as possible, the decorum of the proceedings of this House and maintain order within its precincts. I had no other view and no other object. The course which I adopted on Monday, Sir, was with your advice, and under the circumstances, I am glad now to accept the advice you have tendered to the House; and I hope, Sir, that the very strong language with which you have characterized the offensive words used will have the effect of preventing the use of such language, or the repetition of such disorderly conduct, in any part of the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. and learned Member for Longford withdraw his Amendment?

MR. T. M. HEALY: Yes, Sir.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

——o——

IRISH LAND LAW BILL [*Lords.*]

[BILL 308.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington), in rising to move—

> "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the reduction of family charges on Irish land,"

said, he made the Motion from no hostile or Party point of view, or in any controversial spirit. At the same time, he did not profess to have any sympathy with the general policy of the Government with regard to Ireland. He was one of those who, last year, in that House, without hesitation, came to the conclusion that the difficulties with which the Government had to cope could only be met by a very large measure of Home Rule, to be followed by a large measure of land legislation; and nothing he had heard since then had, in the slightest degree, modified that opinion he then formed. He made the appeal to the Government simply on the ground that it was required, in justice to a large section of the Irish landlords, who found themselves in an extremely difficult position. No doubt, there were a great many Irish landlords who were deserving of no sympathy; but there were others who were honestly striving to do their duty under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, and who, owing to the fall in prices and the legislation which had been found to be necessary, were in the position of being ground between the upper and nether millstones. It was on behalf of these men that he spoke—men who, from no fault of their own, were prevented from doing justice to themselves. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking the other day, adverted to the difficulties attending this subject, and he asked the question—"Are you prepared to extend this kind of relief to England and Scotland?" He (Mr. Haldane) would answer that question frankly and distinctly in the affirmative. He thought it was absolutely necessary that the House should before very long take up the question of how family charges or encumbrances in Scotland and England were to be dealt with, where those family charges were becoming oppressive, and the position which landlords occupied owing to the fall in the prices of produce. But there were special circumstances in the case of Ireland. The Chief Secretary, in his speech a few days before on the second reading of the Bill, had adverted to the history of the present Irish Land question, finding its beginning in 1881. He (Mr. Haldane) would go back further than that, beginning at 1848, when the Encumbered Estates Act was passed. That Act invited the landlords to sell the tenants' improvements. Then came the Act of 1860, and put on the footing of pure contract what never before had been on that footing. The relation of landlord and tenant in England and Scotland was more nearly that of partnership than of contract, and a similar customary relationship would have been fully recognized in Ireland but for the system of absenteeism. In 1860, the refusal to look this fact in the face culminated. It was only in 1860, in the iniquitous Bill passed in that year, that the present power of eviction was conferred on the Irish landlord—a power possessed in no other country at Common Law. The Acts of 1870 and 1881 had swept the bulk of this away, and the situation of the Irish landlord had become a very difficult one. On the one side he was hemmed in by this new legislation. On the other side he had the charges and mortgages created on the footing of the continuance of the old bad state of things. To remedy this, as regards charges, and, indeed, as far as they could, the legislature must interfere. And they would be justified in making any interference which was called for by the existing state of things, on the ground that, in doing so, they should not be interfering with contracts or bargains, but should simply be carrying out what was the intention of those who created these charges or encumbrances. The position of the Irish landlord was wholly different to the English or Scottish landlord. He (Mr. Haldane) represented a county in Scotland in which the Chief Secretary for Ireland was a large landowner; and no one knew better than the right hon. Gentlemen, and no one had more fully recognized the fact that landlords could not deal with their tenants in that country as though it was their duty and their right to exact their full pound of flesh. No one had more fully recognized the fact that the position of the landlord and the tenant was more the position of a partnership; that the rent was an economic rent; and was paid according to the fertility of the soil, and the special circumstance under which the crop was produced. But the case of Ireland was different. There was land in Ireland which was absolutely incapable of paying any economic rent, and the result of that state of things was, that rent had been paid not out of produce, not as economic rent, but as a ransome rent. He expressed a wish that hon. Members would give their attention to the land Acts of 1870 and 1881, when——

Colonel WARING (Down, N.): I rise to Order. I entirely concur with the Motion of the hon. Member; but he is talking upon other subjects, and attacking the Irish landlords on a side issue.

Mr. SPEAKER: The subject of Irish land is the subject before the House, and the hon. Gentleman seems to me to be speaking relevantly to it.

Mr. HALDANE said, he was proposing to show that the position of the Irish landlord under the legislation of 1870 and 1881 was an altogether anomalous and exceptional position as contrasted with the position of the landlord in this country. In Ireland there were encumbrances and charges existing to a much larger extent than was the case in this country. He was acquainted with a case in which there were two jointures and three sets of charges beside other encumbrances, and owing to the fall in prices the gentleman to whom the estate belonged had no interest in it; he might very well say, in the words of the old street song—

"I care for nobody, no, not I,
And nobody cares for me."

He had no interest whatever in his tenants; and yet he occupied the position of an Irish landlord; proceedings were taken in his name, receivers acted in his name, and harsh measures were adopted in his name, all the interests of charges and mortgagees. It was with cases of that kind that he wished to deal. A mortgagee had a double set of rights; there was a debt, and there was also the security; and if you dealt with the mortgage, you must deal, not merely with the security, but also with the personal debt, or else your legislation would be penal as against those who took security. The intention of the Instruction he was moving was to carry out the recommendation of Lord Cowper's Commission as far as possible. He did not touch the question of mortgages in his clauses; for mortgages involved a personal debt, and if so, he did not know how they were to deal with them and not deal with tradesmen's or other ordinary debts. They would only be punishing the persons who lent money on mortgages for their prudence in taking a security. But he did deal with family charges. He quite recognized that a man might give a jointure to his widow with the intention that it should remain intact, even though the heir in possession of the land might have his rents reduced;

and the only way in which the difficulty could be met was by giving a discretionary power to a tribunal, which he proposed should be the Land Court, giving them power to reduce a jointure or lump sum charge to an extent not exceeding half the proportion of what, in the opinion of the Court, had been the fall in the annual value of the land. The situation was exceedingly difficult, and he thought the best way of meeting it was to give such a discretionary power. He would provide that, in exercising the power, the Court should have no regard to any fall in value due to negligent or improper management. He would further provide that the discretion was not to apply to *bonâ fide* charges for valuable consideration. He made these propositions in no sense of hostility to the Bill; but in order to do justice and to get rid of impossible relations between landlords and tenants. He had drafted clauses to carry out the Instruction, and he moved it in such a way that it could be accepted by the Government without the slightest disturbance to the Bill or to any future scheme of purchase. He would conclude by moving the Instruction of which he had given Notice.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith), in seconding the Motion, said, that landowners were the only persons who, so far as law went, had been made to suffer from the depreciation in the value of land, for recent legislation had thrown all the burdens arising from agricultural depression upon that class. Owing to the fall in prices and rents, many landowners received less than those who had charges on their property. It was not equitable that those who had family charges should get the whole of their charges, while the unfortunate landlord was deprived of a portion of even the judical rent, reducing that rent to an amount perhaps even less than the total of the family charges. He hoped that the question would be considered without reference to Party politics.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the reduction of family charges on Irish Land."—(Mr. *Haldane.*)

MR. PARNELL (Cork): It appears to me that of all the classes who are interested in land in Ireland the class against whose interests this Instruction is directed is not one of the least meritorious. I do not understand how the holders of these family charges can be compared to the owners of the land themselves, when it is considered that after these charges were originally put on, if the value of the land had risen, the value of these charges would not have also increased; but that the increased rent would have gone into the landlords' pockets. Therefore, the owners of land would be in an entirely different position. If the value of land had never increased, rents would still come to the landlords; but increased amounts would not come to their sisters and younger brothers, who were in the enjoyment of these family charges. Therefore, I think the case of sisters and younger brothers, and others who are similarly interested in land, is entirely different from the case of the landlords. The landowners have, it is true, been hit by the fall in prices; but if prices had risen, they would have benefited proportionately. Then, in nine cases out of ten, these family charges are very small, mere pittances, in fact, which would not bear reduction, and I think it would be a great cruelty to reduce them. I cannot see how, on any ground of justice or expediency, it can be argued that the depreciation in rents owing to the fall in prices should be borne out of the pockets of sisters and younger brothers, when, on the other hand, they would obtain no benefit from a rise in prices. Such a proceeding would be most unjust, and I hope the House will not sanction it.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, that as he understood the argument of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), if acted on, it came to this—you ought never, under any circumstances, to reduce the family charges on land, because the payments to the younger children would not be increased if the value of the land increased. But, if that argument was worth anything, would it not affect the case of leases, with which the hon. Member proposed to deal? The case of a landlord who had given a lease was exactly parallel to the cases which the Motion had in view. The landlord who gave a long lease did not, if the land rose in value, get any increase of rent; if, therefore, the argument of the hon. Member held good, he ought not to get a less rent if the land decreased in value. He entirely accepted the statement of the hon. and learned Member who moved the Instruction (Mr. Haldane), that he moved it in no hostile spirit. He would go further, and say that the case laid before the House by the hon. and learned Gentleman was one deserving very serious consideration from everyone concerned with Irish land legislation. Perhaps the speech he made in introducing the Bill gave the hon. and learned Gentleman some encouragement to bring forward this Instruction; because he pointed out how hard the case of the Irish landlord was. Since the debts owing to him were reduced, the debts which he himself owed to others were enacted to the last farthing. He was sorry that the Government, however much they sympathized with the view of the hon. and learned Gentleman, could not accept his Amendment. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in his Amendment, carefully abstained from touching the question of mortgages, being perfectly aware on what delicate ground he was treading. But the hon. and learned Gentleman's argument against touching mortgages was rather of a theoretic than of a substantial kind. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that mortgages had a double legal security, and that therefore there would be a double injustice in attacking them. That was an objection which appealed more to the legal than the lay mind. For his own part, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) would confess that he should regard with the utmost misgiving anything said by any responsible Member of the House which should encourage the idea that that House was prepared to tamper with mortgages, not because they were technically secured in a double manner, but because it was impossible to do a greater injury, not to those who lent money, but to those who borrowed, than to throw question on the character of the security; because, once the security was challenged, the lenders would see that their best course was to require that the money they lent should be instantly repaid. If a notion of that kind got abroad a greater disaster would fall upon the Irish landlords than any they had yet suffered, or upon those who had lent the money. But the distinction between mortgages and family charges was sometimes of a character difficult to make clear. For example, take the case of two children to whom the father desired to give the same portion—say, £1,000. In the one case the portion was left a charge on the estate; in the other, the money was borrowed upon mortgage. It was simply by accident that two different kinds of machinery were employed; and yet, under the hon. Member's proposed clause, the portion of one child would be cut down, while that of the other would be left intact. Take, again, the case of a younger son whose £1,000 was left as a charge upon the estate, and who went to some outside person and said—"What will you give me for the rent-charge upon my father's estate?" He might get the full value of the rent-charge, and, having been disposed of for a valuable consideration, it would not be touched by the Instruction. But if the younger son decided that he would leave his portion as a family charge, then he would find himself mulcted, according to the Instruction, if by the action of the Land Commission the rent had been cut down. But that was not all. If the clause which the hon. and learned Gentleman proposed to move in Committee were carried, all settlements on the estate, of whatever kind, would stand on the same legal footing. If the grandfather left the property subject to a certain set of charges, and his successor left it subject to a second set of charges, the children of the first and of the second generation would stand on the same footing, though the former had at present, and ought to retain, a priority of charge.

Mr. HALDANE said, it would be seen that the clause gave the Court discretionary power to reduce, having regard to the whole circumstances.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he must point out that, notwithstanding that, the intention of the person who made the settlement would not come in. At all events the hon. and learned Gentleman would admit that his solution was fraught with difficulty, and that it threw on the Land Court the responsibility of a species of discrimination which had probably never been thrown upon any Court before. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman's clause was about a page and a-half in extent, it dealt with an extremely difficult and complicated question, and might excite great alarm in the most timid of all classes—the capitalists who lent money. Above all, it could not possibly be passed without a very large expenditure of public time which could ill be spared. For those reasons the Government did not find themselves in a position to accept the Instruction. They fully admitted the hardship of the case; and if, without causing greater injury to the persons intended to be relieved, any means of relieving them could be suggested at a future time, the Government would be happy to give it their favourable consideration. At that period of the Session, he trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press his Motion to a Division.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he had the happiness for once, which he did not often enjoy, of entirely agreeing with what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had said on the present occasion. In the first place, he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, that nothing could be more destructive to the landlords than to meddle with mortgages; for that would mean that nobody would ever trust them with money again. Who ever heard of mortgages being reduced after a great war, when times were hard, because they had been made under different conditions? Mortgages and family charges stood upon exactly the same footing. People imagined that a family charge was a voluntary settlement. It was nothing of the kind. Family charges arose out of marriage settlements, and any lawyer would say that marriage was a valuable consideration. If you tampered with mortgages, no one would lend money to an Irish landlord; if you tampered with settlements no one would marry him. He defied any lawyer to distinguish in principle between a family settlement and a valuable consideration for money.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, he deeply regretted that the Government, through the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, did not see their way to accept the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Haldane); because unless something was done in the direction suggested he feared that the Irish landlords would be very cruelly treated indeed. The reduction of rent given recently by the Land Court amounted to about 35 per cent; and, in all probability, by the time that this Bill issued from the House of Commons a principle would be laid down leading to a reduction all round of at least 35 or 40 per cent on the old scale of rents. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) said the other day, that if the whole of the land of Ireland were put up for sale, there would not be sufficient to pay the mortgages on it. The right hon. Gentleman had, therefore, prepared himself for the total bankruptcy of the entire landlord class in Ireland. He (Mr. S. Smith) was not among those who thought very highly of Irish landlords. By their extravagance and foolishness in the past, many of them had got into their present lamentable position; but he did not think they were all equally culpable. Many of them had suffered from the faults of their forefathers; and it was rather hard that the entire class should be ruined by legislation initiated in that House, which took no account of the painful position in which they were left by the acts of their predecessors. Hon. Members, who had studied the evidence of the Royal Commission, would know that the reason why many cruel evictions had been carried out in Ireland was because the mortgagee had been pressing for his pound of flesh. The unhappy landlord, under the circumstances, had been compelled to evict. In nine cases out of ten, it was the money-lender who evicted, while the landlord had to bear all the odium of the situation. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, that the landlord would be the greatest loser by any legislation that tampered with mortgages. What the landlord wanted was an immediate settlement of these claims, and if the House should consider it just to apportion those claims in some degree to the present rent, the landlord would be a gainer and not a loser. He (Mr. S. Smith) quite saw the difficulty raised by the Chief Secretary; but what he said was that with regard to the case of Ireland, everything was exceptional. They were turning everything upside down in that country, and they could not help themselves. They must protect the tenant by means of judicial rents; but, at the same time, they should protect the landlord against those heavy and unjust claims which were now made upon him.

Mr. GEDGE (Stockport) said, that he would have supported the Amendment in an earlier period of the Session, say, if it were the month of May, instead of being as it was nearly the end of July; but if they attempted to deal with the subject now in connection with this Bill, they would be kept there until the middle of October. It seemed to him that there was perfect justice in the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Haldane), and he hoped that the Government would give some intimation of their intention—if not to bring in a Bill next Session to carry it out—to give it, at any rate, their earnest consideration. There was a wide distinction between settlements and jointures, even including settlements made on marriage, and mortgages; and as they had interfered with the rights of the owners of the land and the returns upon the land of those owners, they ought to deal, not with one particular person who happened to be the nominal owner, but also with those who were practically the joint owners, and give them their fair shares in proportion. By thus distributing the results of the injustice done to landowners by the Land Act of 1882, among all those who were interested in the land, they would diminish the injustice, and, so far as was possible, do justice. He could not agree with the right hon. Member for Derby that marriage settlements stood on a different footing from voluntary settlements made by will or otherwise. That was the view not of a statesman, but of a lawyer, carried away by the legal fiction that marriage was a valuable consideration. Mortgages were altogether different, for, although it might be fair as regards the mortgagees to make them bear part of the loss, yet, in the long run, experience showed, as in the case of the usury laws, that interference with the rights of the lender did not benefit the borrower. The Land Act of 1882 had made it most difficult to borrow money on a mortgage of land in Ireland, and to include mortgages in the proposed arrangement would make it impossible to do so. But if a landowner could not borrow, away would go all hope of his spending money on the improvement of his estate. He hoped that Her Majesty's Government would take the principle of the Amendment into consideration, with a view of throwing on others, as well as on the landlords, the loss that had arisen owing to the fall in the value of Irish land.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.) said, that the arguments of the Chief Secretary and of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby had by no means convinced him. But he would admit that it was a very important matter, requiring the consideration of the Government; and, after what had taken place, he supposed his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Haldane) would withdraw his Amendment. He felt, however, that the argument of the Chief Secretary for Ireland on the subject of time was conclusive. There was no doubt as to the complication of the matter, or as to the enormous interest concerned in the Amendment; and no dealing with the question could be permitted which was not the subject of the fullest consideration both by the House and by the Government. There appeared to him to be a clear distinction between the case of mortgages and family settlements, although in a country like Ireland, where Parliament had already interfered so much, there could be no very grave objection—indeed, it might be very possible that they might be compelled—to interfere a little more. For instance, one had been accustomed to look on rent settled by a Court as a prior and secured claim; yet they were going by this Bill to interpose an equitable jurisdiction before the rent could be obtained by the landlord. It might also be necessary to interpose the equitable jurisdiction of a Court before even the mortgagee should be able to exercise his rights. He thought that, even in the case of mortgages, which lawyers regarded as so very sacred, something could be done; but in regard to family charges the case was still stronger. A mortgage was the actual transfer of the legal ownership for a money consideration; whereas family charges were usually the result of voluntary settlements. If those who created those charges could revise them, they would now desire to revise them in the interests of the landlord, and against the charge-owner. The case had now arisen for revising these charges. He would admit it was impossible to proceed with the matter further that Session. He would, therefore, suggest that the Government might, during the Recess, appoint a small Special Commission to consider the subject, having sole regard to the case of Ireland, and having regard to the case of mortgages and other charges, to see whether the difficulties which stand in the way of an equitable settlement could not be overcome.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman would receive the attention of the Government. They would, probably, institute some form of inquiry; but whether by Commission or Committee, and by which House of the Legislature, would be a matter for further consideration.

MR. HALDANE, in asking leave to withdraw the Amendment, said, that his only reason for bringing it forward at that time was that it seemed to him the case of the Irish landlords was an urgent one which must be dealt with at once. Unless something was done they would be squeezed out of life, not merely under existing circumstances, but by the further legislation which was contemplated.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, the Opposition were placed at an unfair disadvantage compared with Conservative Members. The supporters of the Government who had attended the meetings at the Carlton Club knew what the intentions of the Government were. On the second reading of the Bill there was a universal feeling that what they were then discussing was a bogus Bill, and he thought, therefore, that the House would not be justified in proceeding further in the direction of going into Committee without attempting to obtain from the Government some information and the necessary explanations, in order to know what were the main features of the Bill that the Government intended to press forward. He maintained that, not only in the interest of Public Business, but in the interest of the measure itself, it would be prudent and reasonable that the Government should make a statement as to the changes to be introduced. If Lord Salisbury's language was not misunderstood, it was intended to radically alter the measure. If the Government refused to put the House in possession of what they meant to do, on them would be the responsibility of whether delay and confusion might occur at subsequent stages in the progress of the Bill. The Government had not even taken the usual step of putting their Amendments on the Paper. Was it to be assumed that their Amendments were of less importance than those of private Members? The Government having yielded to an influence which it was impossible for them to withstand, surely there was no reason why delicacy should prevent them making a clean breast of their altered attitude in regard to this Bill. In order to protest against the silence of Ministers on the point, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.), in seconding the Motion, said, it was essential, in the interests of their constituents and of the House, that they should know what was intended. Since the second reading had been agreed to, there had been a semi-official announcement of great alterations in the Bill, which were described by Lord Salisbury as minor changes. The knowledge of those minor changes should not, at all events, be meted out in instalments. How did they stand with regard to the saving of time? There were 56 pages of Amendments. How many of those might be modified or swept away if the Government would only declare their intentions? The debate should be adjourned until the Government would make up their minds. The question, for instance, of revising the judicial rent and the question of the Bankruptcy Clauses were vital, and the public interest required that they should know what the changes were which the Government proposed to make in the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Illingworth.*)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I hope, Sir, if is possible, the Government will not invite the House to go into Committee on this Bill without telling us what Bill it is, or what they intend to do. The House of Commons has never been treated in such a manner as this before. The Government have gone a long way in their treatment of the House of Commons; but such a thing as this has never been heard of. What is the meaning of the second reading of a Bill? It is that the general provisions of the Bill shall be discussed as a whole on the second reading. Then the stage of moving the Speaker out of the Chair is proceeded with; and the meaning of those preliminary proceedings is, that there shall be an opportunity of discussing the general aspect of the Bill, and the bearing of one clause on another. We know very well that many of those clauses may depend extremely on their relations one with another. We know, in our experience of the last Bill, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland desired to explain the effect of one clause on another, but was not allowed to do so. Is this the Bill we read a second time? We know perfectly well that it is not. It is all nonsense for you to talk about the meeting at the Carlton Club being a private meeting. If so, why did you send accounts of it by the newspapers to all the world? You are afraid of a Dissolution, and you must buy votes from the Liberal Unionists. And then you dare not say what is the price you have paid for the votes. You are trying to conceal it. The Government are the bravest men in the world until the moment of fight. They nailed their colours to the mast, and then in a moment of danger they put their tail between their legs and ran away. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Yes; you have run away to-night. It is most extraordinary to me that we are not to be allowed to know the changes which are to be made in this Bill. Why is that? We know perfectly well what the Chancellor of the Exchequer means by greater stability, and what he thinks of judicial rents. Last Friday he swore that he never, never would alter his mind or make any concessions on the subject of the revision of judicial rents. Let the Government tell us whether they adhere to the stability of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and we shall know where we are, and we shall be satisfied. [Mr. A. J. BALBOUR: Will you be satisfied?] We shall then know where we are. We want to know what are these terms you disapprove of, and which are contrary to Conservative principles—Conservative principles which you have surrendered, because it is necessary to have the support of the Liberal Unionists to defend the Union? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he would never make any concession to win votes. We want to know what is the bargain made since? We know what the Bill was on Friday night last; but we want to know what it is now? We want to know something about that miraculous conversion of last Sunday, and of the effect it has had on the mind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Tell us what are now your opinions with reference to leases, the Bankruptcy Clauses, and to judicial rents and other points on which he was never to give way? These are matters which affect hundreds and thousands of men in Ireland. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) I fear is to be cashiered for the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) as leader of the Ulster Unionists, who does not like the concessions it is said you have made. Yes; that hon. Member is paraded as the lawgiver of the Government. Well, we know what the views of the hon. Member for South Tyrone are on this Bill. We know also what the views of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) are; and we know as well what the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) are, and we should like to know how far these views have been adopted by the Government. I am not going to say anything about surrender. Conservative surrender is a thing of which there are many examples in history, for instance, it has been illustrated by the pen of the present Prime Minister. I do not suggest there has been any surrender to the Member for South Tyrone, to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, or to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. It is not to them the surrender is made, but to the electors of Spalding and Coventry. These are the real political Leaders of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We are anxious to know what the exact nature of the surrender is. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is an extremely valiant man till he sees he is going to be beaten, and then, with that discretion which is the better part of valour, he runs away. His courage, like that of Bob Acres, oozes out at his fingers. The right hon. Gentleman would not buy votes by giving any pledges, but when he sees that he is very likely to be beaten, he now says—"It will never do to be beaten, so let us buy votes at the market price." I only want to know, in that case, what the market price is. We were told that these desperate Liberal Unionists might bring about a Dissolution—a terrible thought. A Dissolution, conscience makes cowards of us all. [*Ministerial ironical cheers.*] Oh, no, we are not cowards. We are fighting for our principles, and you have dropped yours. You are afraid that if you were defeated you might have to dissolve Parliament. So you are positively going to recommend to the House a scheme which on the face of it your principles disapprove, and you are doing that in order that you may buy a majority, for the purpose of preventing the country from pronouncing their condemnation of your policy. If you want to see a picture of humiliation look at the Treasury Bench. Look at the men who would not buy votes, and look at the transactions of last Sunday. They absolutely avow that they have accepted opinions which they dislike, which they disapprove, and the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer goes to the Carlton Club in order to explain why he has been made the Jonah of his Party. He has spent the last three days and three nights in the Carlton Club to explain to the Conservative Party why it is he has thrown overboard all those principles which he proclaimed in this House the other night, and which he went over to the Alexandra Palace on Saturday to declare he never would abandon. That is a specimen of the species of the stability of which we have heard so much. It does not suit your purpose before we go into Committee to explain the recent transactions. Yet you expect us to go into Committee on your Bill without an explanation of its whole character. Is the House of Commons going to stand that? The other night the First Lord of the Treasury told us that the proper occasion to explain matters would be on going into Committee, and ever since then he has been trying to get out of that declaration. It would be the simplest thing in the world for you to say frankly that you have reconsidered these matters since the second reading, and have seen reason to change your minds. You need not state your reasons if you like; we know them well enough. We do not ask you to confess the reasons of the bargain you have made, we only want you to state the conclusions at which you have arrived. We will allow you that peace with which you desire to receive the surrender, but come forward and tell us what your Bill is going to be, so that we may discuss it, as we have a right before the Speaker leave the Chair. Sir, if there is any sense of self-respect or any regard for its own dignity left to the House, I hope it will not allow itself to be treated in this manner—a manner in which it has never been treated before by any responsible Government.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Sir William Harcourt) has alleged that we are afraid to state our opinions at present, and he emphasized that assertion by informing us that our consciences made cowards of us all. I know not whether the right hon. Gentleman has ever in his life suffered from terror; but if he ever has, I doubt whether the cause of his fear was the same as that which he attributes to us, for whatever else may have made him afraid, it can hardly have been his conscience. He wishes the House to refuse to consider a Bill in Committee until the Government of the day has declared exactly what its intentions are in regard to every specific point of detail connected with the measure. That has never been insisted on before. I recollect the case of a Bill of even greater importance than the Bill now before the House; I can recollect when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) brought in his Bill of last year for establishing Home Rule. He was afraid of defeat on that Bill. Conscience made him a coward on that occasion. [The right hon. Gentleman here entered the House.] I repeat that the right hon. Gentleman brought in his Home Rule Bill last year, and on that occasion, to quote the words of the Member for Derby, conscience made him a coward, and he indicated to the House that they were not to consider themselves bound by the details of his proposal; but that they were to vote for a bare abstract principle, and that they were to trust to the discussion in Committee for determining what the specific details of that measure were to be. Well, I do not now offer to the House a bare abstract principle. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby has apparently concluded, from a garbled report which he has seen of a private meeting, that certain changes which, in his opinion, entirely alter the character of this Bill are to be introduced into the measure. Allusion was made at Question time by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) to a meeting of the Liberal Party preceding the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. At that meeting, reporters were admitted, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian acknowledged that he was reported with substantial accuracy. That distinguishes broadly the meeting at the Carlton from the Liberal meeting. The meeting at the Carlton was a private one, and the report which appeared in the papers was a breach of confidence. It was evident that the report was made from memory, and by a gentleman with very confused and imperfect memory. Well, on the strength of those reports, the right hon. Gentleman comes down and says—"You are bound to make a public statement of what you are going to do with regard to this Bill." We entirely deny the obligation. It is monstrous to suggest it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby says the changes will make it a new Bill. I entirely repudiate such a contention. The Bill will not be a new Bill. The course the Government are taking is a course that every Government takes when dealing with a large and difficult measure. We have laid the Bill before the House. We have explained its objects, and we have taken advantage of all the criticisms heard in the House, especially by those who have not indicated that they are wholly hostile to every provision of the Bill. We have not, it is true, consulted those who, like the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) are entirely opposed to it.

Mr. DILLON: Who said so as regards myself?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Why, you yourself.

Mr. DILLON: I only indicated three or four clauses as capable of amendment.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR; The hon. Member said that Clause 1, profoundly modified, might be accepted, and dismissed the whole remaining portion of the Bill with contempt.

Mr. DILLON: With the exception of Clause 1, I rejected the rest of the Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That is my contention; the hon. Member disapproves of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs spoke for an hour and a-half without uttering a single word of approval for any clause, or even sub-section of the Bill. Such hostility is uncompromising. When the right hon. Member for Derby talks about change of front and running away, I would beg him to recall the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs. After making the speech, he had not the courage to divide on his Motion. ["Oh, oh?"] The Bill which the Government intend to pass is, in the main, the same as we had introduced, and we will shortly state the Amendments agreed to. How is it possible for the Government to anticipate the changes which it may be thought desirable to introduce? The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian assents to that.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE: Hear, hear! I never dissented.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The right hon. Gentleman could not have heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. It is perfectly true that, as a result of the criticisms which it has already received, it has been decided to introduce certain changes. Other changes must depend on the course of the discussion in Committee, and on the amount of time which remains for the discussion in Committee.

The SPEAKER: It will not be in Order for the right hon. Gentleman to go any further, as the Motion before the House is one for the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Then, if necessary, I shall make what observations I have to make at the proper time, after the Motion is withdrawn. Meanwhile, the lively strictures of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby are wholly misplaced. We are not presenting a mere shell of a Bill to be filled in in Committee. The measure which we hope will be passed will be the measure we introduced to the House, and to the second reading of which it has already assented.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, it is not my intention to prolong this discussion. My object is to bring it to a close. The matter from our point of view is a very plain one. In the course of the debate, I indicated in the plainest terms that the most controversial matter entirely turned upon the admission or non-admission of the judicial rents to revision. That has been our position. We have now heard the declarations of the Government. We have also heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the strongest terms, announcing the loftiest principles and motives and opposing utterly any such provision. We have further read in the papers an account of a meeting which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary says was a private meeting; but it is the first time in my experience of half-a-century that I have found a Minister bold enough to say that an aggregate meeting of a Party in both Houses at a Public Office was a private meeting. At our meeting, which was not of both Houses, we had one reporter, knowing the mischief of having inaccurate reports spread abroad. We had that one official reporter, therefore, and we are told that that made it a public meeting, whereas this was a private meeting. I utterly dissent from the doctrine that a meeting of a Party which is in power and rules the two Houses is a private meeting. But, whatever it is, and whether it was private or not, we have a right to be informed of the upshot of that meeting before we are called upon to enter into a discussion dealing with the details of this Bill. I do not want to create any difficulty. Are we to have the Government Amendments on the Paper to-morrow morning, or Saturday morning, so that we may debate them on the Speaker leaving the Chair on Monday?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The Speaker will leave the Chair to-night.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: The Speaker will leave the Chair to-night! We are told to value freedom of discussion. We are also told that hon. Gentlemen opposite, whatever other people do, value freedom of discussion, and that, in introducing this Bill, they had regard to principles of honour, which would not allow them to touch judicial rents. That was their declaration on which they founded the Bill and introduced it to the House. Lord Salisbury said, last year, that if these rents were interfered with the public must pay. Well, what is it that appears in the different newspapers with regard to this meeting, supplied, apparently, by their own friends who were at the meeting? Is it not a reasonable request, when we understand, from the whole of those reports, that judicial rents are to be revised, and that a fundamental principle of the Bill is to be revised, that we should have an opportunity of discussing it?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I rise to Order, Sir. I was about, a few minutes ago, to state the substance of the changes proposed to be made, when you stopped me doing so. I want to know if the right hon. Gentleman is in Order in entering upon a discussion of a matter which I was not allowed to touch?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I was not discussing it.

MR. SPEAKER: No discussion on that matter can take place until after the Motion for Adjournment is withdrawn.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I was not going to discuss it. What I was going to say is, that if we are to credit these reports, a fundamental change is going to be made in the principle of this Bill, and the demand of the Government is that we shall not be allowed to discuss these changes with the Speaker in the Chair. I say that so outrageous a demand was never before made, and the House of Commons, which has surrendered all its liberties and thrust them prostrate at the feet of the Government, will not, I feel sure, accede to that demand. I think my proposal is a moderate one. Will the Bill leave the judicial rents intact, or will it introduce a change? If we are told that judicial rents are to remain intact, and the Amendments are Amendments of detail, we shall raise no difficulty; but the right hon. Gentleman knows what has gone forth uncontradicted to the world, and he knows what the pith and substance and essence of the matter in dispute is. Every one of these reports furnished by his own friends declares that a great change is about to be made. They all agree in that—that there is to be a fundamental change in the Bill, in the essential principle of the Bill. [Mr. A. J. BALFOUR dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman is a bolder man at assertion than anyone I have ever known; but I do not think that even he will venture to deny that these reports represent to us that a substantial, essential change is about to be made in what we regarded as the essential principle of the Bill. Well, I say that if that is going to be done, it is a fair demand, and we make it, and I trust we shall persist in it, that we shall have power to debate all these changes, if we see cause, with the Speaker in the Chair. If the Amendments are put on the Table, we shall endeavour to judge them fairly; and if they are Amendments of detail, we shall, I think, make no objection; but if they involve a change of principle, we have a right to ask for an opportunity of discussing them before the Speaker leaves the Chair. You might as well deprive the House of the power of discussion on the introduction or the second reading of a Bill as attempt to deny that, when the Government introduces what a large portion of the House believes to be essential changes, we are entitled to discuss those changes before the Speaker leaves the Chair. And I want to know, from the Leader of the House, whether he can show to me a single case in which the contrary proceeding has ever been followed? I defy him to do so. My affirmation is that there never has been an instance, to my knowledge, when a Government has introduced into a Bill what was deemed by a large minority of the House to be an essential change in the principle of the Bill, in the interval between the second reading and the Committee, that an opportunity of discussing that essential change has been refused. That is my proposition, and if the right hon. Gentleman will let us know that he will give us that opportunity, in my opinion he will gain a good deal of time, and will be able to forward the Business of the Session. But if an attempt is to made, after all the violent acts we have had in the present year—under high sanction, I admit—to commit this violent act without the smallest reason, there will be, in my opinion, evident and palpable loss of public time. I enter my protest against such a course, and I hope it is not going to take place, and I merely request that we may be favoured with an assurance that if, on reviewing the Amendments of the Government, a fundamental change is, in our opinion, introduced into the Bill, we may have an opportunity of commenting on the change before the Speaker leaves the Chair.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The right hon. Gentleman, after having consented last Thursday evening to the second reading without a Division, in the express hope that certain changes which have been indicated might be introduced, now says unless these changes are stated in detail and the Amendments with regard to them are placed upon the Paper he will advise his Friends to refuse you, Sir, permission to leave the Chair.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: What I stated was this. It was understood that the Government intended to introduce a number of changes into this Bill. If these changes appear to the minority of the House to involve essential alterations in the principle of the Bill, I ask the Government that we should have the opportunity of discussing those essential changes before the Speaker leaves the Chair.

MR. W. H. SMITH: The right hon. Gentleman now seeks to lay stress upon the possibility of changes or Amendments which the Government may think it right to lay upon the Table, and he makes a claim, on the part of the Opposition, to consider whether these Amendments or clauses shall be deemed by the Opposition to be essential changes in the Bill, and he demands that the House shall not proceed with the consideration of the Bill in Committee until the Opposition have had the opportunity of forming their own judgment as to whether these Amendments are essential changes or not. I think that is a demand—whatever the right hon. Gentleman's experience may be, and it is certainly greater than my own—which is much greater than has ever been made by any Opposition before. It is for us to say whether the changes are essential changes or not. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland was about to proceed to indicate roughly and generally the main changes, such as they were, which the Government thought it right to introduce into the measure. But he was stopped by you, Sir, on the ground that it would be out of Order to indicate those changes. The result is that the hon. Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) has himself prevented my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary from making any statement whatever as to the changes which the Government were making.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: I kept my seat in order to give the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity to proceed, and there was an evident intention that you, Sir, should leave the Chair without any explanation.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am dealing with the actual facts. The hon. Member for West Bradford moved that the debate should be now adjourned, and the fact is, that the mouth of my right hon. Friend is shut. He cannot now give to the House even a general idea of such changes as we may think it right to introduce into the measure. Therefore, the hon. Member for West Bradford has the great satisfaction of knowing that he has put it out of our power to give the House the information it desires by moving the adjournment of the debate. I can say, however, that we are prepared to put our Amendments on the Paper to-morrow, and the House can proceed with the consideration of the Bill in Committee on Monday; but I deny that it is at all fitting or right that the measure should be delayed at this period of the Session, simply because right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite wish to consider these Amendments, which are not inconsistent with the principle of the Bill, which carry out the principle of the Bill, which do not depart in the slightest degree from that principle, and which follow necessarily, from the statement which has been made by my right hon. Friend, to meet in part the views of Gentlemen who have expressed their desire that the Bill should pass in order that a preliminary debate should be raised on these changes. I can only answer to the statement made on the other side that if it is the intention of the Opposition to delay or to frustrate the progress of the Bill, upon them must rest the responsibility. The Government are prepared to proceed with the measure; we are prepared to give full information to the House, in ample time for the consideration of any of the Amendments, and there will be full opportunity for deliberation concerning them. Then, if the Opposition shall think it consistent with their duty, consistent with the interests of the country, and consistent with the interests of the tenant farmers of Ireland, to interpose delay and in any way to frustrate the Bill, it will not be for the Government to bear the blame, but it will fall on hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) has begun rather early to charge us with a desire to delay or to frustrate the Bill. It is the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary himself who is answerable. If on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, the right hon. Gentleman had made this statement as to the changes in the Bill which he now promises he will make, the hon. Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) would not have made this Motion, and we should have been at the point we have now arrived at, an hour ago. Therefore, it is the Government who are responsible for the delay that has taken place. I do not want to prolong controversy; but, so far as precedent is concerned, I should say that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian is as good an authority as the House possesses. But there is one case, that of the Education Act, 1870, when great changes were expected between the second reading of Mr. Forster's Bill and the Speaker's leaving the Chair. What happened? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian himself, as Head of the Government, explained before the House went into Committee what the nature of these important and vital changes was. Now this Bill is probably not so important as the Bill of 1870. I do not want to wrangle about the Carlton Club. Everyone knows that the Government have resolved—I am glad they have resolved—to accept important changes. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian—I think in his speech on Thursday night—recommended the Government to keep as long as they could an open mind, and as far as possible to give a free reception to the ideas which had been developed by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord

Randolph Churchill), and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), and to make considerable modifications in the Bill. I understand that if the Motion is withdrawn the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would, on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, explain the substance of the changes the Government propose to make in Committee. If that were so, I would recommend that the Motion should be withdrawn.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH said, that on the distinct understanding that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was about to give the explanation that was vouchsafed to the Carlton Club he would have no objection to withdraw the Motion.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that, as he had already indicated to the House, he would be perfectly ready to give a general account of the Amendments the Government meant to put down on the Paper; but he hoped it would be understood that, if he did that, in return the Speaker would be allowed to leave the Chair that night.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE said, the House would be better able to judge what it should do when it had heard what the Amendments were.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he declined to be a party to any pledge; and he protested against the inaccurate statement of the events of that evening that had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. The delay which had occurred in the declaration of the intentions of the Government was entirely due to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was not in his place when an opportunity occurred of which he might have availed himself.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had spoken of the Amendments the Government were going to put on the Paper; but there were many Amendments put down by the Friends of the Government; and the House wanted to know which of the many Liberal Unionist Amendments the Government were going to accept in addition to those they would put upon the Paper. They ought to know what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's statement was before they agreed to any conditions. Surely the country would now perceive what utter muddlers the Government were. From their muddling mode of conducting Business they had become the greatest obstructors that had ever been known in the House. What were their feelings when they looked back on the proceedings of the earlier part of this evening?

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is not speaking strictly to the Motion before the House.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he quite acknowledged it. He was illustrating the matter. He did his best to find excuses for the Government, and the only excuse that could be found for them was that very possibly the terms of the bargain were not yet settled, and that the Government were still discussing the matter with their Liberal Unionist Friends. If that was the case let the Government say so frankly, and postpone the matter for two or three days. They had had to make a surrender; they had hauled down their flag; they had to eat the leek, and they wanted to do it bit by bit in Committee; but the Opposition wanted them to swallow it now—and whole. If they did the country would know that we never had a more addle-pated, a more muddle-headed, and a less vertebrate Government, and one that obstructed so much by putting forward proposals and withdrawing or changing them. The House could not say, until after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, whether the Speaker should leave the Chair that night or on Monday.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The two Amendments which the Government propose to put upon the Paper relate to the question of what has been termed the "back door," and also to the question of the temporary abatement of rent. I can describe the principle on which the Government propose to deal with the first question in a few sentences. We are perfectly aware that it is possible, although we do not think it very probable, that certain landlords may use the powers left them by this Bill, and the powers they possess as ordinary creditors, to circumvent the limitations which we have sought to put upon evictions by the 22nd and subsequent clauses. We are aware that it is possible that a landlord may proceed against a tenant as an ordinary creditor does against a debtor, may sell up his effects, and may, among other things, sell up his tenant-right, and, having sold that, may proceed to evict. We have also thought that that is a possible objection that ought to be considered and met; but we do not think it would be just or right to place any limitation upon landlords which we do not place upon other creditors. We therefore propose shortly to place an Amendment upon the Paper which will, subject to the discretion of the County Court Judge, prevent any creditor, be he who he may, from selling up the tenant-right. As I have said, that Amendment will be shortly on the Paper; but I do not think any study of it will enable anyone to get a clearer idea of it than is conveyed in these few sentences. The other question is the one, I presume, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) more particularly alluded to when he talked of the enormous change made in the Bill by the decision the Government recently came to. I do not agree with right hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the magnitude of those changes. They are not inconsiderable; but, certainly, we do not think they amount to a total remodelling of the Bill, neither are they so great as the right hon. Gentleman seems to imagine. If I may gather the intentions of right hon. Gentlemen opposite from the Amendments which are on the Paper in the name of the right hon Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), their view of the method of meeting the present situation is to throw every single judicial rent into the melting-pot and to bring it out brand-new. This is revision of rents with a vengeance. I will not state fully the objections the Government entertain to that proposal; but we consider it to be wholly and absolutely inadmissible, and when it is brought forward I shall state more fully why we cannot accept it. Our proposals are of a much more limited description. The right hon. Gentleman opposite says that we have laid down the proposition that judicial rents are not to be revised. Well, Sir, to that proposition, with proper limitations, we still adhere. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen laugh, as as if we had always interpreted that proposition as meaning that under no circumstances would any rent fixed by the Sub-Commissioners be altered in any respect.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): So Lord Salisbury said.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not think the hon. and learned Member or hon. Members generally can have studied the Bill either in its present shape or as it was introduced by the Government into the House of Lords, because, subject to certain conditions of bankruptcy, we always comtemplated that there might be some relief from judicial rents. [An hon. Member: Eighteen months.] An hon. Gentleman opposite says "Eighteen months." As the Bill was originally produced in the Lords that limitation of 18 months did not exist; but, under the Bill as it now stands, an alteration of the judicial rent under bankruptcy is possible for 18 months. We never interpreted that, however, as an interference with the judicial rent in the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman thinks they ought to be interfered with. We have always thought, and we think still, that it would be absolutely fatal to any permanent future settlement of Irish affairs if we were entirely to upset the arrangements come to in 1881. To that opinion we still adhere. The proposal of the Government that we shall put on the Paper is undoubtedly different from that which was in the Bill when it was in the House of Lords and when it was read a second time in this House on Thursday last. We recognize the fact that this House has taken upon itself, as we think, the impossible task of managing all contracts relating to land in Ireland through a machinery of Courts and Commissioners. We regret that that principle was ever adopted; but we recognize the fact that it has been adopted. We know that this House has taken upon itself the task of making Irish landlords good by Act of Parliament. The system adopted in 1881 was to establish leases for 15 years all over Ireland for such tenants as chose to apply to the Court to have a fair rent fixed. Since that time there has been something in the nature of a revolution of prices in Ireland—a revolution in

Ireland of far less magnitude than has taken place in England; but still, undoubtedly, there has been something in the nature of an economic revolution in prices. Well, we asked ourselves this question—What would an ordinary English or Scotch landlord be disposed to do who had made a lease in 1882 or 1883, and who found that after he had made that lease prices had altered to a considerable extent? What have English and Scotch landlords actually done to a very large extent? Well, an English or a Scotch landlord would say—"There has been an unexpected fall of prices; but there may be an equally unexpected rise. I will not therefore alter the terms of the leases which I have made with my tenants, but I will give them a temporary abatement in order that they may get over the difficulties of the next two or three years." That is the policy which has already been adopted by the vast majority of Irish landlords, and it is a policy we think we may, without serious injustice, make compulsory by the Bill upon all. Hon. Gentlemen have talked as if the suggestion made by the Cowper Commission was a quinquennial revision of rents on very much the same basis as that on which rents were fixed by the Act of 1881. As I said in my speech on the second reading, a quinquennial revision of rents, on whatever basis, is a total absurdity. Not only were you monstrously wrong in fixing 15 years as a convenient period for a lease in Ireland, but you would have been equally wrong if you had fixed five years; because you say tenants whose rents were fixed only three years ago are already so oppressed by the alteration of prices that their cases ought to be considered by the Legislature. It is a mistake to suppose that the Cowper Commission suggested anything so crude and absurd as a mere quinquennial revision of rents. The suggestion was made with this important modification, that you should arrange your rents by some automatic process depending upon prices. But even if a perfect system of sliding scale could be devised, it might be a serious obstacle in the way of a purchase scheme, which in the opinion of the vast majority of the Members of this House, is the only true and final solution of the Irish Question. But we do consider that we can adopt, in a rough fashion, a sliding scale so as to obtain that temporary abatement of the judicial rent for the next three years which may enable an Irish tenant to tide over the interval which will, in all probability, separate us from the final scheme of purchase. Our proposal is in effect this—that the Land Court shall be instructed, by the Bill, to devise a scale of revision based solely upon prices, and which shall, of course, vary according to the districts to which it is to be applied. The Land Commission shall, have power to fix averages and to arrange districts. The districts will, of course, be settled by the character of the agriculture and the character of the soil. Having arranged these districts in a more or less rough-and-ready fashion, they will apply automatically the diminution of rent that they think just, having regard to the fall of prices and to the fall of prices alone to the various holdings contained in the sections. That will apply for the next three years, and the House will observe that it is a very rough, ready, and rude, but expeditious method of applying the principle of a sliding scale so as to obtain a temporary remission of rents until the purchase scheme can be carried — for introduced, I hope, it will be in a very few months—and brought into operation. That is the object which we have in view. It is to get over the interval. We frankly admit that that plan is, in its nature, a rough-and-ready plan; but it is cheap and expeditious, it will not lead to litigation, and I trust it will not have the effect of impairing in any way the certainty and security of any future settlement which may be arrived at on the basis of purchase.

Mr. DILLON: Will the right hon. Gentleman say on what principle the reduction will be given?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The circumstances to be taken into account by the Commission will be the general character of the holding and the fall of prices.

Mr. DILLON: On what principle in relation to the fall of prices will the reduction be estimated?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That, as well as all other questions of rent, will be left to the Land Commission appointed under the Act of 1881. When the hon. Member interrupted me I had almost explained the full scope and purport of our suggestions to the House. The merits of the plan are its simplicity and cheapness.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Have you dropped, or are you going to drop, the Bankruptcy Clauses?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We are still of opinion that the Bankruptcy Clauses will be a great boon to the tenants. Regarding them, I do not think I have anything to add to the statement made by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was that, while we thought those clauses would be a boon to the tenant, we should drop them with reluctance, if we found that the Representatives of the tenants entertained a great objection to them, and knowing, as we do, that the Representatives of the landlords do not look at them with any enthusiasm. We do not think we should be justified, at this period of the Session, in expending any large measure of the public time upon them. That statement was made explicitly by my right hon. Friend. I hope I have now, with sufficient clearness, though with rather rude outline, explained the main principles of the Amendments which we shall have to propose. I hope, also, that I have laid a sufficient basis for the discussion which the right hon. Gentleman desires.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL asked, what was the view of the Government with regard to the restrictions on leaseholders, and what arrangement had been come to as regards them?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: With regard to that the Government will, of course, very favourably consider any proposals which may be submitted, although they do not themselves propose any Amendments. They still, however, adhere to the opinion laid down that perpetuity leases should not be included. After this statement, I trust that the House will be satisfied with a brief discussion, and that the Speaker will be allowed to leave the Chair this evening.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I think the right hon. Gentleman has very fairly and sufficiently stated to the House the alterations that the Government propose to make in this Bill; but I desire to call the attention of the House to the course which they have taken in dealing with the whole of this question. Now, they introduced this Bill in the other House of Parliament, and they had an opportunity there of considering all these questions upon which they now announce these alterations. They had the advice of the Liberal Unionists, who abound in the House of Lords. A Motion was made by Lord Fitzgerald, on the subject of the *fieri facias*, and the Government refused it. [MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We still refuse it.] They refuse it still. They refuse the view of the Liberal Unionists on this special point of *fieri facias*. Let us understand that. That is not part of the bargain. Then they had a remonstrance from Lord Cowper, the Chairman of the Commission, as to there being no provision whatever with reference to a reduction of rent. That they absolutely refused in the House of Lords. The Bill comes down to this House. My right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) makes a speech, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) makes a speech. Still, there was no sign of yielding upon any of these points. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was put up on Thursday to make a "no surrender" speech upon the subject. This is what he said—

> "Let it be distinctly understood that we do not mean to buy a vote by pretending or assuming any agreement of opinion which is not an absolute agreement and would not express the convictions we hold."

Did you hold these convictions last Thursday upon the subject of abatement which you call by that name, and imagine that you are going to change the character of it by using one word instead of another? There was a remarkable appeal made to the Government from a remarkable quarter. I see the noble Viscount the Member for the Darwen Division of Lancashire (Viscount Cranborne). He is not the Rose, but he lives near it. The noble Viscount has said—

> "The rents fixed before 1885, though calculated on higher prices than now prevail, were still fair rents, and ought to be maintained. The Members of the Unionist Party sitting on both sides of the House have pledged themselves not to interfere with the judicial rents, and he did not think that the Government"—

the noble Viscount enjoys, I envy him, the innocence of youth—

> "and he did not think that the Government would ask them to interfere with judicial rents and to be false to their pledges."

He says—

> "The Home Secretary, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, have all declared against tampering with judicial rents."

That is the pathetic appeal made by the noble Viscount to the Government; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a magnificent tone, declared on Thursday night, "Oh! never." The noble Viscount was quite justified in his appeal. Last year there was a proposal made by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) for tampering with judicial rents. What did the Home Secretary say then? Did he say—"We do not like the particular form of your proposal; if it were an abatement for three or four years which any reasonable Englishman would grant, why, of course, we would give compulsory powers for it?" No; that was not his language. The right hon. Gentleman said—

> "It is not within the competence of an honest Parliament to vary the pledge that for 15 years there should be no interference with the judicial rent, and if the statutory rent is not paid, the landlord shall recover the possession of the land."

That was the pledge upon which the Government took their stand last year, and with regard to which the noble Viscount now appeals to the Government. The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale is probably more responsible than anybody in this matter. What was his language last year? He said—

> "The House is not entitled, however tempting it might be, to use its power of depriving any class of the community of rights guaranteed to them by law."

What were those rights? The judicial rent for 15 years, which he said the House is not entitled to deprive the tenants of. The noble Marquess said—

> "He protested against any scheme to deprive landlords of rights that have been secured to them by the Act of 1881."

The noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale was, therefore, instigating the Government to refuse to deal in any form with the abatement of rent for 15 years. Then came forward the gallant Chancellor of the Exchequer on Thursday night last; and he says that "if you tell the tenant that his rent is to be varied according to the price" you will have established a totally different principle, which goes to the whole root of purchase. That is the very thing the Government are now going to do. There is to be a 16 per cent or 20 per cent reduction. According to what we have just heard, the Court is to determine what is to be the reduction according to the price. Therefore, the very thing which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said on Thursday night that nothing would induce him to do he has now agreed to do. "The principle of purchase," said the right hon. Gentleman, "is that there should not be a fluctuating price, but a price fixed once for all." Are you going to fix it, once for all, in the next three years, or is it to vary according to the price?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I ought, perhaps, to explain that I only deal with judicial rents fixed before the date when the Commissioners said the fall in prices began to be serious; and the rent is to be fixed each year of the three years. It is not to be a settlement for the three years; but it is to be automatic—each year for that year.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is exactly what I understood—namely, that there is to be a variation. [Mr. A. J. Balfour: Hear, hear!] That is the very thing which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that apostle of stability, said he never would agree to. Let me read what the right hon. Gentleman said, because it is the solemn assurance of this great advocate of stability in finance, stability in domestic affairs, stability in foreign affairs. He said—

> "I never agreed to the rent being fixed according to the prices, because, if you do that, it will be fatal to purchase."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Goschen) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Are you quoting?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes. I will read it again. It is so long ago that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has forgotten it.

> "If you tell the tenant that his rent is to be varied according to the price you will have established a totally different principle, which goes to the whole root of purchase. The principle of purchase is that there should not be a fluctuating price, but one that is to be fixed once for all."

His argument was that nothing should be done to vary the rent according to price, because it would destroy purchase. But that is what I understand the proposal of the Government to be—namely, to vary rent according to prices. Now, what has happened since Thursday last? Oh, that is confidential. Let us go by dates. On Saturday night it happened that the true gospel was still being preached at the Alexandra Palace. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was as firm as a rock upon his principles. But Sunday intervened, the conversion took place, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was received into the true Church by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. Listening to the final benediction of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, he was converted, and thus the vital principle of the Bill disappeared. The Carlton has been the scene of many memorable conversions, and will be, I dare say, of many more. The statement of Lord Salisbury has not been denied. These confidences will get out. According to the account which we have had, Lord Salisbury said that he had conceded the principle unwillingly; that he did not agree in the principle; that he thought it was a very bad principle, but that he could not help himself; and, therefore, he threw overboard the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his principle, and commended himself to the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. I admire the frankness of Lord Salisbury. He does not conceal his opinion of the situation. Lord Salisbury said—"Why have we done all this, and sacrificed the Chancellor of the Exchequer? Because, if we did not, there might be a Dissolution." Well, if you thought the country agreed with you; if you thought your sacred principle dear to the country; if you thought that the country approved of your Coercion Bill and the rest of your conduct, why do not you pray every day and all night for Dissolution? But you hold a Dissolution up as something terrible to look upon. Why frighten the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson); why frighten the right hon. Member for the Sleaford Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who lives next door to the Spalding Division? Why do you say that if we do not dissolve, that dreadful man the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) would dissolve, and then the end of the world would come? These are the arguments by which the great Conservative Party are induced to sacrifice the sacred principle of the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer. I sympathize with the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh very much. He is thoroughly in earnest; he is a man of war, and he does not care the moment the battle has begun to run away. He is not afraid of Dissolution, or anything else. I would advise, if he really wants to fight, to leave those Benches, and come here. He belongs to a Party who always runs away; and if he will come here we shall be very happy to receive him, and make use of his fighting qualities. Men like the hon. and gallant Member are always ready to fight—

> "'gainst fearful odds
> For the rent-rolls of their fathers, and the altars of their gods."

The moment the odds are a little too heavy against them, when they think there is a chance of their being defeated, they throw away all their former principles, alter all their acts, and run away. I should advise the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh to enlist under some better standard, and not to belong to an army where the flying rout is led by the valorous Chancellor of the Exchequer. If they are only patient, they will see plenty more of this kind of thing. How many months will it be before there is a meeting of the Carlton Club, and they are told—"If we do not go in for Home Rule"—not our Home Rule, but some kind of Home Rule—"you will have a Dissolution, and the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh will be expected to vote for Home Rule, in order to avert a Dissolution." I confess I am very glad the Government have run away; it will save, I hope, a great deal of time and a good deal of discussion. To use the phrase of one of their former Leaders, they have "yielded to fear what they would not yield to reason." All these matters were argued and reasoned out when the Bill was in the other House; but they would not yield until last Sunday; until they found they were going to be beaten they would not listen to it for a single moment; but, if report is not untrue, the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh thinks that they have bought the support of the Liberal Unionists at too dear a rate. Surely, that is rather shabby. The hon. and gallant Member thinks that the support of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham, the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), and I will throw in the right hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), has been paid for too dearly. Surely, no price is too great to be paid for adhesion by such as these. Let us look at the Constitutional aspect of this question. I am not speaking of Gentlemen opposite, for I know what their opinions are; they have shown that they do not care a pin for the Constitution; but I am speaking to old-fashioned people on this side of the House. I have always understood that the Constitution of England requires that a set of responsible men, called the Ministers of the Crown, should recommend to Parliament, and should be responsible to Parliament, for the measures they approve. Upon the very face of it this Government say—"We are recommending measures we do not approve, because they are forced upon us by men whose votes we want, but who are not responsible for the measures they recommend." Anything more thoroughly inconsistent with the Constitution of this country it is impossible to conceive. You avow, you have avowed, that you propose to buy votes for a measure you do not approve, in order to escape a defeat which might terminate your Government, or a Dissolution which might destroy your Party. That is the statement which has been given forth, and not denied, from the Carlton Club. Now, what are you doing to do with this measure? You have altered the measure in a manner you do not approve, and you are going to send it back to the House of Landlords stamped with your own disapproval. That is the manner in which you are going to settle the House of Landlords. What infinite mischief have you done already by your obstinacy in this matter of judicial rents? Months have elapsed—a sad 12 months for Ireland, a disgraceful 12 months for England—all because, until you were compelled by fear of Parliamentary defeat, you refused to do the very thing you now avow you will do to-night. The hon. Member for Cork, not 12 months ago, proposed a measure which would have had a temporary effect in relieving tenants from the pressure of unjust rents. I will not argue whether that was the best proposal which could be made. That was not the question. The question was whether something should be done in that direction. You had a majority, and you might have made the Bill anything you liked; but you refused, and laid down the sacred principle that you would not, that you could not, that no honest Parliament could touch judicial rents. What has happened? You chose to cut yourself off from all communication with the Irish Members on the subject. You said to them—"You are ignorant men, and know nothing of the state of Ireland." You were encamped in Ireland as the Austrians were encamped in Venice; like them you were ignorant of the opinion, and you cared nothing for the Irish people. It was the right hon. Member for West Birmingham who said that you had treated Ireland as the Austrians had treated Italy, and as the Russians treated Poland.

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I did not say so; I am quite sure my right hon. Friend does not wish to misrepresent me. What I really did say was this, or words to this effect, for I cannot remember the precise words, that the Government of this country in Ireland was as bureaucratic as the Government of Austria in Venice and the Government of Russia in Poland.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The Government and Unionist Party have shown absolute ignorance of the condition of Ireland, and the proof of it is this—that in the debate on the Motion of the hon. Member for Cork you said you did not know whether rents were fixed at too high a rate or not. My hon. Friend the Member for Cork did know, but you would not listen to him. The fundamental principle laid down by the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), the basis of the Unionist principle, is that you must disregard the opinions, the wishes, and the knowledge of the Irish Members in any settlement of the Irish Question. You chose to endeavour to govern Ireland by that means, and the consequence is that you are utterly unfit to deal with the Irish Question. You showed your ignorance last year. Last August you appointed a Commission, evidence was taken, and before Parliament met you knew perfectly well—it is true the Report of the Cowper Commission had not been presented, but the evidence had been presented to the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and you knew perfectly well the condition of Ireland. The hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) charges upon you, to his honour, that the late Chief Secretary for Ireland used his influence with the Government, and that the Government knew perfectly well that rents were too high, and he recommended a reduction of rents. You knew it last January. I want to know why you did not then produce this measure? The men who refused last autumn to make any proposal for the reduction of rents, in consequence of the fall in prices, are the men who are morally responsible for the Plan of Campaign. I charge upon my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale that by refusing the demand, which is now on all hands admitted to be just, he drove the Irish people to take refuge in the only defence against admitted wrongs, and the oppression from which they are now suffering. I do not want to use harsh words, but the noble Lord the Member for Devon (Viscount Lymington) has had the face to charge Sir George Trevelyan with treachery. Abuse and contumely from the noble Lord is a compliment, and Sir George Trevelyan would be more proud of insult from the noble Lord than of compliment. Treachery because he would not be an accomplice to such a wrong as that. Treachery because it was found that he would not be a party to compel men for 12 months to undergo the injustice of these excessive rents, and the evictions which took place upon that basis were morally unjust evictions. [*Cries of* "No!"] You may say "No;" but it is the finding of the Cowper Commission. It was in consequence of the course the Government and the Unionists took last year. I want to know what has been the consequence of this? We have the testimony of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) that nowhere except where the Plan of Campaign has been in operation has there been any material reduction in rent. He said that in the South and West abatements have been made, and there has been great reduction. Was it made from any sense of justice, or humanity, or feeling of mercy? No; for according to the hon. Member for South Tyrone intimidation and outrage have caused the abatements to be made. In Ulster, where there has been no intimidation in the shape of the Plan of Campaign, where there was no outrage, there has been no abatement. There you have the Irish landlord in his native colours, and there there has been no abatement of rent. I say that the men who refused or who were parties to the refusal last August of any abatements upon these excessive rents are responsible for all the evictions that have taken place since. If these abatements have been made these evictions would not have taken place. We have got this morning a Return showing what these evictions have been. In six months there were 8,891 persons evicted. And all these men were evicted because you would not give relief from excessive rents. [*Cries of* "Not all!"] Well then, I will not say all. You say, however—"Oh, but so many people were retained as caretakers." Now, we have never got at the bottom of that. What becomes of the caretaker six months afterwards? Does he remain in the house or not? His fate has not been explained to us. But, even making a liberal reduction for those who are re-admitted as caretakers, you will still leave 6,000 persons who are evicted in consequence of your refusal to give this relief last year. I lay upon you the responsibility for these evictions. Now, what might you not have done, even if you were so ignorant of the condition of Ireland, and were so unwilling to borrow the knowledge you did not possess from the Representatives of Ireland, if you had brought in your Bill at the beginning of the Session. You knew every fact you now know, all but the fact that the Liberal Unionists were going to vote against you; every other fact was known to you at the beginning of the Session. Mark what a difference there would have been in the history of the Session. What a difference there would have been in the history of Ireland, if, instead of rushing upon coercion, you had given relief to these unfortunate people by a Bill introduced in January, and had reserved yourselves for your final measure of purchase. Why, what a different situation, what a different temper you would have found the House of Commons in, and in what a different way would it have dealt with the Public Business of the country? You did not choose to do so. You were absolutely bent on going into the business of coercion; you put off until the last day of the Session this measure, imperfect no doubt, but a measure which I hope may be made more perfect in Committee; and it is in consequence of the course you have taken that you have wasted the time of the Session, ruined your prospects of the government of Ireland, and destroyed this Session for the use of the people of the United Kingdom. If you had introduced a Land Bill affording reasonable relief to the tenants of Ireland, as you now say it was your intention to do, freeing them from the burden of excessive rents, in my opinion we should never have heard of this Coercion Bill. Therefore, I throw back upon you the taunts you level at us on the subject of obstruction. I repeat that the course you have taken in reference to legislation for Ireland has ruined your prospects for the government of that country, and has destroyed the Session for the use of the people of the United Kingdom.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): The distinctions which have been drawn between revision and reduction are very much like the quibble we had upon the Coercion Bill, when we were told that coercion did not mean coercion. With regard to this revision or reduction, there will be a substantial reduction; but it pleases hon. Gentlemen opposite to call it revision, which amounts to precisely the same thing. My right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) ably pointed out that it is not we who have been the Obstructionists; he has justly thrown upon the Government the responsibility for everything that has occurred in Ireland; and everyone on this side of the House who does not happen to be a Liberal Unionist concurs in what my right hon. Friend has said. When the Opposition dinned it into the ears of the Government that they ought to make a reduction of rent they were met by a *non possumus;* they now reply by a *possumus.* Her Majesty's Ministers have been in a false position throughout. They took Office without a majority; they had to submit to the Unionists, and were obliged to do as they were told. They have done so because they are afraid of a General Election, and because they know that public opinion is turning against them. I do not complain of Her Majesty's Ministers; but why did they accept Office? I was in the country the other day, and I looked into a pigsty and saw a man knocking the pigs about. I said—"Don't push those little pigs about;" but the man said—"They don't care what you do so long as you leave their noses in the trough." That is very much the position of the present Government. The right hon. Member for Derby might prove by argument and reason that they are in the wrong, and that they have sacrificed their principles; but the Government do not care, they know they have got a numerical majority, and they treat everything said by their opponents with supercilious silence. The First Lord of the Treasury, in a speech last night, said of his followers—"A better Party to follow their Leaders never has been found in any House of Commons." I entirely agree, if it is the business of followers simply to follow like a flock of sheep, to go right or left as they are ordered to vote, black one day and white the other, that a better Party to follow Leaders never was found in the British House of Commons. The noble Lord (Viscount Cranborne), on the same occasion, elevated the same idea upon principle. He said—"The weather-cock has turned, and we must turn with it." Now, is it surprising that when the weather-cock turned against them they wished to change their opinions? When, however, right hon. Gentlemen opposite speak of themselves as Leaders they are somewhat mistaken; they are entirely the slaves of slaves—they are the slaves of hon. Gentlemen there (pointing to the Treasury Bench), and right hon. Gentlemen there are the slaves of hon. Gentlemen who sit on the Opposition side and call themselves Liberal Unionists. I really do not know why a right hon. Gentleman who prides himself on this, that his Allies are the gentlemen of England, should condescend to sit with such obscure and humble persons as his former Colleagues. Why do not the gentlemen of England sit together? Her Majesty's Government paid a price for the support of right hon. Gentlemen who call themselves Liberals, and who advise people to vote for Conservatives, who never lose an opportunity of reviling everything they once held sacred, and who attack everyone who still remains Liberal on this side of the House. Assuredly those right hon. Gentlemen have earned their reward—surely some concession ought to be made to them. The concession which the Government gives them is their principles, nothing less and nothing more. We are told that this Bill is to pave the way for an Irish Purchase Bill; and if we are to believe the report which appeared in the newspapers somewhat mysteriously of what took place at the Carlton Club, Lord Salisbury stated at that meeting that if the rents were reduced in Ireland to a judicial figure, the landlords should be compensated. Who is to compensate them? The money is to come from our pockets.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Lord Salisbury stated nothing of the kind.

MR. LABOUCHERE: May I take it, then, that under no circumstances will any sort of compensation be given to the Irish landlords, if their rents are reduced? Do I gather that from the right hon. Gentleman? The right hon. Gentleman is silent. No; the right hon. Gentleman is afraid of his followers. This is a policy of conciliation. He dare not say that. He wants to catch votes, and he says this was not stated by Lord Salisbury. But he will not get up in the House and say that under no circumstances will compensation be given to the Irish landlords. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) was the first author of the idea that first charges and mortgages ought to be reduced. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman on the fervour with which he goes further than the gentlemen of England themselves. The right hon. Gentleman finds favour with his Allies by telling them he is prepared to aid and abet them in robbing the commercial classes of this country. The House, I think, ought to know something distinctly about this Purchase Bill. I am perfectly aware that there are some Gentlemen in the House in favour of a purchase scheme. We were told there would be no risk; but there is no liability without risk. I do not care by what Government a Purchase Bill is brought in, or who votes for it—I shall always vote and protest against it, if any species of liability or risk is thrown upon the British taxpayer. The last Election was, to a great extent, lost because there was an idea abroad that there was some scheme in contemplation for buying out the Irish landlords and incurring liability on their account. [An hon. MEMBER: There was no Bill.] No; the Bill was withdrawn. The Bill is dead. I perfectly understand the position of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). I do not suppose the right hon. Member thought the scheme was economically sound; but he wanted to pass the Home Rule Bill; the right hon. Gentleman and many others were ready to pay a price for it, and this was a species of offer he made to the landlords of Ireland. [An hon. MEMBER: A bribe.] Yes; a bribe. But when you are dealing with the landlords you must give bribes. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian saw that the sands were running through the hour glass. The offer was made and the offer was refused, and it will not be made again. Therefore, there was an erroneous impression on the part of the electors. But what I wish to point out is this. So horrified were the electors at the idea of being called upon to incur any risk or liability in connection with the Irish landlords, that the mere notion of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian recurring to a Purchase Bill injured the prospects of the Liberal Party in the elections. But who were those who made capital by insisting that the right hon. Gentleman was going to bring in such a Bill again? It was the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists. If any Parliament was ever pledged to anything, it was the last Parliament that they would not incur any liability or risk for paying off the landlords of Ireland. Then I trust that no Bill of the kind will be brought in again; but I hope the Irish Members themselves will see that if it is it would injure their cause if they joined the Conservatives in throwing this liability on the taxpayers. If the country decides that it should be done, we must submit, and I would ask nothing better than to go to the constituencies and let the constituencies decide whether or no they would incur this liability on behalf of the Irish landlords, or give Ireland full national independence without incurring such a liability.

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): I wish, in the first place, to correct a considerable error into which the right hon. Gentleman fell in quoting from the Return of evictions for the last quarter, as for six months; but they were for the quarter only, and the right hon. Gentleman did not give the entire number. From the last Return issued by the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, on the 2nd of July, 1887, it appears that in the last quarter 9,140 persons were evicted, or more than double the number stated by the right hon. Gentleman.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member for Cork is perfectly right. I stated that 8,991 persons were evicted for non-payment of rent, and that 5,711 were admitted as caretakers during six months. It should have been three months.

Mr. PARNELL: I have called attention to the matter, because I have some remarks to make on the question of evictions, which does not appear to be dealt with in the Government Bill. Now, Sir, I think I am entitled to claim credit, to some extent, for the suggestions I made last autumn in the direction of the abatement of judicial rents, because I found that the Government had been following very closely the three leading principles of my Bill. In the first place, they are now going to deal with a revision, or, as they call it, an abatement of the judicial rents. In the second place, they lay stress upon the fact that there has been a considerable fall in agricultural prices, just as I laid stress upon it; and, in the third place, they make the abatements run for three years, as I made them run. I am, therefore, encouraged to hope, from the successful way in which my Bill has been imitated, both in respect of the Leaseholders' Clause and the question of the abatement of judicial rents, that some attention may be paid to the claims I now wish to make, in all good faith and sincerity, with reference to certain matters omitted from the Government measure. I do not wish to dwell on the inconsistency of the Government on the present occasion. It is sufficient for me that the Bill, as far as we can judge of it in its altered form, will go a long way to alleviate the evils which now exist in Ireland. I intend now to ask the Government to go a little farther in that direction, so as to obviate and do away with all possibility of hardship and trouble arising out of the delay which has taken place in legislating on this matter. I observe that there is no effectual provision in the Bill dealing with arrears of rent. Of course, the Chief Secretary has not told the House at what period the judgments of the Commissioners will take effect, whether in respect of the year's rent ordinarily payable at the end of this year, or ordinarily payable at the end of next year. If their decisions follow the 2nd clause of the Government Bill, these reductions will only take effect in respect of the gale accruing next after application made to the Court, which would be ordinarily payable some time next year. But the Bill cannot come into effect for a month or so, and would apply to the gale due in September or November next which would be ordinarily payable some time next year, the date varying in accordance with the practice on different estates. It would have no effect whatever upon the rents becoming due this autumn, and the tenants would be left to struggle with the existing rents as they have been doing under the Plan of Campaign. I think that the House will agree with me that it is earnestly desired that this should be a measure which would deal with the critical position in Ireland at the present time, and also in years to come, if it should continue; and as long as the tenants are left, as a number of them would be left, with a year's rent coming due in the autumn, with the old excessive standard hanging over them, their position would still be a very unfortunate one. This matter, however, would no doubt be more clearly explained when we see the clauses of the Bill; but I would respectfully urge that the first judicial decision should have effect upon the year's rent ordinarily payable at the end of the year, as in November. I also urge that there should be an effectual provision to assist those tenants who are oppressed with arrears. The weight of the arrears has been perpetually associated with the difficulties of the tenants. It was one of the causes which led to the terrible future position of the tenants after the passing of the Land Act of 1881, although that Act did an immeasurable amount of good to Ireland, and was one of the most successful Acts ever passed for that country. Let me now go on to another point. The Government are now going to abolish the right of the landlord to proceed by writ of *fieri facias;* but there are a great many tenants who have been evicted during this year under that process, simply owing to the failure of the Government to legislate. Would it be fair that such tenants should be shut out from the benefit of this Act? Are they to be punished for the non-payment of rents which the Government now admit to be unfair? The Government may say that the Plan of Campaign is responsible for that. Now, I am not responsible for the Plan of Compaign; but I would submit that the Plan of Campaign is not more responsible for the failure to pay these rents than this House. If we are to have a temporary settlement of the question, we should deal with the situation as it stands; and not to remove all the causes of the irritation which still exists would mar the beneficial operation of the measure. Therefore, I would impress upon the Government the justice and expediency—I would almost say the necessity—of introducing something into the Bill under which these writs of *fieri facias* should be set aside, and the tenants allowed to have the full benefit of the Act. Finally, I would refer to the case of tenants evicted in the ordinary way whose period of redemption has expired. We are dealing with a case in which there has been a long and cruel and unnecessary delay; and in the period involved in that delay Parliament should be generous and see, as far as it can, that the tenants should be reinstated upon their holdings, and that such raws and blots should not be allowed to remain longer in existence. I will go further, and say, with reference to the evictions which have taken place in Ireland for a great number of years back—for instance, there have been many thousands of evictions in the County of Kerry, which has been one of the most disturbed counties in Ireland; but I would gladly see power given to the Courts to reinstate all such tenants, and also power given to them to compensate the landlords out of the Irish Church Fund for any loss they might incur in consequence of such reinstatement. I am now referring to cases of old evictions, in regard to which the landlords may have incurred a considerable expense, and may be able to prove that they may suffer loss in consequence of reinstatement. I believe that if this measure, with the suggestions I have made, was passed and fairly worked it would be accepted by the tenants of Ireland as a satisfactory means of tiding them over their present difficultles; and, at all events, in the unhappy agrarian struggle which has been going on in Ireland, they would wait with patience and hope for the projects of the Government with regard to their larger scheme.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I have risen for the purpose of suggesting that the statement which has been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) is entitled to some reply. In my opinion, some most important allusions have been made by my hon. Friend to the case of the evicted tenants, and I think that if there is anything in the condition of Ireland which deserves attention, even from the point of view of the Government themselves, it is the case of these unfortunate men. I would ask the House to refer to the evidence of General Buller before the Cowper Commission. He strongly pointed out that it was the idle and hopeless men who have been evicted who have been the cause of the outrages in the counties of Kerry and Clare. My hon. Friend the Member for Cork has been the jealous guardian of the agrarian question in Ireland, and also of the Irish Church Surplus. He has always resisted any proposal which has been made outside his own Party for the appropriation of any portion of the surplus; he has regarded that surplus as sacred, and has maintained that it is only to be used for purposes of a national character. The proposal he has now made is a most statesmanlike one, and I believe it is one which, some time ago, met with the approval of the right hon. Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who has had considerable experience of Irish affairs. My hon. Friend suggests a way of dealing with the old cases of eviction, which date from the year in which the land trouble commenced—namely, in 1880, down to the time at which the landlords made arrangements with the Emergency men and the Protestant Defence Association to take up their cause and carry out these evictions. My hon. Friend proposes that in every case in which the landlords can prove that they would sustain loss if the farms were given back to the evicted tenants the Church Surplus should be available for giving them compensation. Now, I think that that is a practical and a statesmanlike proceeding. It can do no harm to the landlords, nor can it do harm to the Government. It may be said that we should be dealing with the property of the Irish landlords. Let me point out to the House and to those Gentlemen who have been so persistently attacking the National League for its intimidation that they virtually admit our case when they say, in the words of General Buller himself—"These farms cannot be let at the present time at any profit owing to the intimidation which prevails." Let me give an instance which has come within my own knowledge. In moving for a reduction of rent in the Chancery Court in Ireland, it was stated, in regard to particular holdings in the County of Tipperary from which the tenants had been evicted, and where the rents formerly amounted to £2,000 a-year, that the entire evicted lands had been let for something like £600 a-year. In the face of facts like this, I maintain that there would be no harm done to the landlords if we were to give back to the tenants land from which they are deriving little or no profit. The House may rely upon it that the hon. Member for Cork would not have made a suggestion of this kind unless he knew that it would tend to the pacification of the country without regard to Party spirit. The speech of my hon. Friend was entirely divested of Party triumph. He claimed no triumph in regard to what took place last autumn, although a considerable triumph was achieved, and was entitled to be favourably considered. There was one detail on which he might have pressed the Government. Why do the Government go back to the proposals of 1882 in dealing with the question of arrears? The tenant is regarded in the clauses of the original Bill as a bankrupt tenant, and where, then, is the good of allowing the arrears to hang like a millstone round his neck? It is practically a dead asset, as far as he is concerned. We maintain that it is a dead asset. I have certainly never known a tenant to go out of his holding and submit to eviction, except, perhaps, in a few cases which have occurred in recent days, if he could beg, borrow, or steal sufficient to pay the rent. Not one such case in ten thousand has ever occurred. It is the knowledge of that fact which constrains my hon. Friend to say that if the Government will mould their Bill in the direction he suggests it will not be necessary to make use of the Coercion Act. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) and the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) have made the allegation that whenever a pacific proposal has been suggested it has always been repudiated by the Irish Party. That allegation, I think, cannot be repeated now. I call upon the House to bear witness as to how the proposals of the Government have been dealt with by my hon. Friend the Member for Cork in his calm and temperate speech. He has met those proposals in a spirit which even the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham cannot complain of. We are not disposed to quarrel with the proposals of the Government as we now understand them; but, of course, it will be necessary to subject them to criticism. If we are to deal with the question in a spirit of statesmanship and conciliation, I beg of the Government to drop out of the Bill the two contentious clauses, and let the Bill pass in peace. I refer to the 4th clause, by which evictions are made easy, and the clause absolving the landlords from paying rates on evicted farms. If the Government will drop those clauses out of the Bill, I venture to say that the measure need not trouble the House at any great length. The question of the leaseholders will, of course, engage considerable attention—the question of making a man surrender a lease for which he has given a valuable consideration—that is a question which must engage the attention of the Government and of the House. Before I sit down I should like to call the attention of the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) to one point. I congratulate the Government upon having the services of the right hon. and learned Gentleman in studying the Bill from the point of view of an Irish lawyer. Although there have been many able lawyers in this House, I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman is quite as competent to deal with these questions as any of his Predecessors. He must be aware that the question of sub-letting will practically annul the Leaseholders' Clause, unless it is fairly and reasonably attended to by the Government. Let me give an instance which came under my notice, and which is a reported case. It was this—and I tell the leaseholders of Ireland; I tell their Friends in this House above the Gangway, the Liberal Unionists, and I call the attention of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House to the facts I am about to state, and which were brought before the Irish Land Commission within the last two months. The landlord was Captain Bolton, and the tenant was a widow. The case went before the Land Court, and the Sub-Commissioner reduced the rent, which stood originally at £140 a-year, to £90; or, in other words, took off 50 per cent. A technical question, however, was raised in connection with the holding, with the view, I presume, of settling the value. The tenant was asked—"Have you any labourers' cottages on the holding?" The reply was—"I have one which has been on the holding for generations." It was the landlord's cottage, and there was a ground rent attached to it, for which the tenant received the munificent rent of 6*d*. a-week. Here, then, was the case of a labourer's cottage, which had been in existence upon the holding for two or three generations, and because it had been let to a labourer 40 or 50 years ago, and had descended to his wife and children—at the time I speak it was in the possession of a daughter—that little mud cabin, occupied by a poor woman, who had married into it, or been born in it, I do not know which, was held to be a sufficient justification for depriving the tenant of a reduction of rent, which the Court had fixed at 50 per cent. The result is that the landlord has issued a writ against the tenant, and she asks for God's sake that something shall be done in order to prevent Captain Bolton from trying to obtain from her a rent which has been pronounced by the Land Court to be iniquitous and unjust. At present, if enough land is sub-let to enable a pigstye to be built upon it, the tenant can be deprived of the benefit of the Act of 1881. The question has already been argued and settled in the Court of Appeal, and I have been told by a learned friend of mine that the decision amounts to this—that if you have sub-let a piece of land only the breadth of my hand, or sufficient to build a pigstye upon it, that sub-letting will deprive the tenant of his interest in the land. The case I have referred to is that of Keating and Bolton; and I am prepared to tell the leaseholders of Ireland that there is not one man among them who will get a single fraction of benefit under this Act, unless the question of sub-letting is dealt with. The word "holding" is the word that governs the tenure. A tenant must be in absolute possession of the holding, and the holding comprises within its compass the entire land let by the landlord to the tenant. If he is not in possession of that, he may be deprived of the benefit of the legislation which has been introduced on his behalf. I have pointed out this blot in the Bill from the tenant's point of view, and, having done so, I hope the matter will receive full consideration from Her Majesty's Government. The Government provide in their Bill that the Leaseholders' Clause is to come into operation provided that the tenant is in *bonâ fide* occupation of his holding, and that it is to take effect if no beneficial lease has been made. In other words the tenant has only to let a single foot of the land in order to deprive himself of the advantages of his lease, and to enable the landlord to say—"You are not in *bonâ fide* possession of the land." That is the ridiculous position in which the question has been placed; and therefore I claim, at the hands of the Government, a revision of the unfortunate provision which was inserted by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian in the Act of 1881 in order to effect a very different purpose. If there is any clause of the Act of 1881 upon which the Government and the House ought not to lay too much stress, it is this. At the time it was under discussion it was very much bandied about, and in the end underwent considerable change and alteration. Amendments were inserted in it by wholesale. When it came back from the Lords it had been amended; when it went to the Lords it had been amended. Therefore, I think that the question of sub-letting, as well as the question of town parks, should receive from the Government the attention it deserves. Of course, these are points upon which I cannot expect an immediate answer; but I certainly do expect that some reply will be made to the questions which have been raised by my hon. Friend the Member for Cork with such sincerity and statesmanlike prescience. The offer now made by my hon. Friend is one which will prevent the necessity for coercion, and will give peace to Ireland. Those who refuse the offer will be responsible for any future agitation, crime, and misery, which may take place in that country.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): With regard to the last point raised by the hon. and learned Member, I think it should be remembered that the Government have already undertaken to do their best to meet any difficulty with regard to the *boná fide* occupation of land, and the subject was alluded to in the debates on the previous stage of the Bill. We recognize the difficulty, but the language was borrowed from the Act of 1881, and there is no intention on the part of the Government to neutralize any benefit which may arise to the tenant. The matter is one to which the Government have already promised to give their attention. I now turn to the important speech of the hon. Member for Cork. I do not think it would be possible at a moment's notice for a Member of the Government to give a definite answer to the questions asked in that speech, raising, as they do, large and new points of considerable scope; but I recognize with pleasure the language used by the hon. Member when, dropping bygones, he addressed himself to the real matter before the House—namely, the improvement of this Bill. He took a very different course from that of the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench (Sir William Harcourt). I am bound to say that if there seemed to be in this House one hon. or right hon. Gentleman to whom the arrangement come to and the proposal about to be made was disagreeable, that Gentleman was the right hon. Member for Derby. In not one single phrase did he say anything in regard to the advantage gained under this measure by the Irish tenants. The Irish tenants are the last people for whom the right hon. Gentleman has thought fit to express any sympathy. His interest in evictions seems to be confined to the disappointment which he feels at not being able to evict the tenants of the Government Bench. I thought that the speech of the hon. Member for Cork was more worthy of the occasion, and of the serious matters we have to discuss, than the prepared banter of the right hon. Gentleman, which caused unmixed delight to hon. Members below the Gangway, but which had evidently been concocted before he heard the statement of the Government. No wonder that the right hon. Gentleman was keen for a full-dress statement from these Benches, because if it had not been delivered he would not have been able to fire off his speech, which, with all its comments, he had prepared beforehand.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I knew all that.

MR. GOSCHEN: Then if the right hon. Gentleman knew it he kept a deal to himself, and he put into his speech a great deal that he never could have known, because it was contrary to the fact. The right hon. Gentleman is not happy either as a prophet or as a student of reports, and in truth his whole statement of the case is founded in error. However, I did not rise to answer the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman. It would have been ill-natured to criticize his enjoyment in delivering a speech which has certainly nothing to do with the Bill before the House. The right hon. Gentleman's speech was not intended for our ears, but for those of persons out-of-doors. So far as he is concerned, it is a piece of Party polemics; but, as far as we are concerned, there is nothing in that speech which deserves our serious consideration. As I have just said, I rose not to reply to the right hon. Member for Derby, but in answer to the appeal of the hon. and learned Member for Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), to take note of the language used by the hon. Member for Cork, who has promised to assist the House in carrying through this Bill, on condition that the Government regard it in the view of a temporary arrangement, which is intended to bridge over the interval between our present position and purchase, which, contrary to what the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has urged, is the only real solution of the Irish difficulty. I hail that declaration of the hon. Member for Cork with the greatest satisfaction. Of course, the House is aware of the fact that there will be great difficulties to contend with in carrying out the agreement which has been come to. We foresaw that there would be considerable difficulty, in view of an ultimate solution of the land problem by purchase, in adopting anything like a sliding scale; but we understand the hon. Member for Cork to believe that our present scheme will not ultimately damage any proposal that may be made in reference to purchase. It is to purchase, and not to any sliding scale of rents, that we must look for the future solution of the Irish agrarian difficulty. I am glad that we have come so near a solution. I do not think that the hon. Member for Cork will expect me at this moment to express any opinion upon the three points he has laid before the House, which raise questions of very considerable importance, or to give any pledge with regard to them. I am unable at this moment to say anything in regard to the re-instatement of tenants who have already been evicted, or the appropriation of the Irish Church Fund for the purpose of providing compensation for the landlords, both of which were points which I understood the hon. Gentleman to raise. But I think, after what has passed, we may hope that while every consideration will be given by the Government to Amendments moved in Committee which are consistent with the general spirit of the Bill, the hon. Member for Cork will assist us in carrying the measure through this House without any unnecessary delay.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): It seems to me that an opportunity has been opened up which it would be a cruel misfortune to allow to pass away without an agreement being arrived at with regard to this measure. I perfectly recognize that it is impossible for the Government, at such short notice, to make any statement with reference to the points which have been urged on their attention by the hon. Member for Cork; but I rise to add my voice in an appeal to the Government that, between this time and the Committee stage of the Bill, they will take into their consideration the points which have been urged by my hon. Friend. I wish most earnestly to adopt the tone alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to recognize to the fullest extent the great change which has come over the situation in this House, and over the prospects of the Bill since we last discussed it. I ask the Government and the Conservative Party really to believe that, so far as I and my hon. Friends are concerned, we are not anxious to prolong the agrarian controversy in Ireland. It has always been said—and the charge has been brought against Irish Members again and again, and it is a most unfounded reproach—that we have desired to perpetuate this agrarian struggle as long as possible, because through it alone we could hope to regain our national rights. It is my sincere desire, on the contrary, to arrive at some means or another, even if it be only a temporary measure by which this agrarian struggle can be allowed to slumber for a year or two, and during that period I feel perfectly confident that we shall succeed in asserting our national rights. Let me ask the Government seriously to consider whether they cannot meet our views on these points between this and the Committee stage. If the Government will give effect to the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork, a result may be achieved of the most unexpected character in regard to the saving of the time of the House, and the winding up of the Session without heat and Party controversy. If it be the real desire of the Government to bring about a condition of peace in Ireland, I would leave it to their fair and impartial consideration to say whether they can hope for such a result so long as many thousands of families existing in that country are being cast out of their homes on account of unjust rents, and so long as no avenue is open to them to regain the possession of their homes and to enable them to earn their living. The second point is, that no measure for the revision of the rents can be trusted to in Ireland which will not take account of the rents payable this autumn, and which also does not take into account the case of tenants who are more or less in arrear owing to the excessive rents which all parties have agreed should be revised. I would ask the Government to consider, in an impartial spirit, the demands which we make between this and the time of going into Committee on the Bill. If they can arrive at a settlement on equitable terms by which power can be given to the Commission Courts to insure that those tenants under ejectment for arrears of rent shall be able to get a reasonable reduction, and if the Government can arrive at Amendments to effect this, then it will be possible for this Bill to pass through the House without any serious controversy. There are two other points—there is, first of all, the system of reductions, on which, however, I will not say more than that it will be a good thing if the Government leaves to the discretion of the Land Commissioners the principle upon which the reductions are to be assessed in proportion to prices, but to lay down as a general principle that a reduction of 15 per cent would meet the case would be of no use at all. I ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland seriously to consider the condition of the glebe tenants and the purchasers under the old Acts of 1870 and 1881. Although these tenants are not a numerous class, it ought to be a principle accepted by the Government that, when they are passing a measure intended to pacify the whole country and to meet a general grievance, they ought not to leave out from the benefit of the measure any considerable class of the population. The tenants I am pleading for number about 5,000 or 6,000 families; and the clause introduced with the view of meeting their grievance I warn the Government will fall short of attaining the object in view. If the Amendments I have placed on the Paper are agreed to, they will involve no loss or risk to the Treasury; and I ask the Government to consider what object can be gained by refusing fair and reasonable relief to the glebe tenants and those persons who made a loss by purchasing the land when it was at a high value? If the Government come to the conclusion that I am right in this statement, I ask them to accept the Amendments which have been put down, and remove all needless controversy and loss of time. I beg the Government to believe me when I say that there is no man in this House who is more anxious than I to see a safe and honourable road out of the agrarian controversy. I am in this position—that if there is no possible settlement of this question by the end of next month I shall have dependent on me at least 700 or 800 families in Ireland who have nothing to stand between them and starvation except such funds as can be got from America and charitable organizations in Ireland. I say that a man in my position does not know what it is to have an easy hour either by night or day; and, for my part, I assure the House that there is no one who has a more personal or intense desire than I have to see a safe and honourable path out of this difficulty, and that Ireland should, at least, obtain a peace of two or three years after the terrible strife that has occurred.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central): There is one point in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer against which I desire to enter my protest. The right hon. Gentleman stated that this measure may be looked upon as a temporary one, with a view to a great purchase scheme. My right hon. Friend told us on Saturday last that any Amendment introduced for the revision of the rents would be a fatal blow to the Bill, and that it would almost relieve the Government of the responsibility for introducing the great purchase scheme. I think the right hon. Gentleman was more right in his statement on Saturday than he is to-day. I believe that the proposal of the Government will deal a serious blow against the purchase scheme. I am not otherwise than pleased at that. I did not think there was any prospect of a purchase scheme being made acceptable to the country even before the introduction of this Bill. I feel satisfied that the House and the country will not agree in the future to any great or universal purchase scheme such as is now suggested by the Government. I will not enter into my reasons for that opinion; but it seems to me that one of the great arguments in favour of a purchase scheme is this—that, while it would relieve landlords and enable them to get out of their present position, it would enable another reduction of rents to be effected; and if by the Bill before the House you enable a greater reduction of rent to be made than was attainable under the Act of 1881, I think the claim of the tenants to a scheme of purchase will certainly be disposed of. With regard to the proposal for amending the Bill before the House, I am bound to say that it appears to me to be of a satisfactory character. The Cowper Commission proposed a quinquennial revision of rents, and under that system the tenants who had their rents fixed two or three years ago would not be able to obtain a revision of them until after another two years; whereas now it will be possible for all who have obtained a judicial rent to go at once into Court and get a revision of rent on a triennial scale of purchase. I say it is distinctly a more favourable proposal than that of the Cowper Commission; and, therefore, I hail it as a very decided improvement of the Bill. Such a change in the measure on the part of the Government is a distinct admission that they made a mistake last Session in refusing to accept the Bill of the hon. Member for Cork. I venture to ask the Government to recollect the statement they made last year and to deal with the Irish questions which may arise with the aid of Irish Members, and in a somewhat different spirit than they have shown hitherto. I think it will, on the whole, be wise to take council with the Irish Members with regard to the future provisions of the Bill, and I earnestly ask them to listen to the proposals of the hon. Member for Cork. There is one question which I strongly urge upon the consideration of the Government; that is, that most of the tenants in Ireland are in arrears of rent, and I repeat that they will do wisely to take the Irish Members into council during the further discussion of the Bill, and if they do so I believe that they will be able to settle the agrarian question on a lasting basis, and thus remove one of the greatest grievances under which Ireland suffers.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I believe that the statement of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will be received to-morrow in Ulster with great satisfaction; but there is one point on which I wish to say a few words in relation to the glebe tenants. As a matter of fact, I believe that the Government will find that there are almost no arrears due by the purchasers under the Act of 1870, who will get, therefore, the full benefit of the proposals under this Bill; but the case of the glebe tenants is altogether different. There are five or six different classes of glebe tenants, and it is only proposed to relieve two of those classes. Now, I do not see why any distinction should be made between them, inasmuch as they are all in the same difficulty and ought, in my opinion, to be dealt with in the same way. But the proposal of the Government is that they should pay up half the arrears, and that the remaining half shall be capitalized and added to the mortgage. I quite appreciate the difficulty of putting in the same position those who are in arrears and those who are not; but I very much fear that the tenants will not be able to pay half the arrears, and that, therefore, they will not get that benefit which the Government intends they should receive. I hope that between this day and Monday the Government will be able to see their way to be more liberal towards the glebe tenants by capitalizing the whole of the arrears and adding them to the mortgage. On the occasion of the second reading debate, I asked whether the Government proposed to extend the same relief to purchasers under the Act of 1881 and those under the Act of 1870, and the Government said that the matter would be provided for by this Bill. I do not see that it is met by any of their proposed Amendments, and I call the attention of the Attorney General to that fact. [Mr. GOSCHEN: The clause is being prepared.] I have only to say, in conclusion, that we have had a full and fair statement from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, which, I repeat, is one that will be received with great satisfaction in Ulster.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Order for Further Consideration of Postponed Resolution [19th July] read—

"That a sum, not exceeding £26,524, be granted to Her Majesty to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, including certain Expenses connected with Emigration."

MR. M'EWAN (Edinburgh, Central): Before this Vote is taken, Sir, I wish to bring under the notice of the House a case of flagrant injustice done to Dr. Grech, resident physician at Malta. On the 27th of December last a man arrived from Port Said with his face covered with pimples of a suspicious character;

he went the same day to Dr. Grech, who pronounced his case small-pox. He immediately sent for the chief physician, who made an examination, and also pronounced it a case of small-pox; he ordered the patient to be isolated in the upper story of the house; on the 29th of the month three members of the family were also affected with the disease. The sanitary officer came and the deputy-inspector, and they told the patients that they must be removed to the lazaretto. Dr. Grech being referred to, pointed out that there was some danger, it being night, and the weather stormy and cold; and he said that the house was sufficiently large to enable them to isolate the whole of the patients. The chief physician was called in, the same arguments were used, and he also would not take the responsibility of ordering the patients to the lazaretto: the whole three went to the police office for the purpose of ascertaining the views of the police. The superintendent did not reply, and Dr. Grech then ordered the attendant to go to Valetta for instructions. Upon that the police officer took from his pocket an order for the removal of the patients. Dr. Grech protested against their taking this nocturnal journey, and said, with, perhaps, some asperity, that it was a remarkable thing that the police should show so much activity, seeing that they had been so remiss in letting infected people come into the island. The policeman said he did not know anything about these matters, but was simply obeying orders. Dr. Grech then left. About an hour afterwards he was apprehended, put into an open boat, taken across the water, and when he landed at Valetta he found the magistrate waiting to try him. The policeman charged him with having insulted him and prevented him in the discharge of his duty. Dr. Grech requested that the trial might be postponed in order to get witnesses and prepare the defence; but the magistrate refused. He asked to have counsel, which the magistrate refused at first, but afterwards they were sent for. They had no opportunity of consulting Dr. Grech, and they knew nothing of the case; but they pointed out that it was not a case of urgency, and that it ought to be postponed till next day. The accused demanded that the men should be examined; but the police magistrate said that no further evidence was required, and he was condemned to prison for four days; he was taken to the common gaol of Corodino, where he was immediately ordered to strip and put on the prison dress, and he was thrust in amongst the convicted scoundrels of the island. There is in the prison no distinction of persons or crimes; the men guilty of the most trifling misdemeanour have to herd with the most abandoned criminals — assassins and thieves. Application was made to the Governor of the island to release Dr. Grech, or commute the sentence; but the Governor said he could not interfere with the course of law. This arrest was illegal, the trial was illegal, and the conviction was illegal. The charge that Dr. Grech had prevented the policeman from doing his duty broke down before the magistrate, because it was found to be utterly unsupported by his testimony. The policeman, as a matter of fact, did not remove the patients till the next day, and Dr. Grech was not arrested until an hour afterwards; according to the laws of Malta no prisoner can be tried until he has had two clear days to prepare his defence and get witnesses; but that law was totally disregarded, and consequently the conviction which followed was illegal. When Dr. Grech came out of prison he applied to the Court for a copy of the evidence on which he had been convicted, which was refused; he then applied to the Governor of the island, who also refused it. Dr. Grech did not hesitate to say that his object in asking for this was to lay the whole case before a higher authority. The Colonial Secretary, being an English gentleman, sent out a most indignant despatch, condemning the action taken against Dr. Grech; but there the matter ended, no apology being made. Objection was raised to giving the evidence, because as it was said a claim for redress might be founded upon it. I say that a great injustice has been done, and if redress is not given, or the means of getting redress are not furnished, it is evident to me that both the Governor of Malta and the Colonial Secretary do not think that a Maltese, although a subject of the Queen, is entitled to the same protection of the law as Englishmen. If this man had been an Englishman I think the right hon. Gentleman would not have contented himself with merely writing a despatch; if he had been an Englishman the probability is that the Governor of Malta would have been removed, and that the Colonial Secretary himself would not have felt very easy in his office. I think the Colonial Secretary has failed to do his duty in this case, and for that reason I move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£26,524," and insert "£25,524."—(*Mr. M'Ewan.*)

Question proposed, "That, £26,524 stand part of the Resolution."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I am glad to recognize the very temperate manner in which this Amendment has been moved. I am not surprised at this very painful case creating attention, and I think the House is indebted to the hon. Member for having brought it under their notice. I can assure the House that I have given to it my anxious and careful consideration, and I have not hesitated, as the hon. Member has frankly admitted, to express my opinion strongly upon it. I am not prepared to dispute many of the statements advanced by the hon. Gentleman; but I will venture to call the attention of the House to a point in the case which was hardly dwelt upon by the hon. Member. In removing these persons, convalescent as well as those who had not caught the disease, from this infected house the police were acting legally, and in strict accordance with a most useful sanitary law of Malta, especially framed to prevent the spread of disease. Looking to the importance of this preventive measure it is clearly very undesirable that any difficulties should be placed in the way of the police who are carrying out orders under that law. Now, I am bound to say that I think that Dr. Grech—though acting from an honest conviction that he was in the right—at one time overstepped the limits of discretion, and used language which the hon. Member admitted had some "asperity" in it, but which I should characterize in somewhat stronger terms. Dr. Grech, entertaining the views he did, had a right to protest; but he should have contented himself with such a protest, and not used language which was calculated to raise difficulties in the way of the legal action of the police in removing these persons from the infected house. But having said this much, I must now express my strong disapprobation of the subsequent proceedings, and of the unjust, I might almost say barbarous, treatment of Dr. Grech. With the permission of the House, I will read out three paragraphs of my Despatch of 17th June to the Governor, which fully and briefly express my view of the case—

> "3. After carefully considering Dr. Carbone's Report, and the depositions taken by the magistrate, I have failed to find any sufficient justification for the arrest of Dr. Grech, after he had ceased to interfere with the removal of the small-pox patients, or for the hasty trial of the charge at night; and I must add that the refusal of the magistrate to postpone the hearing until Dr. Grech could call witnesses, was, in my opinion, a denial of justice. I am further unable to find in the depositions any evidence of the alleged insult to the police, and even had this been otherwise, the sentence of four days' imprisonment was, considering Dr. Grech's position, in my opinion far too severe.
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> "5. I regret to be obliged to come to the conclusion that Dr. Grech has been treated not only harshly, but unjustly, and the case strongly illustrates the necessity of the proposed amendment of the law by giving an appeal from the decisions of the magistrates.
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> "6. I request that you will cause Dr. Grech to be informed that while I much regret his conduct in opposing the removal of the patients to the lazaretto, I have been obliged to express my strong disapproval of the proceedings taken against him."

I may add that I have since received another Despatch from the Governor, giving me further explanations of the case; but that I have felt compelled, after consideration, to reply that I see no reason to modify my opinion. As regards the action of the Governor, I desire to say that he must be acquitted of blame. He acted on the advice of his Law Officer, and in the Colonies, as, indeed, in this country, the Government cannot be blamed for so acting. Sir Lintorn Simmons was fully justified in adopting the opinion of the Crown Advocate, though I confess I cannot myself agree with that opinion. Let me say also that the arrest has been spoken of as illegal. This is not the case—the arrest in itself was legal, although, in my opinion, the charge upon which it was made was not sustained before the magistrate. But subsequent failure of proof would not make the arrest illegal. I have been asked to reverse the sentence; but after inquiry into this point, I do not see how, in the absence of any appeal from the magistrate's decision, and after the sentence has been worked out, there could be any formal reversal. Nor, again, can I see how, or by whom, any formal apology can be given. Dr. Grech has received by my decision, which was communicated to him by the Governor, and which he can make public, and he will further receive from the debate this evening, a full admission of the justice of his complaints and of the harsh treatment to which he has been subjected. He is thus set right in the eyes of his family, his friends, and the public. I have been asked if I will direct compensation to be awarded to him. Well, in the first place, Dr. Grech himself has not made a formal application for compensation, and, after making inquiries upon this point, I find that the cases where compensation has been awarded are extremely rare, and that they are of a more serious character than the case under consideration. At the same time, if Dr. Grech should think it worth his while to make such application, I shall be prepared to give it careful consideration. In conclusion, I hope I have shown the House that I have dealt fairly with this very painful case, and that I have, as far as possible, remedied the injustice done to Dr. Grech.

Mr. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I also am aware of the facts of the case my hon. Friend (Mr. M'Ewan) has brought before the House, and I think he may well accept the answer of the Colonial Secretary (Sir Henry Holland). There is, however, one feature of the case which I hope the Colonial Secretary will not lose sight of. He has very properly stated that in matters of this kind the Governor is bound to follow the advice of his Law Officers, and that the very distinguished general officer who is Governor of Malta did what was proper in taking the advice given him. I think the Colonial Secretary may well consider whether the Crown Advocate or principal Law Officer has shown in this matter anything like competency for the Office he holds. I trust that the right hon. Gentleman will not postpone dealing with this case till a proper system of appeal is established; but that at once he will consider whether the Crown Advocate is really competent for the Office he fills. This is a delicate question, and I should not wish to carry it further. There has been a gross miscarriage of justice, arising, apparently, from the Advocate's incompetency; but, after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, I hope my hon. Friend will not think it necessary to go to a Division.

Mr. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): I heard with great gratification some of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies, though I was very much surprised, having attended closely to the case, to hear him say he thinks this arrest was not illegal. Anything more monstrous than the arrest of this gentleman I cannot conceive. Do let me remind the House what the charge was. The charge against this doctor was that he had interfered with the police in the discharge of their duty. That is not proved; I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will say that is not proved. But that was not the charge of which he was convicted. Is there existing at Malta any power by which the police can arrest a person for an offence which he has not committed? What this doctor did was simply this: he suggested, on a winter's evening at the end of December, that it was very dangerous to remove people in the height of small-pox four miles in an open carriage. I think his suggestion was most humane, and if he had not made it he would grossly have neglected his duty. The policeman produced his order, and insisted upon taking these people to the hospital four miles off, and because the doctor said—"You will endanger the lives of these people if you do it," he was charged with interfering with the police in the discharge of their duty. But the doctor was convicted of one of the most extraordinary offences ever heard of in the world. He was acquitted upon the charge of interfering with the police in the discharge of their duty, but found guilty of having addressed "indeterminate reproaches" to the police. It appears that in the law of Malta there is a clause which enables persons who have been guilty of what are called "indeterminate reproaches"—but I think I ought to read the clause to the House. It is very short, but nevertheless instructive. There are several clauses about insult, but one of them says—

> "If the insult consists of mere vague expressions, indeterminate reproaches, or words or acts merely indecent, the offence shall fall under the class of contraventions, and the person charged and convicted shall be punished with one month's imprisonment;"

and then follow definitions as to what indeterminate reproaches mean. It is startling to us in this country, who recently have had considerable enlightenment on Criminal Law, to hear of such a state of things as exists in Malta. It is an indeterminate reproach for a doctor to lodge a protest against four people being removed in an open carriage, and on a winter's night, to a lazaretto four miles distant. For making this protest he was arrested. I entirely fail to see on what possible ground this arrest can be declared legal. It is monstrous to hear a Minister of the Crown say he thinks the arrest is legal. It is shameful to think that a subject of Malta can be taken off to prison for having acted as Dr. Grech did, brought before a magistrate at 9 o'clock at night, and refused an adjournment in order that his counsel and witnesses might be sent for. [*Cries of* "Agreed!"] Hon. Members may cry "Agreed!" but this is a very important subject, and we mean to have it discussed. I venture to say no more important matter has been brought before the attention of the House; and I protest against the action of the Maltese authorities in respect to it. I have great sympathy with the Motion my hon. Friend has made, and I think that something ought to be done in the matter. I am disappointed I did not hear from the Government a single word of real redress in the case. It must be conceded that Dr. Grech has been shamefully treated. Is the magistrate who acted in the case to remain in his position? Is there no power to prevent a recurrence of this state of things? I think the magistrate ought to be removed; I think the policeman ought to be dismissed; and, what is more, I think the Governor, Sir Lintorn Simmons—of whom I know nothing, but who, I have no doubt, is an officer of great experience—should, when the facts were laid before him on the following day, have disregarded all the red-tapeism, and have instantly ordered the discharge of the official at fault. The statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies is not satisfactory. He holds out no hope that the magistrate will be removed; and, therefore, I, for one, will most heartily go into the Division Lobby with my hon. Friend.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): I should not have risen to address the House at this late hour (12.45) if this had been the only case of gross maladministration of justice at Malta which has come under my notice. I should like the House to consider the extraordinary character of this case. Dr. Grech protested against the removal of four patients in an open carriage, on a winter's night, to a lazaretto four miles distant, when there was plenty of accommodation in the house of the patients—plenty of room for isolation. Dr. Grech was arrested on a false charge in order to justify the arrest. The charge of having obstructed the police was withdrawn, and the charge of "indeterminate reproaches" substituted. Dr. Grech was taken at 8 o'clock at night before a magistrate, who, as a matter of fact, was not on the rota for trying cases that night, and at half-past 10 o'clock the conviction was recorded, no postponement having been allowed for the attendance of the prisoner's witnesses or counsel. Could anything be more monstrously injudicial on the part of any magistrate? I submit that unless we receive from the Government some assurance that the magistrate will be dismissed, we ought to go to a Division as a protest against his conduct. Let us consider the next step in the case. The very next day an appeal was made to the Governor. As the right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary truly says, the Governor cannot be held responsible for a decision of this kind; he must, undoubtedly, act by the advice of his Law Officers. But, surely, in a case so gross as this—four days' imprisonment, four days' herding with criminals of the most abandoned type, for the offence of protesting against the removal in an open carriage, on a winter's night, of respectable patients from their own home to a lazaretto—no officer could be justified in refusing to give redress. I consider the officer who advised the Governor equally guilty with the magistrate who convicted the man, and I trust the Colonial Secretary will be able to give us some assurance in the direction—not of compensation of Dr. Grech, for I do not think compensation is sufficient—of preventing similar cases occurring in the future. I remember that a very gross miscarriage of justice occurred not very long ago. There is something very wrong in the administration of justice in Malta, and it is absolutely necessary a reform should be made.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee): I think that so far as Dr. Grech is concerned, my hon. Friend the Member for Central Edinburgh (Mr. M'Ewan) might very well be content with the statement made to-night by the right hon Gentleman the Colonial Secretary, for that right hon. Gentleman has stated that this is a case in which justice has been denied, in which the insult that was charged against the prisoner did not take place, and in which the sentence which was passed upon him was excessive. He has pronounced the opinion that in the eyes of the public Dr. Grech has been acquitted, and with the statement of the right hon. Gentleman Dr. Grech and his friends might well be content this case should pass away. But there is one consideration to which I wish to direct attention. There is the justice of Great Britain in one of its smallest Colonies to be vindicated. The question of compensation has been mentioned, and the Colonial Secretary has offered to do more in that direction than anybody could have expected. But compensation is nothing to the point. What we want is that the men who have lowered the name of Britain in the Colony should be punished. We want a full inquiry—a fuller inquiry than has yet taken place. We want the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Colonies himself to go into the case more fully, and to carry punishment as high as punishment ought to be carried, even if it should reach as high as the Governor himself. Let the magistrate be punished, let the Crown Advocate who has given bad advice be punished, and if there are higher officials who have been guilty, let punishment reach them also. I agree with my hon. Friends that we have been amply justified in bringing this case forward by what the right hon. Gentleman has said. If the right hon. Gentleman refuses to carry punishment higher my hon. Friend the Member for Central Edinburgh (Mr. M'Ewan) will certainly be justified in carrying his Motion to a Division.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 162; Noes 74: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 314.)

[12.55 A.M.]

5. "That a sum, not exceeding £172, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for meeting the Deficiency of Income from Fees, &c. for the requirements of the Board of Trade, under 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883.'"

Resolutions *agreed to.*

DISTRESSED UNIONS (IRELAND) BILL.

[BILL 307.]

(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman.*)

COMMITTEE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question proposed [11th July], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for Committee on the Bill."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Before you leave the Chair, Sir, I wish to say a few words in regard to this matter. I have been desirous of having this Bill discussed in order that I might elicit from the Government some final and definite declaration as to what Amendments they are willing to make, or what concessions they are prepared to give, in order that we who represent constituencies in Ireland may know what is our real position in regard to the Bill. The more I have examined this Bill, and the more I have had the opportunity of communicating with the people of the West of Ireland with regard to it, the less I like it. I am convinced that it is the duty of Irish Members to oppose the Bill to the best of their ability. I must first of all direct attention to the Memorandum which was circulated with the Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, on which Memorandum the Bill is founded. This Memorandum, I take the liberty of saying, is one of the most extraordinary and reckless documents that was ever issued by a Minister of the Crown. It is the most slipshod document I ever read from a responsible Minister, and it bears on the face of it the most clear evidence that the Chief Secretary did not take the trouble to study the Blue Book of the Royal Commission which sat to consider the matter, and which made a Report thereon. Let me now endeavour to substantiate this proposition. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman makes the following charge. He says—

> "To meet the distress which in these Unions was expected to occur before harvest last year, Parliament sanctioned as a free grant from public funds the expenditure of a sum of £20,000 to be used in outdoor relief. The Guardians squandered the money so obtained in the most reckless fashion. They exercised no supervision themselves, and they took no precautions that supervision should be exercised by anybody else."

That is a most serious charge to make, and whilst I admit that shocking and painful irregularities occurred in the administration of the relief, I say that for the making of a charge of so sweeping a character there is no justification to be found in the Blue Book. Let me point out how carelessly drawn is this Memorandum on the very face of it. I will not go beyond the Memorandum itself to show the carelessness of the Chief Secretary. Near the end of page 3, the following passage occurs:—

> "In the case of Belmullet, in which, it may be observed, the Guardians were not guilty of the same maladministration as those of the other Unions."

This is gravely stated, although, earlier on, it is alleged against all these Unions affected by the Bill, that they squandered the money obtained from the public funds in the most reckless fashion, and "exercised no supervision themselves." The Memorandum goes on to state—

> "The result was what might have been anticipated. Parliament authorized the expenditure of £20,000 in charity. On the strength of this, the Unions in question spent £35,000; producing no other permanent effect whatever upon the district than to plunge it more deeply into debt, and to increase the demoralization of the population."

That is a most exaggerated statement. What "permanent effect" did the Government hope to bring about? Why they hoped to save the people from starvation, and in that effect they were successful. What on earth the Chief Secretary, therefore, means by "producing no other permanent effect whatever" than demoralization, I fail to understand. It is my belief, looking at this Memorandum, that the Chief Secretary had not read the evidence which I shall call attention to presently——

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to interrupt him for a moment. A short time ago a Question was addressed to us on these Benches by a right hon. Gentleman opposite as to whether this Bill would be proceeded with to-night, and the answer was that it would not be taken. When the hon. Gentleman appealed to me a few moments back, I thought it was to be taken, as I was not aware of the previous arrangement made. Perhaps it would be fair, under the circumstances, if a Motion for the adjournment of the debate were taken. I do not know whether it will be an inconvenience to the hon. Member (Mr. Dillon); but after the representation made by us to the Front Bench opposite, it is most desirable that the Bill should not be proceeded with now.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Take it on Monday.

MR. DILLON: I did not understand that the Question had been asked. I understood, on the contrary, that the stage was adjourned from Monday last to Thursday to suit my convenience.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me to state what took place. A question was asked me across the Table by a right hon. Gentleman on the Front Opposition Bench—a right hon. Gentleman who has now gone away—as to whether the Bill was to be taken to-night? The answer I gave was "No;" and I understand that in consequence of that answer the right hon. Gentleman has gone away. I alone am responsible for what took place.

MR. DILLON: Under the circumstances, if I do not lose the right of speaking, I shall have no objection to the adjournment.

MR. JACKSON: Move the adjournment.

MR. DILLON: I move the adjournment.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *further adjourned* till *Monday* next.

SHERIFFS (CONSOLIDATION) BILL.

[*Lords.*]

(*Mr. Solicitor General.*)

[BILL 262.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Might I make an appeal to the Government? When this Bill was down before I got the promise from them that they would give some attention to the subject, with the view of having the measure applied to Ireland. The measure is now blocked; but I think some influence might be brought to bear upon those who have put down the block in order to get them to remove it if an understanding is given that the Bill will be applied to Ireland. I think some of the principles of the measure are good.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): I remember the hon. Gentleman referring to this question some time ago, and, no doubt, the subject is worthy of attention. My impression, however, is that the Irish Acts are too simple to be worth consolidation, and that this measure could not be extended to Ireland. I undertake to look into the matter, if necessary.

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES ACTS AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.—[BILL 220.]

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Baggallay, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Sir Lyon Playfair.*)

CONSIDERATION. THIRD READING.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I should like to put a Question to the hon. Baronet in charge of the Bill (Sir John Lubbock) on a matter with regard to which I spoke to him some time ago. In the commencement of the Bill it says that the provisions shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland; but when I applied to the hon. Baronet, I did not gather from him that he was opposed to their being so extended. I would now ask the hon. Baronet and the Government, whether they do not think that the provisions could be extended to Ireland? Perhaps the Irish Attorney General will give us a guarantee that he will consider the matter, and, if he sees no harm in the extension I propose, will see that it is effected. The Bill is a non-contentious one, and if it can be extended to Ireland it will be as well for the House to extend it.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University): I proposed to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Derry, whose name is on the back of the Bill, that the Bill should be extended to Ireland. That hon. Member, however, did not think it necessary. For my own part I should have been glad to do so.

Amendments made.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK: The Amendments we have agreed to have not been in any way contentious; therefore, I would now ask the House to allow us to take the third reading.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Sir John Lubbock.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

SCHOOL FEES (NON-PAUPERS) BILL.

(*Mr. Llewellyn, Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Quilter*).

[BILL 106.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. LLEWELLYN (Somerset, N): I beg to move the second reading of this Bill. It is not necessary for me, in making the Motion, to detain the House for more than one moment——

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe): I wish, Mr. Speaker, to call your attention to the circumstances connected with this Bill. Although the measure, as it appears on the Paper, is not blocked, I wish to ask you, under circumstances to which I would briefly draw attention, whether it ought not to appear with a block? The Bill was down for second reading on 22nd June —it was on the Orders of the Day for that day. There is no entry on the votes respecting it on that day; and in the weekly statement we have furnished to us it appears on the 27nd of June as "dropped," and also on the 4th of July, the 11th of July, and the 18th of July. On the Orders of the Day of yesterday there was no Notice of the Bill; but on the Votes of yesterday there was an entry to the effect that the second reading was fixed for to-day. I would ask you, Sir, whether the block which was on the Bill when it was dropped does not apply to to-day? I would ask you, Sir, if that is not so, whether it is not an abuse of the Forms of the House for a Member to re-establish a Bill on a Wednesday and then to bring it on the very next day, within the 24 hours? If that were legitimate every Bill might be so brought on as to evade a block. There would be no opportunity of blocking any Bill.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is obvious that if a Bill which has been on the Paper for some time, and is blocked, is suddenly revived great hardships would be caused by preventing the power of blocking it. If my memory serves me aright, I think I have already ruled that a block ought to adhere to a Bill, under such circumstances as those referred to, until the measure appears reinstated upon the Paper in the usual way and there has been an opportunity for the original block to expire. I think the block ought to operate to-night. Perhaps the hon. Member will name another day.

MR. LLEWELLYN: To-morrow.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: The block will still remain, Sir?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes; until the original period expires.

Second Reading *deferred* till To-morrow, at Two of the clock.

House adjourned at half after One o'clock

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 22nd July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2) * (185).
Report—First Offenders * (182).

THE MAR PEERAGE.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MAR: My Lords, I beg your Lordships' indulgence while I make a very short statement regarding my recent Petition. I was unaware that there would be any discussion yesterday on the subject, and was not in my place when the noble and learned Earl (the Earl of Selborne) stated that he would oppose the Motion that my Petition be granted, intimating that it is "unconstitutional and illegal" to review a judgment of the Law Courts with regard to property. My Lords, I must repudiate completely the idea that my prayer is a request to review a judgment of the Law Courts. What I ask has been evidently misunderstood. I ask simply that this House in its deliberative capacity—through a Select Committee or any other suitable mode—should merely investigate the connection between the Mar estates and the ancient Mar dignity. For this purpose I do not ask the House to review the judgment of a Law Court, but to look at the entail of the Mar estates, which is very simple, in order that noble Lords may investigate and ascertain for themselves the extent of the injury I have suffered through having been forced by this House—with no judicial decision with regard to my peerage against me—to plead as a commoner for my ancestral estates, entailed in plain words on the Peerage I hold by inheritance. I respectfully submit that it cannot rightly be called "unconstitutional" that the Members of this House should be asked, not in a judicial, but in their deliberative capacity to investigate any matter whatever, especially one immediately concerning the position and privileges of one of their own order. If my Petition and the Motion that my prayer be granted are unprecedented, I venture to say that the whole Mar case and the treatment I have encountered are equally unprecedented. It has been very unfortunate for me that the Motion on my Petition was postponed last Monday, at the request of the noble Marquess the Prime Minister (the Marquess of Salisbury) to make way for the Crimes Bill on that evening. On three other occasions the Motion stood on the Orders of the Day and many Peers came down to support it; but on each occasion it was crowded out by press of Business. I have ascertained that several noble Lords who take much interest in the matter have already left London, while others are leaving before Bank Holiday—August 1—which I hear is the earliest day the noble Lord who has taken charge of the Motion can be in the House; therefore, with great reluctance, I am compelled to ask the noble Lord who has charge of the Motion to postpone it till an early day next Session.

The Earl of GALLOWAY said, that after the appeal which had been made to him, and for the very good reasons which the noble Lord had given, he could not but assent to the postponement of the question.

Lord BALFOUR said, he sincerely hoped, before the Motion was definitely postponed, an opportunity would be given to noble Lords who were mainly interested to express their views on the course taken. It was rather unfair that the Motion should be allowed to stand over till next Session and so hang over their Lordships, especially as many noble Lords had made their arrangements in expectation that the Motion would be brought forward on the 1st of August.

The PRIME MINISTER and SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Salisbury) said, he must ask his noble Friend to consider the terms of the original Motion. In considering the terms of this Motion, they had to keep in view the statement from the noble Earl (the Earl of Selborne) that it was one which, in his judgment, the House ought not to entertain. The noble and learned Earl last evening emphatically stigmatized the proceeding as being illegal and unconstitutional. He (the Marquess of Salisbury) thought it was rather a grave thing that a Motion should be put on the Paper that had been stigmatized in this way by one of the most learned Members of this House. He hoped his noble Friend would consult some one learned in the law in regard to that Motion before placing it on the Paper again.

ARMY (RE-ORGANIZATION).

MOTION FOR A PAPER.

The Earl of WEMYSS in rising to move—

> "That the statement regarding Army organization recently made by Major-General Brackenbury by authority of the Secretary of State for War at the Royal United Service Institution, be laid upon the Table,"

As Major-General Brackenbury's speech was one of considerable national importance, he had given notice of this Motion, and he asked their Lordships indulgence, if in support of it, he quoted at some length certain authorities, to which the House would assign more weight than to any remarks he could offer. He was glad there had been delay in bringing his Motion forward, as meantime the recent reviews at Buckingham Palace and Aldershot had taken place, and had an important bearing on this matter. No doubt his request was of a somewhat unusual character—that the speech of a distinguished officer should be made as it were a public document and laid on the Table of the House. But the speech itself was of an exceptional character, and the subject was one of exceptional interest, and the opinions stated were of the utmost importance to the future defence of the country. General Brackenbury was a first-rate Artillery officer, who was well known for his excellent conduct in Egypt. He spoke, moreover, as the head of the Intelligence Department, and it was evident that he was in his speech expressing the views of the Secretary of State for War, as he stated that he had the permission of the authorities to make the statement. When he heard it he said at the time that it was the most important statement he had ever heard on the question of our Military Organization. In the first place, General Brackenbury expressed his views of the relative duties of the Fleet and the Army. The object of the Fleet, he said, was not to protect the Dockyards or the commercial ports of the Kingdom, or even the great coaling stations. The object of the Fleet was to go out to sea and seek the enemy's ships and sink them, to protect our commerce, and to see that these Islands were not starved in time of war; but that a sufficient supply of food could be imported. General Brackenbury advised us to examine the extraordinary, heterogeneous mass of men which constitutes our Army to see to (1) the requirements for garrisoning, and (2) what was left for the field, setting free as far as possible the Regular troops for the field, using mainly the Militia and Volunteers for home defence. We ought to have ready Regular troops for two Army Corps, Infantry, Cavalry, Royal Artillery, Royal Horse Artillery, and even after the conversion of the Royal Horse Artillery we should still have a larger proportion of that arm for the field than any other Army in the world. In respect of the Engineers, Commissariat, and Transport, we are still wanting; but in the Estimates this year sums necessary to complete these Services have been voted. After providing garrison defence at home and abroad, and two *Corps d' Armée* for the field, General Brackenbury estimated our surplus Forces as follows:—Five battalions Regular Infantry, 48 battalions Militia, equal to 36,000 men; 112 battalions Volunteer Infantry, equal to 90,000 men; seven regiments Regular Cavalry, and 39 regiments Yeomanry, equal to 21,000 men. Of Field Artillery we had absolutely none, and we were short too of Volunteer gunners, at the rate of three guns per 1,000 for our surplus Infantry, we required 390 additional guns, and a vote has already been taken for 84 guns of position. But we were 23,000 Artillery Volunteers short, and ought to raise them up to the establishment. He hoped that Votes would be taken in future years for the remainder of the 390 guns required.

> "Personally, he said, I advocate in the strongest manner the raising of a sufficient number of Volunteer field batteries, to give us three guns per 1,000 for the Infantry that will remain after our two Army Corps and our garisons have been provided, and therefore it is that I have obtained permission from the authorities at the War Office to attend before you and make this statement."

He had quoted General Brackenbury as to what the wants of the Force were, but he had another authority he wished to bring into Court. There could be no possibility of denying that guns were wanted, and the question therefore arose, "Where are they to come from?" There was clearly no hope of getting such an increase in the Royal Horse Artillery as would provide 390 guns, seeing that the cost of one battery was £13,000 per annum. The Volunteers must therefore be looked to to make up the deficiency, and such an authority as Major Thompson, whose paper on this subject at R. V. S. had led to General Brackenbury's speech, had calculated that 10 batteries could be supplied by the Reserve Forces at a cost of £7,000, that means 60 Volunteer Field guns for half the cost of six guns of the Royal Artillery. He had written to Lord Wolseley on this subject, putting two questions to him — namely, whether he thought it necessary that there should be Field Artillery for the Reserve Forces, and whether from his experience in America he thought that Volunteer Artillery could be got to do efficient service. Lord Wolseley, in reply to the first question, said—

> "My own opinion is entirely in favour of creating out of the existing Volunteer Force at least 40 field batteries. We have no field batteries for either our Yeomanry, Militia, or Volunteer Infantry, and it is out of the question to imagine that we can ever add any considerable number of field batteries to the Royal Artillery."

Hence, on the highest authority, the only practical way of supplying these wants was by the creation of field batteries in the Volunteer Force. They existed once, though Heaven knew why they were suppressed in the year 1873. At that time they numbered 50. As to the question of getting efficiency out of the Volunteer Force, he had seen the Volunteer battery which used to be commanded by Colonel Shakespeare—a name well known for good service in the Crimean War—cross that boggy ravine that intersects Wimbledom Common, and he had said to him that the Royal Artillery could not cross rough ground in better style. In answer to his (the Earl of Wemyss's) second question, as to the possible efficiency of Volunteer Field Artillery, Lord Wolseley said—

> "In 1859 the great bulk of the Army disbelieved in the possibility of the Volunteer Infantry ever reaching their present state of efficiency. The same prejudice now holds good on the question of field artillery, though some of our ablest officers think otherwise. To successfully resist an invasion a large Artillery Force is necessary, and that can only be had by creating Volunteer Field Artillery. Driving is no longer now so important as a long range and concentration of fire."

The concluding paragraph of Lord Wolseley's letter ran as follows:—

> "You ask me about the Field Artillery of the Northern and Southern Armies during the great civil war in America. You have only to read the history of that war to learn the great service done by the Artillery on both sides, yet it was all improvised in less than a year from the civil population. If they could make an excellent Artillery from untrained, undrilled men, how much more easily could we do so from our well-organized Volunteer Force."

He (the Earl of Wemyss) thought he need say no more to prove his case, except to recapitulate his points, which were four—namely, (1) the great want of more Artillery; (2) the impossibility of increasing the Regular Force; (3) that the want can only be supplied from the Volunteer Force; and (4) that it was the opinion of such an authority as Lord Wolseley that Volunteer batteries could be made amply efficient for all useful purposes. He gave the Government every credit for endeavouring to work out this critical problem. The importance of the duty before them, that of putting the country in a proper state of defence, could not be over-estimated. In Lord Wolseley's article on the Army, in the recently published volumns, entitled, *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, he quoted an extract from a letter of Lord Palmerston when Foreign Minister to the Cabinet. Writing on December 17, 1846, Lord Palmerston said—

> "Surely there can be no duty more urgently pressing upon a Government than to place the country which it governs in a position to defend itself, and if any mischance were to happen what possible excuse could be made for the Ministers by whose apathy and neglect the country had been left without adequate means of defence?"

Her Majesty's Government were, he believed, honestly and faithfully doing their duty in this matter. He gave them every credit, and he knew that their path was beset by prejudices and an unwillingness to recognize the gravity of the situation. It was with the view not to criticize, not to interfere with the action of the Government, which, he thought, was worthy of praise, but with a view to help them and to bring public opinion to bear on this question that he brought forward this subject. He would conclude by making the Motion which stood in his name—

Moved, "That the statement regarding Army organization recently made by Major General Brackenbury by authority of the Secretary of State for War at the Royal United Service Institution, be laid upon the Table."—(*The Earl of Wemyss.*)

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, that before the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) replied to his noble Friend he wished to ask a question. In his opinion this was quite a new departure, for hitherto cold water had been thrown upon field guns for the Volunteers. Some years ago Volunteer field batteries were abolished. Colonel Shakespeare's battery had been dispersed, and in this House Lord Truro was always complaining that he could not get field guns although he was willing to pay for them. General Brackenbury, on the authority of the Secretary of State, had stated that 84 guns were to be given to 21 corps of Artillery Volunteers who were some distance from the seaboard. General Brackenbury went a great deal further, and expressed a hope that every year guns would be furnished to the Volunteers until the proportion was brought up to three per 1,000 men of the Auxiliary Forces. Of course, everyone would prefer to have regular Artillery, but a battery of Royal Artillery cost £13,000 a-year, and what War Minister would propose a Vote for 84 Royal Artillery guns? What was the alternative? The Duke of Wellington in his famous letter to Sir John Burgoyne said—"I know I cannot get Regulars, so I must be content with Militia." He (Viscount Hardinge) would like to ask the noble Lord the Under Secretary where the money was to come from to keep up these batteries? They would be expensive to support, and surely the Government did not intend to come down upon the officers of Volunteer Artillery to make good this cost. Major Thompson, of the Artillery, at the meeting to which the noble Earl referred, thought a grant of £2 would suffice for horses and extra expenses. At any rate, some allowance ought to be made by Government beyond the Capitation Grant. Another question he wished to put was as to what calibre these guns were to be. Forty-pounders, in his opinion, would be too heavy, and 20-pounders would be preferable. He thought the step now taken by the Government was an experiment in the right direction.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord HARRIS) said, that when he saw a Notice on the Paper in the name of the noble Earl (the Earl of Wemyss) it always gave him some apprehension as to whether he would be prepared to meet him on all points. Every speech of the noble Earl's invariably bristled with points, and he was not quite certain whether he was prepared to cover all the points now raised by him. He wished to-night to direct his attention to the question of the supply of field batteries of position to the Auxiliary Forces. The noble Earl had alluded to the speech of Major General Brackenbury, at the United Service Institution, as being of an exceptional character, and as having the sanction of the Secretary of State for War. The fact of the matter at that time was this—on account of the mobilization scheme having been practically accepted, certain steps had had to be taken in regard to the Volunteer Force. Up to that time the Volunteer Force had increased—he used the term in no invidious sense—in a somewhat haphazard way. The zeal and loyalty of the officers in various parts of the country had induced them to apply to have an increase of the Force, and sanction had been given to that without regard to whether the increase was in due proportion or not to the other arms of the Service, or whether in that particular part of the country more Volunteers were wanted, or whether more Volunteers were required in that particular arm. The consequence was that just at that time it was found that the Force was within some 20,000 of the authorized establishment of the Volunteers, and that we were entirely short of Field Artillery. It so happened that at the War Office most of the business connected with the Auxiliary Forces came before the Under Secretary of State. He had deemed it to be his duty to point out to the Secretary for War that all increase of the Volunteer Force should be in the direction of the particular arms which the country required to be strengthened. It was feared that this Order might be misunderstood as evidencing on the part of the War Office that they either doubted or undervalued the efficiency and zeal of the Volunteer Force or were tired of it; but he could assure the noble Earl that that idea was altogether unfounded in fact. The Secretary of State for War, therefore, gave his sanction to Major General Brackenbury making the speech referred to, in order that there might be no misapprehension in the minds of the Volunteers. It was the intention of the Secretary for War to issue at an early date such an announcement as would remove the impression, and would show that the War Department fully appreciated both the willingness and the efficiency of the Volunteers. The noble Earl had made out a very strong case indeed for the increase in the supply of field guns and guns of position to the Volunteers, and he had nothing to say in objection to that demand. It was a fact that for some reason which it was impossible to account for there had been differences of opinion among the highest authorities as to whether it was wise to supply field artillery to the Volunteers; but he could assure the noble Earl that that time was now past, and that the Government were now willing to encourage by every means in their power the Volunteers practising their artillery drill. He was sure, however, that the Volunteers would consent to join in the scheme for mobilizing the whole of the Forces in the Kingdom, and would not object in some cases to be changed from field into garrison Artillery. It had been found that there were only 21 Volunteer Artillery Corps in the Northern and North British Districts with whom these guns might be placed. The mobilization scheme had already absorbed for garrison purposes all the Volunteer Artillery, with the exceptions he had named. The mobilization scheme was based on the calculation that one-third of the Volunteers would be available for garrison duty, and it was only by a re-arrangement of that scheme that it had been found practicable to find other corps in counties more South, where Field Artillery would be of more use than in the more Northern counties. The War Office were prepared to issue 84 guns of position to Volunteer Artillery Corps—namely, 24 40-pounder breechloaders, 30 20-pounder breechloaders, and 30 40-pounder muzzleloaders. These guns would only be issued on certain conditions. The Government were prepared to make a grant in excess of the Capitation Grant —entirely exclusive of that grant—but only on the clear understanding that those corps who took these guns would make themselves efficient. It was not expected that the Volunteers would at present find drivers or field harness; but they would be required to keep the guns in good order, and to undertake to turn out a full complement whenever required to join the Regular Forces. It was absolutely essential, if this mobilization scheme was to be perfect, that the Volunteers should readily agree to it, and come forward, with that loyalty they had always shown, to back it up. If in certain districts the Government found it necessary to make a conversion from Infantry into Artillery, he believed the Volunteers would be perfectly prepared to undertake that change. He asked the noble Earl not to press his Motion, first, because General Brackenbury's speech was intended for private circulation, and it would be an inconvenient precedent for Papers such as that to be moved for; and, secondly, because the speech gave but an incomplete idea of the mobilization scheme. It was the intention of the Secretary of State, before Parliament rose, to lay on the Table of both Houses as clear a statement as he could of the mobilization scheme and of its intentions.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, that, after the satisfactory statement of the noble Lord, he should have much pleasure in asking leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE TITLES OF PEERS.—RESOLUTION.

Moved, "That when any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be named in any official record of the Proceedings of the House, or of any Committee thereof, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament."—(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, that the question had been already before the House, and he believed there was no objection to the Motion. But if the names were set out on the official record, it would be unnecessary that they should be repeated on every question, as that might be found inconvenient. With that qualification the Motion might be accepted.

Motion *agreed to.*

Ordered, "That the above Resolution be declared a Standing Order of the House (to come into operation at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament), and be numbered XXXIIA."

House adjourned at half-past Five o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 22*nd July,* 1887.

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* the City of London, *v.* The Right honble. John Gellibrand Hubbard, now Baron Addington, called up to the House of Peers.

Lord Harris

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 14 to 16.

PUBLIC BILL — *First Reading* — Tithe Rent-Charge * [336].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILLS — *Considered as amended*—Local Government (No. 9) * [296].

Third Reading—Local Government (Ireland) (Dublin, &c.) * [312], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY (CITY OF DUBLIN JUNCTION RAILWAYS) BILL.

SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS. DEBATE ADJOURNED.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, in the case of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into consideration, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited."—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo): I object to the Motion, and I have placed on the Paper an Amendment to move that the Bill be considered upon this day three months.

MR. SPEAKER: If the Motion is objected to, the Bill must be postponed.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS — PRACTICE WITH HEAVY GUNS.

MR. MALLOCK (Devon, Torquay) asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state what percentage of the rank and file of the Artillery Volunteers have had any drill or practice with any heavier guns than the 64-pounder and 80-pounder converted R.M.L. guns during the year 1886-7?

MR. HANBURY (Preston) also asked, as to the guns supplied to the 5th Lancashire Artillery Volunteers, whether it was not the fact that they were supplied with old, obsolete, and utterly worthless guns? How many other corps are there in the same position?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL OF ORDNANCE (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter) (who replied) said: Facilities for drilling with guns of the higher natures were offered in 1886-7 to about 20 per cent of the Volunteer Artillery enrolled; but, without calling for Returns from the several districts, the Secretary of State is not able to say how many availed themselves of the offer. I have, however, no objection to the Returns being ordered. I must ask the hon. Member for Preston to give Notice of his Question, during which time I will make inquiries.

MR. HANBURY said, he would call attention to the subject on the Estimates.

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—SUPPLY OF LEATHER.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether leather supplied by Messrs. Ross and Sons has been found to be adulterated with glucose; whether this adulteration adds to the weight of the leather; and, whether, in hot dry climates as Egypt, leather so adulterated grows very hard and brittle, and cracks so as to become rotten?

THE SURVEYOR GENERAL (Mr. NORTHCOTE) (Exeter), in reply, said, the result of a special examination ordered by the War Office showed that certain hides supplied by Messrs. Ross had been treated with glucose. The whole subject was under investigation, and the result had not yet been reported to the Secretary of State. He, therefore, hoped he might be allowed to defer his answer; but when the inquiry terminated, he would communicate the result to the House, and he trusted the hon. Member would wait for it.

INDIA (MADRAS) — MILITARY PAY EXAMINERS OFFICE — MR. SOEFELDT.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, about five months since, Mr. Soefeldt, a Dane, was appointed manager of the Military Pay Examiners Office, Madras; whether, according to despatch 10th July, 1879, the previous consent of the Secretary of State ought to have been obtained; whether such consent was previously applied for, or given; whether candidates for positions in the Military Accounts Office are required to pass certain examinations; whether Mr. Soefeldt has passed any such examination; whether the post of manager Military Pay Office, Madras, has usually been held by a Native, and whether it is one of the posts usually reserved by the Government for Natives; whether, at the time of the appointment of Mr. Soefeldt, there were hundreds of qualified Native candidates who had passed the necessary examinations; and, whether any information has reached him that the giving posts to Europeans capable of being held by Natives, and usually held by Natives, is now causing great irritation in Madras?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): (1.) Mr. Soefeldt appears in *The Calcutta Directory* as second senior clerk in the Military Pay Office, Madras. The Secretary of State has not heard of his promotion to be "Head Assistant" of that Office; (2.) If Mr. Soefeldt has been so promoted, the previous consent of the Secretary of State was not necessary; (3.) The Secretary of State is not aware whether any examination is requisite on promotion in the Military Pay Office; (4.) No; (5.) The promotion would naturally be given in the office if a fit person could be found there. There were only six clerks in the office to which Mr. Soefeldt belonged, of whom three bear European names; (6.) No information of any irritation such as is described in the Question has reached the Secretary of State.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTMASTERSHIP IN SIX MILE BRIDGE, CO. CLARE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Postmaster General, If any appointment has yet been made to the vacant office of postmaster in Six Mile Bridge, County Clare; and, whether there is any foundation for the rumour, that the post office is now about being removed to a distance of over one mile outside the town, to the great inconvenience and against the wishes of the vast majority of the people of the town and the surrounding district?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply, said, that no appointment had yet been made to the post office referred to. The Treasury had nominated a candidate; but he would not be appointed unless he provided a suitable office in the town, and made proper provision for the discharge of the duties.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—MULES FROM EGYPT FOR REGIMENTAL TRANSPORT PURPOSES.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether any mules, and, if so, how many, have recently been brought to this country from Egypt; whether they were intended to serve for regimental transport; whether the result of inspection on arrival showed that none were large enough for draft work, and one-third too light even for ordinary packwork; what was the cost of their conveyance home; and, what the cost of keeping them in quarantine at Woolwich after their arrival?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter): 96 mules were recently brought from Egypt for regimental transport purposes. The mules were ordered of the sizes required for pack duty, and the consignment are of the sizes ordered. They are reported to be "a good, well-bred, active lot of small mules, well adapted for carrying 200lb. of infantry ammunition, and some of them for mountain guns." Including forage on the voyage, the cost of transport was £7 a-head. The mules had not been, strictly speaking, in quarantine; but, inasmuch as glanders sometimes occur in Egypt, it was thought advisable to keep them under observation for a month before distributing them about the country. No expense had been incurred beyond the ordinary cost of feeding the mules.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885, SEC. 23—ORDERS MADE.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many orders have been made by the Irish Land Commission under the provisions of the 23rd section of "The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885;" and how many of such orders relate to simple mortgages, and how many to instalment mortgages?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The total number of such orders which have been made by the Land Commission is 1,665. Of these orders 1,080 relate to simple mortgages, and 585 to instalment mortgages.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—MULLINGAR DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM.

Mr. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a married woman, who has been a patient in the Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum for over three years, and who is still in that institution, is about to give birth to an illegitimate child; whether a secret inquiry has recently been held into the circumstances of the case, with the result that an engineer employed at the institution has been dismissed; whether the Government will take criminal proceedings not only against the engineer but also against those officials who, by their apparent neglect, are responsible for the outrage in question; and, if he would state by whom was the inquiry held, and will the evidence given thereat be laid upon the Table of the House?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, he regretted to say the position of the patient was as stated in Question. There was no secret inquiry held. The only inquiry which was held was a cursory one by the Board of Governors, which happened to sit the day after the charge was adduced. Four days afterwards, one of the Inspectors of Lunatic Asylums visited the asylum and examined upon oath all persons who were in a position to elucidate the matter. The depositions taken by him were sent to the Executive of the Board of Governors. The engineer had been discharged. He (Colonel King-Harman) did not find that there was any charge of neglect against the officials. With regard to the engineer, he was advised that there was no ground for criminal proceedings.

Mr. TUITE: May I ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, whether he thinks that the ends of justice have been satisfied by the dismissal of the engineer; and, also if he is aware of the grounds upon which the Attorney General refused to prosecute, and, also, why the Press were excluded from the inquiry?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, the Question was one which should be addressed to the Law Officers.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) asked, if it could be explained why the engineer had been dismissed from his employment, if there was no ground for believing him to be guilty and no ground for a criminal proceeding? As the Attorney General had come to the determination not to prosecute, would the right hon. and gallant Gentleman lay the evidence taken before the Inspector on the Table of the House, so that the House might be in possession of the information?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, it seemed to him that there was the strongest ground for believing that the charge against the engineer was not without foundation, and he was dismissed; but he questioned very much whether there was sufficient evidence to sustain a prosecution.

Mr. SEXTON said, he must again ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, whether he would lay the evidence before the House?

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he could only repeat the answer he had already given, that the Question should be addressed to the Law Officers.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would raise the whole question on the Chief Secretary's Vote.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton), who explained that he knew nothing about the case, said, there might be very great difficulty in sustaining a prosecution under the circumstances. But he would make inquiry, and if the evidence appeared to be such as would sustain a prosecution, a prosecution would be instituted.

Mr. SEXTON said, he was much obliged to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He wished to ask whether the Government admitted the authority of the "Queen *v.* Fletcher," in which the person accused was convicted of rape, on the ground that the woman was incapable of giving consent?

Mr. GIBSON said, there was no doubt that if it could be proved that the woman was incapable of giving consent, a prosecution could be sustained. The difficulty was as to the degree.

Mr. SEXTON asked, if the Government would view the matter in the light of the case which he had quoted?

Mr. GIBSON: Certainly.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. V. VESEY FITZGERALD, R.M. — COMMITTAL OF DENIS FLANAGAN FOR WIFE MURDER.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, Is it true that, on Sunday 10th July, Mr. V. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M., held a court at Stradbally, Queen's County, and received informations against Denis Flanagan for wife murder on the previous day, and committed him for trial; whether this proceeding on a Sunday was lawful; what was the necessity for such haste; whether it was contrary to long established usage to take such action prior to the holding of the inquest, a precept for which had been issued by the coroner for the following day; whether, notwithstanding the fact that no examination of a dead body on view of which an inquest is to be held is ever permitted without the coroner's order, a medical examination without the knowledge or permission of the coroner was held at Mr. Fitzgerald's instigation in order to obtain evidence for the prisoner's committal; whether this was in excess of the powers of a resident magistrate; what was the necessity for the course taken by the resident magistrate; and, what will the Government do in the matter?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton), in reply, said, the man was charged with murdering his wife. There was direct evidence of his guilt, and the course mentioned had been taken by the magistrate to obviate the necessity of having the accused sent to prison a distance of 40 miles and brought back next day. There was nothing unlawful in the magistrate doing so. The magistrate gave no directions for the examination of the body, and he did not appear to have acted in any manner irregularly.

Mr. T. M. HEALY asked, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman approved of bringing up a prisoner on Sunday? Was it a usual thing in any civilized country to bring up a prisoner on the Sabbath day, the Coroner's precept having been issued for the Monday?

Mr. GIBSON said, such matters must be dealt with having regard to the necessity and convenience of each particular case, and the magistrate appeared to have acted in that respect on this occasion.

COMMISSIONERS OF VALUATION (IRELAND)—BALTINGLASS UNION—MR B. DOUGLAS, RATE COLLECTOR.

Mr. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, as Chairman of the Local Government Board, he will order a sworn investigation into the conduct of the rate collector of the Baltinglass Union, Mr. B. Douglas, whose duty it is to supply the revising officer with a list of tenements requiring revision, and in whose district gross mistakes have been made at the recent revision?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Local Government Board were making preliminary inquiries with regard to the representations made by some of the Guardians of the Baltinglass Union as to the action of some of the Poor Rate collectors in giving information to the revising officer; and on the completion of the inquiry it would be determined whether a sworn inquiry was necessary or not.

COMMISSIONERS OF VALUATION (IRELAND)—BALTINGLASS UNION—MR. GEORGE CRAIG, VALUER.

Mr. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the revising officer appointed by the Commissioners of Valuation to revise and amend the valuation lists in the Baltinglass Union, Mr. George Craig, has neglected to separately value tenements which should properly have been valued, and whether he valued tenements separately that should not have been valued; and, whether Mr. Craig gave an undertaking last year to Messrs. E. P. O'Kelly and P. Byrne, Poor Law Guardians of the Baltinglass Union, to rectify such irregularities, and has neglected to do so, with the result that votes can be improperly claimed?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: I am informed that the revising officer, Mr. Craig, has not made separate valuations in the Baltinglass Union such as those referred to by the hon. Member; but he has, in some few instances, changed the name of occupiers and immediate lessors, which may affect the Poor Law franchise only, in consequence of a letter from the proprietor stating that such changes had been made by him on his property. The revising officer did give an undertaking to Messrs. E. P. O'Kelly and P. Byrne, Poor Law Guardians, to carry out the alterations referred to by them, and he informs me that he has done so. If the particulars of the cases referred to by the hon. Member are supplied, the Commissioners of Valuation will cause an inquiry to be made, and if inaccuracies be found to exist, the Commissioners of Valuation will have the corrections carried into the Union lists immediately.

WAR OFFICE—DEFECTIVE WEAPONS.

Major RASCH (Essex, S.E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, How many swords were broken at the Military Tournament at the Agricultural Hall; how many of those broken were of the new pattern recently issued; and, where were the broken swords made?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter) (who replied): The Secretary of State has had no report of swords being broken.

LAW AND JUSTICE—RIPLEY PETTY SESSIONS — EXCESSIVE WHIPPING OF A CHILD.

Sir WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the case of a delicate little boy, named James Smith Buckbury, aged seven years, of Ilkeston, who was sentenced on July 11th, at Ripley Petty Sessions, to receive four strokes of a birch rod for stealing a watch; whether he is aware that the child was severely injured by the strokes, more than 50 wounds penetrating through the skin of the back and abdomen, having been counted by the medical man called in to attend the child; and, whether he will take steps to prevent the administration of such punishment for the future to delicate children, and cause an inquiry to be made into the conduct of the police officer who inflicted the punishment?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I have, as yet, received no Report on the subject from the Justices, to whom I wrote on the 19th instant, I have, however, a Report from the Chief Constable, enclosing, among other statements, one from the constable who whipped the boy, and one from a friend of the boy's mother, who, at her request, witnessed the whipping. The general effect of these statements (which are too long to read, but which I shall be happy to show the hon. Baronet) is that the whipping was not a severe one; but having regard to the information I have gathered from the hon. Baronet and from the Press, I have directed further inquiries. I cannot give an opinion on the propriety of the sentence until I hear from the Justices, from whom I shall expect to receive full explanation of all the circumstances.

SIR WALTER FOSTER gave Notice that he would repeat the Question in a few days.

CATTLE DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA IN IRELAND.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia have occurred in Ireland during the present year, up to the date of latest Return; how many of those outbreaks have occurred in the county Dublin; in how many instances have the Privy Council declared localities to be "an area infected with pleuro-pneumonia," and the extent in square miles of the largest "area" so declared; in how many instances have the Privy Council, in opposition to the wishes of the local authorities, ordered the compulsory slaughter of healthy cattle which had been in contact with infected, or supposed to be infected, animals; and, if in any case it has transpired, on a *post-mortem* examination being made, that all the animals ordered to be slaughtered by the Privy Council, in opposition to the wishes of the local authorities, were found to be perfectly healthy, including the animals condemned by the Privy Council Inspector as being infected with pleuro-pneumonia?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) During the present year up to July 9, 93 outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia were reported in Ireland. Seventy-eight of these outbreaks occurred in County Dublin. Ten pleuro-pneumonia infected areas have been declared. The largest area comprises about 60 square miles. Three compulsory orders have been made, directing the slaughter of cattle in contact with or in the same place with infected cattle. In one of these instances 41 cattle were slaughtered. The *post-mortem* examination showed that 20 of them were affected with pleuro-pneumonia. In another instance, 21 were slaughtered, of which six were found affected with pleuro-pneumonia and two with tuberculosis. In the other case four cattle were slaughtered. These were the only cattle remaining on the farm, seven having been previously slaughtered by the local Inspector, two of which were diseased. None of these four cattle were found on *post-mortem* examination to be affected with pleuro-pneumonia. The Government Veterinary Inspector did not condemn any of them; but when he visited the farm, and detected the existence of pleuro-pneumonia thereon in the first instance, he was of opinion that one of the cattle was a convalescent case of disease. He did not again see the cattle.

MR. COX said, he wanted to know why the Privy Council had acted differently in connection with this subject in Ireland from the manner the authorities acted in England? A Question had been addressed to the Home Secretary by the hon. Member for the Spalding Division of Lincolnshire (Mr. Halley Stewart) on Monday last, in answer to which the right hon. Gentleman stated that in no case had the Privy Council ordered the compulsory slaughter of healthy cattle in contact with infected cattle against the wishes of the Local Authorities. He (Mr. Cox) also wished to ask if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was aware that in the county of Louth there was an infected area of 100 miles? In consequence of the answer which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman had given, he would raise this question on the Estimates.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he could not answer the Question, for he had no knowledge of how the authorities acted in England. The Privy Council in Ireland had acted in the interests of the Irish cattle trade in endeavouring to stamp out pleuro-pneumonia, which was the only form of cattle disease existing in Ireland, and the existence of which had been a great check upon the exportation of Irish cattle.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—EXAMINATION OF TEACHERS.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland have ordered that before each examination a copy of the programme of literary subjects shall be sent to each teacher who is a candidate for promotion; whether the first class teachers were supplied with such programme in due time before the recent examination; and, whether the list of literary subjects will be officially forwarded to each teacher who is noted for examination in the year 1888?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied): The Commissioners of National Education state that in October a copy of the last published programme of examination for teachers was sent to every national school in Ireland on publication in 1885. It is also on the Commissioners' list of gratis requisites furnished to national schools from the Education Office. That programme still remains in force, except in one particular, regarding which the Inspectors were instructed early last March to give notice to such candidates as would be affected by it. The programme for 1888 is now in the press. A copy will be forwarded, as heretofore, to every national school without delay.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE NATIONAL REGISTRATION ASSOCIATION, BLACKROCK, CO. DUBLIN.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If policemen are sent to watch the proceedings of the County Dublin National Registration Association at Blackrock; and, if so, for what reasons?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied): No, Sir; the police have never received any instructions with regard to the proceedings alluded to.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE said, he wished to know was it a fact that the police did watch the proceedings?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was not in a position to say. He would only say that they had received no instruction to watch any particular house.

SIR THOMAS ESMONDE said, he would ask that Question on Monday.

BURMAH—SALE OF INTOXICATING SPIRITS AND OPIUM.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the fact that, under the Native Kings of Independent Burmah, the sale and use of intoxicating spirits and of opium wers strictly prohibited to Natives; whether the Government of India has lately inquired from the officers in charge of districts in Upper Burmah, their opinion as to the propriety of licensing the sale of intoxicating spirits and opium; whether the great majority of the officers so consulted have reported against the introduction of such a licensing system, and stated that it would prove highly injurious to the Native population; and, whether, notwithstanding such reports, the Government of India have lately made an order for the issue of licences for the sale of spirits, and intend to authorize the sale of opium?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): My answer to paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Question is Yes. With regard to paragraph 3, the Reports have not yet reached the Secretary of State; but he understands that the introduction of a general licensing system for the sale of intoxicating liquor and opium is deprecated. As to paragraph 4, no such order has been reported to the Secretary of State. But it may become expedient to grant licences for the sale of spirits in such towns as Mandalay, Bhamo, and other places where Chinese and other non-Burmans chiefly congregate. The Chinese, Shans, Kachins, and other non-Burman races have long been in the habit of consuming opium, which is imported from Yunnan, and it may be expedient to regulate the sale of opium by restricting it to the larger towns, and forbidding its sale to Burmans, or in country districts. Whatever regulations are made will be for the purpose of restricting the sale of spirits and opium in the interest of public order and of preventing their sale to Burmans, and most certainly not with the view of raising revenue thereby.

MR. BRYCE asked, whether the Government would have any objection to presenting the Report when received from the Commissioners; and whether they would undertake that any regulations should not come into force before they had been laid on the Table of the House, and the House should thus have had an opportunity of discussing them.

SIR JOHN GORST said, that when the Reports were received it would be for the Secretary of State to judge whether they could conveniently be laid on the Table or not. It was, therefore, impossible to pledge the Secretary of State before he had received them and read them. With regard to the second part of the Question of the hon. Member, it was one of which Notice ought to be given. He could not, at present, see his way to give a pledge that any regulations necessary for public order, and for preventing the sale of spirits and opium to the Burmans, should be postponed till next Session.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, when the promised Papers with reference to the Burmah Ruby Mines would be laid on the Table?

SIR JOHN GORST said, he was sorry that the hon. Member had so long been kept in a state of expectancy; but as the matter had not yet been decided by the Secretary of State in Council, he could not give any pledge in the matter.

MR. BRADLAUGH gave Notice that if the Papers were not laid on the Table before then, he would raise a debate on the Appropriation Bill.

MR. BRYCE also gave Notice that, in about a week, he would repeat his Question with regard to laying the liquor traffic regulations on the Table.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—THE O'GRADY PROPERTY, CO. TIPPERARY.

MR. JOHN O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that on Sunday, June 26, placards were posted on the walls at Bansha, County Tipperary, calling for aid for the tenants on the O'Grady property; whether these placards stated that the treasurers of the fund to be raised were the Mayor of Limerick, the High Sheriff of Limerick, and the Rev. Eugene Sheehy, and that the object of the fund had the approval of the honourable Member for East Mayo, and the honourable Member for North-East Cork; whether Constable Griffin tore down these placards, and when remonstrated with said he would continue to do so as fast as they were put up; and, whether he will inquire into Constable Griffin's conduct?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, that placards such as were mentioned in the Question were posted in Bansha, County Tipperary, on Sunday, the 26th of June. The placards were in furtherance of the Plan of Campaign. Constable Griffin did tear down the placards. He also said that he would take down any others that might be posted. The sergeant's action was approved of by the Divisional Magistrate. The Government saw no ground for inquiry, as the sergeant had only discharged his duty.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) asked, could the right hon. and gallant Gentleman say why the Divisional Magistrate ordered the placards to be taken down?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he had not stated that the Divisional Magistrate had ordered the placards to be taken down. He had said that the sergeant had acted in the discharge of his duty, and his action had been approved of by the Divisional Magistrate.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked, if it was the duty of the police to take down all placards, or only special ones?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: No, Sir. All illegal placards.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked, if the right hon. and gallant Gentleman could state what were the contents of the placards?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he had not got them with him, and could not state their contents. It related, however, to the Plan of Campaign.

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—HAWAII—REPORTED REVOLUTION.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information, in addition to that which has appeared in the public journals, regarding the recent movement of a revolutionary character in the Hawaiian Islands; and, whether any of Her Majesty's Ships have been, or are to be, despatched to Honolulu with a view to the protection of British subjects in the event of any disturbance arising there?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Commissioner at Honolulu has reported, by telegraph, that a popular demand was made on the 30th of June, under considerable excitement, for a change of Ministry and an alteration of the Constitution. The King consulted the Representatives of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Portugal, and, under their advice, granted what was asked. Order was maintained, and a new Administration formed; the late Minister is under arrest charged with embezzling public property. In anticipation of disorder, Her Majesty's Commissioner requested the Admiral on the Pacific station to furnish naval protection to British life and property, and two ships were to be immediately at Honolulu. An American man-of-war was there.

RAILWAYS (METROPOLIS)—USE OF WHISTLES AT NIGHT.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware of the personal annoyance and injury to property inflicted on the inhabitants of the Metropolis by the Railway Companies from the use of the whistle at night, especially in the N.W. and S.W. districts; whether the whistle is not used on the Metropolitan Railway; and, whether he will institute an inquiry to ascertain whether the railway traffic cannot be conducted with safety at night between the hours of 11 p.m. and 6 a.m. without this constant disturbance of public rest?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The attention of the Board of Trade has not recently been directed to annoyance arising from the use of the whistle on trains, though they are fully aware of the inconvenience caused thereby to persons dwelling near railways. They are not in a position to make any statement on the subject, but will put themselves in communication with the Railway Companies, with the view of ascertaining whether, with due regard to the safe working of the traffic, anything can be done to lessen the inconvenience.

JUBILEE NAVAL REVIEW AT PORTSMOUTH.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR (Kincardine) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will cause a note to be made of the armament of the Fleet and other vessels at the Review on the 23rd July, so that Members of Parliament may have access to information showing the number and variety of guns on board our Fleet?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead) (who replied), said, the armament of the ships and torpedo boats had been laid before Parliament in a Return prepared last year. The First Lord of the Admiralty regretted that the information then given could not be printed for use to-morrow.

POST OFFICE—THE PATTERN POST.

MR. SCHWANN (Manchester, N.) asked the Postmaster General, When the promised pattern post will come again into operation, so as to avoid the serious inconvencience caused to merchants, manufacturers, and others by having to send large parcels of patterns to Belgium and France, for reposting in detail to the United Kingdom, thereby entailing loss also of postal revenue to the British Post Office?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The hon. Member is, I have no doubt, aware that I very fully appreciate the inconveniences to which he refers. No time is being lost in the necessary preparations for the Inland Pattern and Sample Post. The precise date of commencement cannot at present be fixed, but it will be the earliest practicable.

NORTH SEA FISHERIES — OUTRAGE TO THE NETS, &c. OF YARMOUTH FISHERMEN.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether further outrages to the nets of Yarmouth and other fishermen have recently been brought under his notice; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking, or have under consideration, in regard to them?

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.) asked, whether any communication had taken place on the subject between the Board of Trade, the Admiralty, and the Foreign Office since April 12th last, when the Board of Trade were warned that outrages would probably take place within four months from that date.

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Yes, Sir; the case of the *Thalia*, of Yarmouth, has been brought to the notice of the Board of Trade by my hon. Friend, and also by the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk. On receiving these communications, the Board of Trade at once instituted inquiries, and they have forwarded to the Foreign Office the representation of the master and crew of the vessel, with a view to its being investigated by the Belgian Government. In answer to the second Question of the hon. Baronet I have to say that communications have repeatedly been made by the Board of Trade to the Admiralty and the Foreign Office. I cannot give the exact dates, but they are subsequent to that named by the hon. Gentleman.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked, what steps had been taken to prevent outrages on English trawlers by Belgian fishermen?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) said, that whenever a case of reported outrage by trawlers on British fisheries was communicated to the Foreign Office by the Board of Trade, Her Majesty's Minister at Brussels was immediately requested to bring the matter to the notice of the Belgian Government, and I am bound to say the Belgian Government have shown every disposition to do justice in such matters.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS—EXAMINATION OF POLICE CONSTABLE ENDACOTT.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Why the unfortunate circumstances attending the arrest of Miss Cass were not referred, according to the usual practice of the Home Office in cases of police misconduct possibly forming the subject of ulterior prosecution, to the Solicitor to the Treasury to investigate the facts, take the necessary statements, and, with the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, to institute such proceedings as were warranted by the circumstances and desirable in the public interest? The hon. Member also asked, Under what statutory authority Police constable Endacott was yesterday subjected at the hands of Mr. Grain, Barrister at Law, to a public cross-examination to credit, embracing matter wholly foreign to the inquiry in point, and inflicting pain and injury on other persons; what precedent or judicial authority there is for the interrogation, either public or private, of a person complained of for an alleged illegal action for which he may have to take his trial; and, for the examination of a witness in the absence of an accused person?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): It is not unusual with the Home Office, when complaint is made of the misconduct of a policeman in the discharge of his duty, and that misconduct has not been ascertained in any Court, for the Commissioner to inquire into the subject-matter of the complaint, before referring it to the Solicitor to the Treasury with a view to a prosecution. That inquiry was directed, in the case of Miss Cass, on the complaint of Mrs. Bowman, and after discussion in this House. In the usual course it would have been a private inquiry. In this case, however, it was hardly possible to keep the inquiry private; but the Representatives of the Press were only admitted upon the legal adviser of Miss Cass and Mrs. Bowman expressing the desire that they should be present. There is no authority, statutory or otherwise, under which persons can be compelled to attend such an inquiry or to answer questions. Their answers are purely voluntary, and Police-constable Endacott was not required by the Commissioner to say anything for himself or to answer the questions which the counsel for Miss Cass and Mrs. Bowman thought fit to put to him.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT asked the Home Secretary, whether the Commissioner of Police was sitting in a magisterial or disciplinary capacity; and, if he could give any precedent for an inquiry of this nature?

MR. MATTHEWS: The Commissioner of Police is sitting upon this inquiry as the head of the Police Force interested, therefore, in ascertaining whether the conduct of a member of the Force has been proper or improper, and whether there is any ground for further proceedings with regard to that particular member of the Force. I should say, on the whole, that the Commissioner sat in a disciplinary capacity. I do not know how to deal with my hon. Friend's adjective; but it is a matter of discipline rather than anything else. Such an inquiry is, I may say, the rule. If the misconduct of a policeman has been established by sworn evidence before a magistrate, then no inquiry by the Commissioner is necessary before visiting the policeman with punishment; but where the facts have not been ascertained in any authentic way, it is most usual for the Commissioner to make inquiry.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT: I am sorry to trouble my right hon. Friend; but I must ask, is there any precedent for a public inquiry; and, if it is found that Police-constable Endacott's evidence at the Police Court was unsatisfactory, after his interrogation at Scotland Yard, it is possible to institute legal proceedings against him?

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked if the witnesses were sworn?

Mr. MATTHEWS: They are not, nor, as I have said before, can they be sworn by law. With regard to the question whether there is precedent for the inquiry being public, there is not, so far as I am aware, and if I may be allowed to express my own preference, I think the inquiry should have been private. But, considering the public excitement the case created, it would not have been possible to keep the subject-matter altogether private, so as to prevent some news of its getting into the newspapers; and, accordingly, I directed that, at Miss Cass's direct wish, the Press should be allowed to be present at the inquiry. Everything, therefore, that has taken place is fully known, and it cannot prejudice Constable Endacott, as he was not obliged to make any statement.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT: This is a very important matter, and as the right hon. Gentleman says there is no precedent for a public inquiry he will pardon me asking him whether there is any precedent for a person who may be proceeded against for an illegal action, for which he may have to take his trial, being interrogated regarding it either in public or in private?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman adopted or repelled the statement that Mr. Grain, counsel for Miss Cass, had introduced matter wholly foreign to the inquiry, and calculated to inflict pain and injury on others?

Mr. MATTHEWS: I do not think I ought to be asked to express an opinion on a question of that sort. Presumably Mr. Grain acted according to the best of his lights and his instructions. In answer to the question of my hon. Friend, I should think there were precedents for interrogating a person against whom an action for an illegal offence might lie. It is a matter of every-day practice. Take the case, for instance, of a servant supposed to be guilty of theft. The employer would interrogate the individual before dismissal.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT: I beg to give Notice that if a prosecution is directed after this public inquiry, it will be my duty to call the attention of the House to the matter.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON—ALLEGED CHANGES PROPOSED IN THE MINISTRY.

Mr. J. ELLIS (Leicestershire, Bosworth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there is any truth in the widespread rumour that the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) has been sent for by the Queen in reference to proposed changes in the Ministry?

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster): I can only say in reply to the hon. Member that I have heard of it for the first time from the lips of the hon. Member. If it is serious and circumstantial, it would be imprudent on my part to deny it. I can only say it has reached me with great surprise.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—EXPEDITION FOR RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA—REPORTED DEATH OF MR. STANLEY.

Mr. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked, Whether the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs could give the

House any information as to the reported death of Mr. Stanley?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No, Sir. No intelligence at all on the subject has reached the Foreign Office, the Secretary for the Colonies.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): Or the Colonial Office.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden): Has any inquiry been made by the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office with regard to the reported death of Mr. Stanley since my Question yesterday?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: Did the hon. Gentleman make any inquiry yesterday?

MR. H. GARDNER: I made an inquiry in the House yesterday.

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: This is the first Question which has been put to me on the subject.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DEATH OF A CONVICT FROM SUNSTROKE.

In reply to Mr. BONSOR (Surrey, Wimbledon),

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he would ask for a report on all the circumstances attending the death of a convict reported in the newspapers as having been the result of sunstroke obtained while working in this hot weather.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE — THE NAVAL REVIEW OFF SPITHEAD.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the exhausting labours which had recently been entailed on hon. Members, and the fact that there is a general disposition to get away early in view of the proceedings at Portsmouth to-morrow, he will allow the Business of the House to close at 7 o'clock that evening?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I should very much prefer to continue Committee of Supply this evening at 9 o'clock; because, as the hon. Gentleman is no doubt aware, we are exceedingly backward with it. But I must defer to the general feeling of the House. I am aware that the labours of the House have been very protracted, and have pressed very heavily on hon. Members; and it is therefore the wish of the Government that the House should not sit this evening. While I shall not hesitate to move the adjournment of the House at 7 o'clock, I trust hon. Gentlemen will assist the Government, as well as themselves, by making reasonable progress with Supply during the interval which elapses between now and 7 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

IRISH LAND LAW [REMUNERATION].

COMMITTEE.

Moved for—

"A Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration to any barristers and valuers that may be appointed to act with and aid the County Court Judges, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' and 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' and of remuneration to certain officers for performing additional duties connected with the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland in pursuance of the said Act."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.) said, he thought that this Motion should not be made without Notice. It was a Motion in regard to which some statement should be made by the Government. He, therefore, respectfully asked the Government not to press it forward without an explanation being vouchsafed to the House. In his opinion it seemed to involve the entire question of the payment of the Second Court of Appeal in Ireland, to which he and his hon. Friends were entirely opposed, and as to whether the Bankruptcy Clauses should be dropped. If the Government were going to drop the Bankruptcy Clauses, why should they take power to pay gentlemen to assist the County Court Judges? He respectfully urged on the Government to make a statement now, or else adjourn the Motion until such time as they could do so, and until they had the whole thing before them in a better manner.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman did not seem to be aware that this was a purely formal matter preliminary to the consideration of the Bill in Committee. As far as it affected any questions which involved the Vote of Parliament, or any clause which might entail a charge on the Estimates or increase the establishments of the country, the Resolution did not in the slightest degree tie the hands of the Committee, nor would it tie the hands of the hon. Member or his Friends regarding the question of the Court of Appeal or the bankruptcy provisions. If the Resolution was not passed, however, it would seriously hinder the consideration of the Bill in Committee. The Resolution did not prejudice any measure, but it was a necessary preliminary before any question affecting a charge upon the Estimates could be entertained by the House.

Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian) said, he thought it would be admitted that the hon. and learned Gentleman had made his objection in moderate and becoming terms, and he was not in the slightest degree surprised at the impression which the Resolution not unnaturally conveyed to the mind of the hon. and learned Gentleman as it was read from the Chair. But, having himself been concerned in similar proceedings, he was bound to bear testimony to the general practice of the House. This was a Motion strictly of a preliminary character. It left the entire question absolutely free for the consideration of the House at the proper stage. It was the uniform practice of the House, so far as he knew, to allow this preliminary stage to be taken without any notice whatever. He therefore thought the hon. and learned Gentleman would see, under these circumstances, that his exception to the Motion ought not to be pressed.

Motion *agreed to.*

Queen's *Recommendation* signified, upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

Supply—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £12,797, to complete the sum for the Land Commissioners for England.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a sum, not exceeding £244,241, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.): In accordance with the Notice I have placed upon the Paper, I shall ask the Committee to omit from this Vote an item of £16,500, being the item asked for on Account of Public Vaccinators. By a Statute of Her Majesty—33 & 34 *Vict.* c. 84, s. 5—it is provided that, by means of an Order in Council, public vaccinators may be appointed, and exceptional allowances are authorized to be paid to them, in addition to the payment received by them from the guardians or overseers, amounting to a further payment of 1*s.* per child for every child they shall have successfully vaccinated during the time to which the said Order in Council relates. I object to that item, first, on the ground that it is a special and exceptional allowance limited to England alone. No such allowance is granted to the public vaccinators in Scotland or Ireland, and as it is an exceptional allowance limited to England, I think, on that ground alone, I have, as an Irish Member, a reasonable objection to the charge; but I invite the attention of the Committee to the fact that the charge is ostensibly made an account of successful vaccination. Now, the operation in respect of which the allowance is paid must, in order to be successful in the eye of the Administrative Department, be first of all legal and lawful; and secondly, it must be successful, presumably according to some standard or gauge recognized by the Act of Parliament. I am not going into the question of what vaccination is, or what it does, because if I did enter into that matter, I have no doubt that I should be called to Order by the Chair. Nobody appreciates more thoroughly and painfully than I do the narrowness of the plank which I should have to walk upon in discussing this matter. I therefore confine myself to the charges as they appear in the Estimates, holding myself excused from the necessity of examining the puzzling assumptions on which those charges are based, or the bogus statistics by which they are bolstered up, or the pitiful subterfuges by which those who are interested in the system attempt to conceal their own failure. But when the Local Government Board claims to allow to one portion of the country a sum of money amounting to several thousand pounds, and to distribute it yearly for what is called "successful vaccination," we who vote the money are entitled, at any rate, to inquire what the Local Government Board mean by the words "successful vaccination," and what is the standard by which they can pretend to gauge the success or non-success of vaccination. That is a question which, as far as I have been able to ascertain, the Local Government Board have never answered. They appear to be unable to answer it, or, at any rate, to be unwilling to do so. They have not yet defined—indeed, they appear to shrink from attempting to define—what vaccination itself is, and they seem to be utterly unable to give any intelligible account of the idea they entertain with regard to successful vaccination. Without desiring to enter into any matter of controversy, I suppose I may take it as admitted, and what nobody will question, that vaccination is the artificial introduction into the system either of an adult or an innocent and helpless child of poisonous matter taken from diseased pustules, which in their turn have been artificially produced. This matter, or pus, is called in official language "lymph." We have heard a good deal about pure lympth, and it is alleged that in cases properly tested by the Local Government Board the lymph that is used is legal, lawful, and recognized to be good and pure. I will not go into the question of the different kind of lymphs—the humanized lymph, the virus lymph, or the pure calf lymph. At the very outset I am met by this difficulty: it is necessary in the eyes of the Government that the lymph should be lawful; but the difficulty is that nobody knows exactly what vaccine lymph is. The view current among medical men generally is, that vaccine lymph is the virus of modified small-pox. Some time ago a Committee of this House investigated the question, and a Member of that Committee asked Mr. Masterton—an authority on vaccination, this question—

> "What is the source from which you derive vaccination lymph."

The answer was this—

> "I have two sources of lymph just now. One is obtained from a cow by inoculation with the lymph of human small-pox, and the other is taken from a cow which had the disease in a natural way in the neighbourhood of Brussels a short time ago."

The question was then asked—

> "Did you inoculate the cow with vaccine, or small-pox lymph?"

Answer—

> "It was obtained by a friend of mine, and I am unable to say."

That being the evidence in regard to vaccine lymph recognized by the Local Government Board, I would ask the attention of the Committee to an announcement by the Government Department with regard to a similar proceeding. Some time ago one of the members of a Board of Guardians, in order to secure what is called pure lymph, volunteered to furnish a calf for the purpose, and I have here an official letter which was issued in regard to the case. The Local Government Board for Ireland acknowledged the receipt of the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Guardians of the Galway Union, from which it appeared that a suggestion had been made by a Member of the Board that a healthy calf should be procured for inoculation, in order that the pure lymph might be secured. Another member of the Board intimated his willingness to give a calf for that purpose, and the Guardians passed a resolution accepting the offer. The Local Government Board, in their note, observed that it was irregular to pass a resolution accepting a proposal to inoculate a calf with small-pox virus, or with vaccine lymph obtained from a human subject, and in no case could the Local Government Board approve of the resolution which had been adopted by the Guardians. The Local Government Board pointed out that small-pox virus taken from a calf might communicate that disease to a human subject, and therefore be a fruitful source of promulgating disease. Moreover, it would render the operator liable to come under the 4th section of the 34th of *Vict.* The Board go on to say that it has been ascertained long since that animal lymph for vaccination purposes must be in the first instance obtained from a cow in which the disease has spontaneously arisen, and that the vaccination performed by lymph taken from a cow vaccinated with human lymph is not reliable. I presume that the English Local Government Board holding the same view will have no objection to ascertain what is the character of the lymph used in these successful operations. The letter of the Local Government Board goes on to express its disapproval of the action taken by the Local Authorities, and I should like the right hon. Gentleman who represents the Local Government Board here to say what, in the opinion of the Local Government Board of Ireland, is the law of the case? I venture to say that I am not exceeding the existing limits of medical knowledge in regard to this matter when I say that the purity of vaccination lymph cannot by any possibility be ascertained, even microscopically. Then, I presume, it is not on the purity of the lymph that the success of these operations in the official eye is made to depend. Then does it depend upon the number of successes which are secured? If it is, we know very well that medical men differ altogether among themselves as to the number which make it desirable or necessary. Some say that vaccination, if worth anything, and if it ever can be successful, then one cicatrice thoroughly recognizable with the pustule well raised is adequate for all purposes. Others say that there must be at least two cicatrices; some say three; while some enthusiasts insist upon four as the minimum, requiring the four to be repeated over and over again until an effective operation has been performed. Then it is assumed that it is not on the number of wounds produced in the infant that the success of these operations is made to depend. Then is it in the number of the operations actually carried out? If it is, then your standard is most unfair, for this reason, that medical men who are stationed in very densely populated districts, and who have a very large number of people to deal with, must, as a matter of course, have a large number of persons to operate upon, and will be in a position to qualify for these gratuities which are supposed to depend upon the way in which the vaccination is conducted, a very great deal better than other medical men, who, although their care and skill and anxiety may be quite as great, are unfortunately placed in districts where there is a sparse population. If it was not on one of these three points that the success of the operation is supposed to depend, then I am driven to conclude that the standard must be the number of deaths—that is to say, the success is measured in an inverse proportion to the number of infants who are killed by the operation. Many infants, soon after the operation has been performed, die. I believe myself that a large number of children are done to death, not immediately after the operation, but it may be years after the cicatrices have begun to tell. Under the present system the State takes a toll of healthy infant life, the children being sacrificed for the benefit of the community at large. Now, however successful the operation may be, I contest the moral right of any set of men, or any State, or Government to take such a course, as a matter of right, as is taken upon this question. I would beg to point out to the Committee that the supposed success of the operation is tested within eight days of the performance of the operation. The medical man in the great majority of cases sees a child at the end of those eight days, and makes his report according to the state in which he then finds it; but after that he frequently never sees the child again, and he makes his report according to the appearances which present themselves within that period of eight days. Upon that matter I should like to read to the Committee a letter I have received from a gentleman named Morgan. He says that having recently heard that the question of vaccination was to be brought before the House of Commons shortly, he was desirous of calling attention to a case which had occurred in his own family, in which the death of a child had resulted from vaccination. He had had a particularly strong and healthy child, a boy who had never had halt-an-hour's illness in his life, and who was vaccinated with what was supposed to be pure calf lymph, by a qualified medical practitioner, who remarked at the time that he had never seen a more strong and healthy child. The child was three months old. About nine days after vaccination the child's arm became inflamed, and the inflammation slowly but gradually spread down to the hand. He lingered in the most awful agony while the poison was doing its work; everyone who saw him declared they had never witnessed such awful suffering, and no death could have been more dreadful. The child died on the 20th of June, and the father says that he could only look on the case as one of slow murder, although everything was done to restore him. He expresses a hope that steps will be taken to prevent anyone else from undergoing similar sufferings in consequence of compulsory vaccination. The letter is signed "J. Morgan, Rochdale." It will be seen that dangerous symptoms appeared more than eight days after the lapse of the regulation period. After an apparently successful operation had been performed, symptoms manifested themselves which throw a lurid light upon the character of these cases. In this instance it was nine days before the unfavourable symptoms appeared, but it might have been nine months or nine years after the operation had been performed. My general contention is, that there is no certain rule by which you can have substantial proof of success, or anything that can be dignified with the name of success, in any of these cases. The system of giving bonuses for the successful performance of vaccination has now been in existence for some years, and yet last year, according to a published report, the Metropolitan Hospitals admitted 36,000 cases of persons suffering from small-pox who had been vaccinated. It is perfectly clear that in these cases the operation was not successful. On the other hand, the Registrar General admits that within the last five years 290 deaths have taken place, which cannot be ascribed to any ascertainable cause except vaccination itself. With regard to the returns of the Registrar General, I must certainly demur to accept them as at all conclusive or satisfactory, because a large number are in the habit of giving certificates of death, where the death has been caused by vaccination, in such a form and couched in such phraseology that it is impossible to recognize what the actual cause was. Now, I think that this is a very important point, and, therefore, I ask the House to bear with me while I refer to a passage contained in a letter from a gentleman residing in Camberwell, which puts the matter in the clearest light. He says that he was presented with his first-born in August 12 months—a very fine boy, and a remarkably healthy child for the first two months. At eight weeks old it was taken to be vaccinated. The effects of two operations were thrown off by the child, so that the Committee will see there were two unsuccessful attempts at vaccination, because the child, being sound and healthy, was able to repel them. He was vaccinated a third time, and that was the beginning of the end. It was a successful vaccination, but from the time of the operation the little one was never well. Eruptions broke out under the injured arm, on the back and on the head, the top of which became an entire mass of corruption. It lingered for 12 months in misery, and died in October, 1886, a victim of the cruel and compulsory vaccination laws. Two doctors who saw the child acknowledged that he was suffering from the effects of vaccination, and one of them described it as "a hideous failure" of vaccination. The doctor who performed the operation at the bedside of the dying infant admitted that it was a case of invaccinated syphilis, and described it as a hideous case of vaccination. Yet this doctor filled up the burial certificate by ascribing the primary cause of death to something other than vaccination. The truth of the certificate was challenged by the father, who reminded him of his repeated statements as to the cause of death, and demanded that a certificate should be filled up with "invaccinated syphilis" as the primary cause. The doctor refused to do this, adding that the certificate he had given was sufficient for the Registrar. The father in his letter says—

> "So that my child was not only killed by vaccination, but he was registered falsely, in order to prevent any cause for reproach."

This is a case in which the facts are easily ascertainable. I have the name and address of the man, and I shall be glad to place them at the disposal of the Local Government Board. Perhaps the Committee will allow me to compare this case with another—namely, that of Henry Clark, of Crewe, Cheshire, who writes as follows:—

> "Sir,—Accept my thanks for your objection to the vaccination Estimate. I have four sons and four daughters, whose ages run from seven to 26. None have been vaccinated, and none

> have had the small-pox. For this I have suffered 14 days' imprisonment, and have been ruined in my business."

That is how the Vaccination Act has worked in the case of a man who has conscientious objections to the system, and who does not believe in the vaccination for which you ask this House to vote £16,500 a-year for certain privileged individuals. As to successful vaccination, I believe it to be all moonshine and a delusion. An inquiry conducted by Dr. Macuna, the late superintendent of the Fulham Small-Pox Hospital, proves that certain diseases are inoculable with the small-pox virus. Since the introduction of vaccination itself, and especially since vaccination was made compulsory upon the whole population, the diseases which are said to be inoculable have been immensely increased. It is not at all easy to obtain detailed information from the Local Government Board in regard to this matter; but I have had prepared, in great detail, from a variety of sources, a statement of the deaths which have resulted from these causes, separated from small-pox—namely, bronchitis, pneumonia, pleurisy, cancer, and erysipelas; and I find that since the introduction of vaccination, although the total number of deaths from small-pox in proportion to the population has decreased, yet deaths from small-pox have not diminished to a greater extent than deaths from all other zymotic diseases. In other words, improved sanitation, which has limited and checked other zymotic diseases, has also limited and checked small-pox; but when you come to the record of these diseases, which, according to the contention of those who have inquired into the matter, are inoculable with small-pox virus, you will find that all of them have increased to an alarming and horrible extent—for instance, the number of deaths from bronchitis in the year 1838, which is the earliest date to which I am able to go back, was 2,067, and there has been in that disease a steady and alarming increase concurrently with the operation of compulsory vaccination. The number went on increasing from 1838 until 1854, when vaccination became compulsory, from 2,000 to 20,000. From 1854 to 1867, the date of the Act under which rewards are given to the medical practitioners for the successful performance of vaccination, and which makes vaccination obligatory under very stringent penalties, the number of deaths from bronchitis went up from 20,000 to nearly 40,000. Since the operation of your system of special rewards has been in force—that is to say, from the year 1868 to the year 1885, the deaths from bronchitis have gone up from 33,000 to 60,000. Therefore, they were 2,000 in 1838; 20,000 in 1854; 33,000 in 1868; and 60,000 in the last year for which the Returns are complete. Now, this is a horrible and terrible disease; and it is a disease which, to a great extent, I believe is due to the operation of what is called "successful vaccination." The cases of pneumonia have increased from 17,000 to 29,000. In pleurisy the number is smaller, but is equally in proportion. From 1855 the cases of pleurisy have gone up from 552 to 1,677. I come next to cancer, which figured at 2,448 in 1838, the year of the Vaccination Act. In the year 1854 it figured for more than double that number—namely, 5,826. The number went up in the year 1868, after you had had 14 years of compulsory vaccination, from 5,800 to 8,800. That was when your present Act first came into operation, and the result of that Act and of vaccination is seen in the fact that there has been no diminution but an increase from 8,800 to 15,560. Another disease which is generally spoken of with great horror and loathing figured for only 159 in 1838, for 964 in 1854, but went up rapidly in 1868—that is to say, after your obligatory vaccination had been in operation for some years, and now figures at 2,196. The facts are similar with regard to erysipelas, although the number has not increased in the same proportion. There has, however, been a substantial increase. The last point I would offer to the consideration of the Committee is this—that if this system of rewards is fair in itself it ought to be fairly administered. There are many portions of the country in which there are medical men who are perfectly prepared *bonâ fide* to carry out the Act quite as sincerely and as well as any other medical practitioners, and who, as far as I can judge, merit the rewards which it is proposed to provide in this Vote as much as any other men. But what is the case; what is a medical man to do in a place like Dewsbury, where there are 20,000 young children and no small-pox? What is to be done in a place like Leicester, where the people will not be vaccinated at all; where they have established local option for themselves with a most singular result, because there is no small-pox there either? Medical practitioners there can earn nothing, and therefore your system of rewards is unfair and partial. Where is it that these rewards are earned? They are earned wherever there is an accumulated and dirty population in large and closely packed towns like Birmingham, where one medical officer gets £224 a-year; or in places like Liverpool, where a medical officer receives £175 a-year; or in places like Middlesborough, Salford, Sheffield, Swansea, West Derby, and London—that is to say, where the population is placed in circumstances which are most favourable for the dissemination of zymotic diseases, and where small-pox may be said to have been endemic for many generations. In London you have a population more thoroughly vaccinated, probably, than any other people in the world, yet they are never free from small-pox—as witness the Returns from Bethnal Green, Camberwell, Mile End, Chelsea, St. Pancras, Wandsworth, and other places. I altogether object to this system of rewards for successful vaccination. It leads to medical practitioners earning the rewards by making a favourable and rosy-coloured Report to the Department in support of a system in which the Department and themselves alike are interested. The indirect effects of the system are worse than its direct effects, because the Government are induced to shut their eyes to the real facts of the situation. It blinds the Government to the mischief which is being done; to the misery which is being inflicted upon the health of the child and the adult alike, and it induces the Government to close its eyes to the cries for mercy and pity which are so often addressed to them by people who have a conscientious objection to vaccination, and who have proved the sincerity of their convictions by submitting over and over again to fine, distress, and imprisonment. The Government, influenced by the men who have this pecuniary interest, refuse to recognize the mischief which is being perpetrated, and refuse to relieve the misery which is being caused. There are many instances of men who have been imprisoned several times after they have lost child after child by vaccination. The Jews of old had a rite somewhat similar to vaccination; but if you will look into the Talmud you will find that if a Jew lost a child by that operation, and then lost another, not only was he not compellable to have the operation performed upon a third child, but he was forbidden by the Jewish law to submit a third child to the rite. In this country, however, a true born British subject may lose half-a-dozen children by vaccination, and if he objects to submit the seventh to the same danger he can be prosecuted over and over again as the unfortunate man Hayward was, his goods distrained, himself fined, and imprisoned and ruined in his business. That is the system at present in vogue. It is a system hated by a large portion of the people, a system which, to a great extent, is bolstered up by these rewards in regard to which medical practitioners are practically identified, although as to them in private conversations many of them admit that they entertain serious doubts as to the real efficacy of the operation. I beg to move the omission from the Vote of the item of £16,500.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Item of £16,500, for Public Vaccination, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.): I do not propose to follow the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) in the long and elaborate condemnation he has passed against the present system of vaccination. It will be in the recollection of the House that there was considerable discussion upon the same subject about two or three years ago in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair) proved conclusively, as was shown by the Vote which was subsequently taken, that the system of successful vaccination deserves to be sustained by the House, and is certainly to the advantage of the public at large. I feel bound to protest in the strongest manner against the way in which the hon. Member for East Donegal has bolstered up his arguments against vaccination by bringing forward a number of cases from the country upon purely *ex parte* statements without having made the slightest attempt to investigate those cases from a scientific standpoint. Under such circumstances, the cases themselves are not worth considering. I know that the Local Government Board is anxious to investigate every case of injury, or supposed injury, by vaccination. Whenever any case is reported to them they at once send down an experienced Inspector to inquire into it, and, I need scarcely say, that all of these cases, of which so much has been made by agitators and writers in the Press, have broken down upon investigation.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No, no; not at all.

DR. FARQUHARSON: The hon. Member says "No, no;" but he has not investigated the very cases which he has himself referred to. I have seen the Reports of Inspectors who have been sent down to investigate 10 cases of this kind, and of the entire number, at least seven or eight were admitted by the parents themselves to have had nothing to do with vaccination. One case, in particular, of erysipelas turned out to have had nothing whatever to do with vaccination. The hon. Member made a great point of the increase in a certain number of diseases since vaccination has been made compulsory and has become more common throughout the country; but of the diseases he mentioned, a number of them, I hear for the first time, have any connection whatever with vaccination. Did anybody in his senses ever hear of bronchitis or cancer being attributable to vaccination? It might just as well be said that any persons who died from being run over by cabs in the streets of London last year died from the effects of vaccination. Erysipelas is a different case; but I have known epidemics of erysipelas, and it would be dangerous and certainly inconclusive to take the statistics of one year and compare them with those of another. With regard to one of the points of the hon. Member, I have a complete answer. Everybody knows perfectly well that within the last 10, 15, or 20 years medical science has made immense progress, and in no direction more remarkably than in the investigation of syphilitic diseases. In former years the doctors only knew of secondary effects, but now they know of tertiary effects arising from affections of the liver and from other causes. I do not propose, however, to go into the general question; but I maintain that there has been a great and steady improvement in vaccination since the principle of compulsion was introduced. I have no doubt that the vaccination is better done by the compulsory vaccinators than by private practitioners. My hon. Friend spoke of the necessity of having four marks on the arm. I never heard of any difference of opinion existing among those who are acquainted with the subject and are the best qualified to judge. The opinions of the best informed persons have been adopted by the Local Government Board, and it is that four cicatrices are absolutely necessary in order to carry out the vaccination successfully. No doubt it is said by some medical men that four cicatrices hurt a child very much, and that one is quite enough; but I believe that that is the cause why vaccination done by the public vaccinator is so much better than that done by the private practitioner. In the case of a public vaccinator he must have a distinct qualification; he must be approved by the Local Government Board, and his certificate must be renewed annually—the certificate itself only being given after the most careful inspection carried out by a duly qualified Inspector sent down by the Local Government Board. The vaccination itself is only done from lymph, procured from perfectly healthy children, and there are recommendations made that the cicatrice should only be of a certain shape and number. I think we have only to look at the statistics to see at once the immense value of vaccination. My hon. Friend attaches very little value to the statistics of the Local Government Board. I do not know why he should have more faith in those which he has collected himself. The Local Government Board pay large sums for the collection of statistics.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: The statistics which I quoted were prepared by a friend of mine; but they were all taken from official sources.

DR. FARQUHARSON: I quite accept that statement. I will only say that personally my faith in the figures given by the Local Government Board is greater than his as it is also in the skill and knowledge of the Medical

Profession. My hon. Friend has stated that medical practitioners are actuated by a desire to obtain the reward. I repel with warmth any insinuation of the kind. Let me favour my hon. Friend with statistics. In 1881 117 children under the age of 10 died of small-pox after vaccination, and of those 82 were vaccinated by private practitioners, and 35 by public vaccinators. If my hon. Friend will go through the statistics he will see the enormous advantages derived by the child who is vaccinated by a public vaccinator instead of by a private practitioner.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: In the cases mentioned the children died.

DR. FARQUHARSON: Yes; but in much less proportion than those vaccinated by private practitioners. I will not detain the Committee any longer; but in conclusion, I will simply say that there is one point on which I am glad to find myself in thorough agreement with my hon. Friend. I think the primary object of my hon. Friend in bringing forward his Amendment was to protest against the money which is given in England for vaccination purposes not being extended to Ireland and Scotland. I have been in communication with medical men in Scotland on the subject, and I know they feel keenly in regard to it. The work is very well done there; but the medical men who perform it get no remuneration whatever. I do not think they get the slightest reward or remuneration at all, not only for carrying out excellent vaccinations, but for teaching the subject extremely well. They have also succeeded in popularizing it, whereas in England there are perpetual discussions going on as to the value of the system of vaccination. I do not think it is possible to pick out of the whole of Scotland as many anti-vaccinators as would fill this room. It is highly creditable both to Ireland and Scotland that the medical practitioners do the work without any desire to obtain pecuniary reward. In their case virtue is its own reward; but I do not see why they should not have it, and I hope on some future occasion to bring the question before the House and submit it to my hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate.

MR. PICTON (Leicester): It is often said that doctors differ, although my hon. Friend the Member for West Aberdeen (Dr. Farquharson) seems to think they are all one, especially upon matters of this kind. Now there was one doctor to whom the present generation is supposed to be under great obligations for the present system of vaccination—I refer to Dr. Jenner, the founder of the vaccination system. No doubt his opinion is regarded by my hon. Friend as antiquated, and, therefore, it must go for what it is worth; but Dr. Jenner certainly took the view that one single puncture was ample to prevent any attack of small-pox, and that the medical practitioner is not bound to make more. At page 21 of Dr. Jenner's "Inquiry into Causes and Effects," he says—

> "That some medical men make three punctures; but personally he had always regarded one puncture as being quite sufficient."

Again, at pages 109 and 110 he says that a single pustule is all that is necessary to render the *variolæ vacciniæ* effective.

DR. FARQUHARSON: When was it that Dr. Jenner said that?

MR. PICTON: At the beginning of the century. It is Dr. Jenner's own words. It may be said that the ideas of Dr. Jenner are old-fashioned. They are certainly opposed to the views of the hon. Member for West Aberdeen, who insists that four wounds are absolutely essential. Although I had this extract in my pocket when the discussion commenced, I certainly did not expect that it would be of any value; and if I had supposed that it was necessary to make a speech upon the general subject, I would have prepared one, which would have convinced even the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. I have not, however, ventured to presume so far upon the indulgence of the Committee; and I propose to confine myself, as nearly as I possibly can, to the question which I take to be before the Committee—namely, whether we should or should not grant this money for extra rewards or fees to the Public Vaccinator who is supposed to have done his work well. Now, my first objection is similar to the one which has been raised by the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), although I shall put it, probably, a little differently. He said that it was giving two rewards for the same thing. I say that it is giving a reward because a man has not failed to do his duty.

We confer knighthoods and baronetcies upon gentlemen because they have not failed in their duty on the occasion of some great State ceremonial; but I think it is an unwise and an unsound policy to lead persons to expect a reward for not having failed to do their duty. Surely, if vaccination is not effectively performed; if the proper virus is not introduced into the system of the child, no payment ought to be made at all. Any local Body who had the management and control of the system would soon stop payment to any person who failed to do his duty. It is said that the reward is given for extra successful vaccination; but how can the extra success be known? It either prevents small-pox, or it does not. If it prevents it, well and good; but how are you to tell that it has prevented small-pox, unless you watch the child until he reaches 50 or 60 years of age? You cannot know the success of the operation unless you watch the career of the child throughout life. Then my hon. Friend says there is a special form of scar or cicatrice which shows successful vaccination; and he says there is absolutely no case in which injury from vaccination has been proved to the satisfaction of the officials of the Local Government Board. Now, I admit that you are pretty certain to secure the satisfaction of officials, especially when they are prejudiced in favour of any particular system of operation; but how does the matter stand when it is the other way? In that case it takes more trouble to convince the official mind than it is said to take in order to force a joke into the heads of our Scotch fellow-countrymen. There have, however, been cases in which even this miracle has been performed—as, for instance, in the City of Norwich, where four children died, and it was admitted, on inquiry, that they died from the effects of vaccination, and that a considerable number of other children had suffered injury from the same cause.

Dr. FARQUHARSON: I did not deny utterly that any such cases had happened; but what I said was that most of the cases, when investigated by the Inspectors of the Local Government Board, turned out not to be cases of death from the effects of vaccination.

Mr. PICTON: I understood my hon. Friend to say that there had absolutely been no proof of death from the effects of vaccination at all. In the Norwich case, the very doctor who vaccinated the children, and who received himself the reward for successful vaccination, was in utter despair of finding any sufficient cause of death than the injury produced by the vaccine influence itself; and the authorities came to the conclusion that this doctor must, for once, at least, have been careless. There was no proof of it; and he altogether denied it himself. He is a man of excellent reputation, and there was no one to say a word against him. There was no proof of carelessness or negligence whatever. He did the same work he had previously done so well as to entitle him to the reward; and could it be possible that he could have been so careless as to use dirty ivory points? In previous cases he had shown himself, in the eyes of the Inspector, to be deserving of the reward. Then there is only one of two things possible—either that the Inspectors fail to do their duty, or they find it impossible to determine whether the public vaccinator has done his duty or not. It is said that the Inspectors require several scars to be made, whereas I have shown that Dr. Jenner was of opinion that only one puncture was necessary. What course is now taken to prove that the vaccination has been successful? It is found to be trouble enough to bring the child up to be viewed eight days after it has been vaccinated; and it is not likely that the parent will be troubled to bring it up before the Inspector again. Does the Inspector go round among the children who have been vaccinated? He cannot possibly go round among them all; and, therefore, he only takes a few specimens of the cases which have been vaccinated by the public vaccinator. Surely that is not a fair basis upon which to rest the claim which is made by the public vaccinator for the reward. I say that it is impossible to show that the money has been justly and fairly earned, and on that ground alone I think there is sufficient reason for refusing the Vote this afternoon, and I earnestly hope the Committee will agree with the Amendment of my hon. Friend. I trust that they will extend their sympathy for once to my constituents whom they know to be deeply interested in this question. Hon. Members have received a good many letters on the subject. An hon. Friend sitting beside me says that all the scientific evidence is on one side. Well, I am not enough of a scientific man to say whether this is so or not; but this I will say—that no law like this ever was or ever can be maintained by scientific evidence alone. The common people do not understand scientific evidence. What they do understand is sickness on the one side and health on the other. If a thing works properly they soon become accustomed to it, and willingly obey the law; but if they find that a number of evils arise from the enforcement of the law, then all the scientific evidence you can produce will fail to give them confidence. My constituency has been referred to. Undoubtedly there is in Leicester a very strong feeling on the subject. That feeling has often been cited. Ever since 1872 vaccination has rapidly diminished in Leicester, and now the principle of Local Option or Home Rule has been practically established. There is no compulsory vaccination in the borough of Leicester, and I would advise my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board not to bring in a Coercion Bill for my constituents. Vaccination has been abolished in Leicester; but it was immediately after an epidemic of small-pox. 650 deaths took place, and the people observed that small-pox paid very little respect to vaccination. They saw that a large number of their friends who had been carefully vaccinated and even re-vaccinated were badly attacked or carried off altogether by small-pox, and the result of the practical experience they gained was such that the people began to have less confidence in vaccination. The body of the people were convinced that vaccination is of no avail against small-pox, and that it often causes other diseases. Those who now object to vaccination are entitled to say that having tried the experiment for a sufficient number of years they have come to the conclusion that vaccination is unnecessary; and, therefore, it is not likely that they would wish their Members to vote for the employment of public money for this purpose. I am not an uncompromising enemy to vaccination under all circumstances. All I oppose is compulsion and prosecution, and I cannot help thinking that if this compulsory law were done away with there would probably be less difference of opinion on the subject. With reference to some of the arguments advanced by my hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeenshire, I wish to say that I am a more firm believer in the germ theory than he is. He seems unable to suppose that a disease like cancer can be conveyed by vaccine; but we know that germs are transferred from the living body; and who is to guarantee that there are not other germs of zymotic disease conveyed with the lymph? At any rate, the possibility of such a thing is farther more removed from absurdity than my hon. Friend seems to think. Bearing in mind the rapidly growing feeling on this matter, I hope the Committee will support us in this Amendment. The money is not given on any fair systematic principle. There is no means by which Inspectors can collect sufficient information on the subject to satisfy themselves, and the money may even be awarded where evils have arisen and may again arise. For these reasons I support the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Donegal.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle): Having for some years past taken an interest in this question, I venture to trespass on the Committee for a few moments. It seems to me that in discussing this question, while believing as many do that it is better to be vaccinated, we must look at the feelings of those who object to vaccination. It is an important factor in this question that many persons have suffered in their families through vaccination, and have, for that reason, an objection to it. There have been several cases of this in Northumberland; and the Blue Books are full of cases where men have been over and over again committed to prison; to suppose that the objections are not conscientious is a most illogical conclusion to arrive at, because after some parents have been committed many times to prison their children have remained unvaccinated. The Poor Law Board and Local Government Board have in my recollection sent Circulars to the Boards of Guardians telling them to be careful how they carry out the law, and warning them not to create opposition to the law by exciting sympathy with persons who have refused to have their children vaccinated. This question was fully investigated by the Committee, and the

Report was a very clear one, and pointed out that it was most important to secure the support of public opinion, and that where one full penalty had been imposed the magistrates should not impose another.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is travelling much beyond the Vote under discussion. I would point out that it is not competent to him to enter into the question of policy.

Sir JOSEPH PEASE: I, of course, submit to your ruling, Sir, although it is somewhat difficult to confine one's remarks within it. It is most inconvenient to have to discuss a question of this broad character upon a Vote in Committee; but I point out to my right hon. Friend that if he once goes back on the old Rules on which this House has decided the question of these officers doing their duty or otherwise, it would not come up every year as it does now. My position is that, while I disagree with compulsory vaccination as carried out, I shall decline to vote on this question, on the ground that it is against public feeling to permit such Votes as these to pass without discussion.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness): I strongly support this Amendment, on the ground that the grant is only to be paid to medical men in England and Wales—not one penny of it going to medical men in Scotland; and even if I were as strong an advocate of vaccination as my hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) I should equally oppose the Vote on that ground. You pay our prison surgeons only one-half what you pay the English surgeons; our medical men have not the same privileges as English medical men, and we shall continue to refuse this money until you reduce the English scale or level the Scotch scale up to it. With regard to the general question, I have one or two things to say in reply to the hon. Member for Aberdeenshire. He has quoted the hon. Member for South Leeds (Sir Lyon Playfair); but in doing so has fallen into the same errors which he did, and which in a re-publication of his speech he corrected. I am not an anti-vaccinationist in the sense in which some are. I believe that vaccination modifies small-pox, and I have had some experience in the matter. I am not only of a different opinion from that of my hon. Friend, but I am of opinion that deaths are caused by it under certain conditions. I do not think these children die directly, but indirectly from vaccination—that is to say, without vaccination they would not die; that by this process the seeds of disease are awakened and cause the death of children who would otherwise grow up. I agree that it is absurd to suppose that bronchitis may result from vaccination; but may it not be that it gives rise to strumous and tubercular disease? I think it does, and that the great increase in these diseases is due to vaccination. I protest against the assertion that general practitioners endeavour to persuade people not to go to a public vaccinator by representing that the latter would make four marks on the arm instead of one; but I say that there are two children vaccinated privately to every one vaccinated by the public vaccinator. I am bound to say, having had experience of public vaccination, that I would not advise a friend to have a child vaccinated at a public office. I am sorry to say that I have in some cases vaccinated from children suffering from syphilis. I knew nothing about the parents of the children from whom the lymph was taken; and that will happen because, although they may look healthy, the children may have syphilis latent in them. It is said that four marks are better than one; but I cannot understand why my hon. Friend should think so. The virus enters into the blood and creates there constitutional disease; and, that being so, I think that one mark is just as effective as 40 would be. I must say that my faith in vaccination has been decreasing year by year. I think the medical theory is carried too far, and it seems as unwise to compel children, whose parents object, to be vaccinated, as it would be to compel them, under similar circumstances, to be baptized.

Mr. WHITBREAD (Bedford): I desire to point out to the Government, by way of warning, how very rapidly the feeling against vaccination is spreading in the country. I have always advised those who have come to me on the subject that the best course they can pursue is to move for a Royal Commission of Inquiry, which would get a great deal of information, and throw new light upon the subject. I think the House ought to approach with great caution and consideration those who think their children ought not to be vaccinated by the public vaccinator. I believe that vaccination is, in a great measure, a preventative against small-pox. I desire to see it maintained still at the public expense; but that has nothing to do with compulsory vaccination; the two questions are entirely distinct. In the case of our own children we take them to the best practitioner we can get; we take the greatest care that they are not exposed to cold, the arm is kept clean, and, in short, everything is done to make vaccination a success; but the case is very different with the children of the poorer class, who are taken to the vaccinator when, perhaps, they are not in the best state of health, and whose parents cannot provide for them the same protection, comfort, or cleanliness. If hon. Members will bear in mind these facts they will understand that vaccination is a greater risk with the children of the poor than it is with their own children. It is compulsion that places this Vote in jeopardy. I do not believe that the anti-vaccinators would have moved against the Vote but for this, and I ask the House to remember what an absurd position we now stand in with regard to this question. Every step you take in the direction of fining, imprisoning, and bullying the objectors; every man you fine or imprison becomes an apostle and ready to make converts to the anti-vaccination theory, and after all, if the parent resists, you do not get at the child. It seems to me that those who do not get their children vaccinated belong to two classes —those who are careless and put it off from day to day, and those who have a rooted determination that nothing shall force them to have their children vaccinated. If you do not distinguish between these two classes and consider those who conscientiously object to vaccination, I think you will increase the numbers of those who oppose vaccination to such an extent as, perhaps, to jeopardize this Vote.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I am very much alive to the great importance of the question which is raised on this Vote, and I only wish the occasion was one more suitable for going into the whole question of the effects of vaccination, and for stating to the House fully, from the information which we now possess, what effect vaccination has had in reducing the mortality from small-pox, and what result might be expected if the precautions now observed were relaxed. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) has given the Government a warning that the anti-vaccinators are increasing to such a degree that unless some steps are taken with the view of amending the existing law we may anticipate some trouble in the future. I admit with regret that the opposition to the vaccination law is not decreasing; but, at the same time, the information I possess does not lead me to think that the position is so gloomy as the right hon. Gentleman has supposed. I do not think that the anti-vaccinators are largely on the increase in number. No doubt, year after year they do draw attention to this question of compulsory vaccination, and, perhaps, now more than has hitherto been the case; but I doubt whether it can be said that, except in the case of certain towns, the opposition to the vaccination law is increasing. But, if it were increasing, I should not think it in the least surprising, because anyone who is familiar with the gross misrepresentations that are constantly placed before the people, and especially the working classes in our large towns, as to the effect of vaccination, can fully account for any growth there has been of opposition to the law. I have before me here one or two illustrations of the way in which public opinion is sought to be influenced by those who take an active part in the anti-vaccination propaganda. Here is a small bill headed "Vaccination propagates small-pox; it never protects; it often kills; 2,500 slain by small-pox." There is another bill in which vaccination is referred to as "The Vaccination Vampire;" and in addition to the letterpress there is a wood-cut entitled "Death, the Vaccinator"—there is a policeman presenting a vaccination warrant to a woman, and a skeleton is vaccinating the child. There is a joke no doubt intended; but the effect of publications of this kind must be, of course, considerable amongst the more ignorant portion of the populations of our great towns, and where these means are resorted to I think no one can be surprised that the opposition to vaccination increases. My own feeling is one of astonishment that when such means are resorted to opposition does not increase to an alarming extent. I should have thought, however, that in the present day it would not have been necessary for anyone to stand up in the House of Commons and defend vaccination, although I can quite understand that amongst those outside who are imperfectly informed there should be a feeling against it. I am surprised to find so intelligent a Gentleman as the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) standing up in this House and giving expression to the well-worn platitudes of the Anti-Vaccination Society, not one of which has the slightest shadow of foundation. I do not intend to trouble the Committee with many figures; but I will give a few with reference to the mean annual death-rate amongst children under five years of age. From 1847 to 1853, when vaccination was optional, the death-rate per 1,000,000 yearly of children under five years of age from small-pox was 1,617; from 1854 to 1871, during which time it was obligatory, but inefficiently performed, it was 817 per 1,000,000; and from 1872 to 1880, when the machinery had improved, it was 323 per 1,000,000; so that it may be stated that a yearly saving of 4,529 lives takes place by the enforcement of vaccination among the 3,500,000 children under five living in England and Wales. Now, look back to the death-rate among the children under 10 who died in 1884-5 in London from small-pox. Out of 1,000 consecutive deaths in that year, 323 were of children under 10 years, of whom 16 had been vaccinated; 34 respecting whom it was not stated whether they had been vaccinated; and 273 of the deaths were of children who had not been vaccinated.

Dr. CLARK: How can they tell, in the case of children brought into hospital suffering from confluent small-pox, whether they are vaccinated or not?

Mr. RITCHIE: I presume that those who brought the children in knew whether they had been vaccinated; but clearly what they had to do was to ascertain as well as they could whether or not vaccination had been performed. Then, again, nurses of London small-pox hospitals never catch the disease; and there has never been a single death amongst them. But the efficiency of vaccination is strikingly shown in the case of the German ship *Preussen*, on board which small-pox broke out. In this case there were 312 passengers quarantined at Sydney; there were 69 cases of the disease, and 12 deaths. Among 55 passengers who had been vaccinated and re-vaccinated, there were four cases and no deaths; among 209 who were vaccinated, but not re-vaccinated, there were 45 cases and three deaths, but in these cases the vaccination scars were very slight; among 13 who had previously had the small-pox there were three cases and no deaths; among 16 who were stated to be vaccinated, but had no scars, there were two cases and no deaths; and among 19 who were unvaccinated there were 15 cases and nine deaths; and besides one child, who lost one, and another both eyes. Thus we see that 6 per cent of the passengers were unvaccinated, and among them occurred 75 per cent of the deaths. As to the Vote itself, I ask the Committee to understand that it is in accordance with the Act passed in 1867. In 1866, Dr. Simon reported that the performance of vaccination in England was extensively deficient in quantity, and that also very generally it was lamentably inferior in quality. Similar testimony was borne by the annual Reports of the Department. I point out that by the use of the term "quality" it was not intended to imply that the lymph was bad, or that bad results ensued from vaccination, but simply that there was not sufficient protection to the children from the number of scars. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) does not place much account on the number of scars, and I think other hon. Gentlemen have spoken in the same sense; but I believe the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) referred to the opinion of Dr. Jenner at the beginning of the century, that one scar was quite sufficient. I should be sorry indeed to say one word against the great authority of Dr. Jenner; but the hon. Gentleman must admit that science has made a great advance since then, and the result of the experience of eminent men may be placed against the opinion of Dr. Jenner. It is acknowledged by the best authorities now that one scar is by no means a sufficient protection. In 1866, as I have stated, Dr.

Simon reported that the quality of vaccination was very imperfect, and the Committee who considered the Bill of 1886 inserted a clause providing for the payment which we are now asking for. This was assented to by the Treasury, and there was, no doubt, an enormous increase in the number of satisfactory vaccinations. It will be a satisfaction to the Committee to know that since the regulations were provided by Act of Parliament the number of successful vaccinations has nearly doubled. The question of additional awards has been treated by some hon. Gentlemen as in the nature of a gratuity over and above that which the public vaccinator had earned in the performance of his duty. In 1871 the whole question was referred again to the Treasury with the view of seeing whether the awards should be continued, the whole question was thoroughly examined and gone into, and the opinion arrived at was that the results had been eminently satisfactory. The hon. Member for Caithness says that if the grants are continued they ought to be paid from the local rates. That question was also considered, and it was found that, while there was a great deal to be said on the subject, there was no local organization which could adequately perform the duty which is now performed by the Local Government Board; but Lord Lingen considered that the time might arrive when this could be done. I also think there is a good deal to be said for that view of the case, and I am looking forward to no distant day when we may be able to deal with the whole question of these grants in a comprehensive way, and when we may be able to propose to Parliament some means by which this grant may be taken off the Imperial funds and placed on the local rates. But that time has not yet arrived, and we cannot yet safely arrange that this grant should be discontinued, because I do not think you have the requisite Local Authorities to be put in the place of the Local Government Board to continue the grant for vaccination. One other question which Lord Lingen had to consider was the assertion that the payment was something over and above that which the officers were entitled to for operations, and he said that he did not regard the matter from that point of view at all; that the 5th and 6th sections of the Act of 1867 ought to be read together; and that the awards should be considered the remuneration to which the medical men were entitled. I have explained to the Committee why we are unable to assent to the Motion made by the hon. Member for East Donegal to discontinue this Vote, although I trust that the day may arrive when Parliament may fairly consider whether the grant should be continued by the State, or placed on local funds. The hon. Member for Caithness asks very fairly why the grant is paid in England and not in Scotland? The Act strictly limits the payment to England; and the hon. Gentleman will also know that Scotland, with reference to operations performed by public vaccinators, stands in a position altogether different from that in which we are placed. The only persons vaccinated in Scotland at the cost of the ratepayers are paupers and defaulters.

DR. CLARK: It is open to all.

MR. RITCHIE: Yes; but the only persons who are vaccinated at the cost of the rates in Scotland are paupers and defaulters. In 1881 the number of such persons vaccinated in Scotland was 1,920, so that, supposing the same grant were made to Scotland as to England, the amount paid would be £98 10*s*. I now come to the case of Ireland, for which country the hon. Member for East Donegal says that we do not take any grant. Now, in Ireland the public vaccinator is also the dispensary doctor, and half his salary is paid by the State out of the Imperial funds, where the Local Government Board approves of his appointment. Take the whole question of grants in aid in England and Ireland, it will be found that Ireland does not come out very badly. The grant in aid of salaries of medical officers in Ireland is £75,000, whilst the corresponding grant in England is £149,000; and if we add to that the payments to public vaccinators £16,500, we bring the total for England to £165,500. This is only a little more than double the sum paid in Ireland out of the Imperial funds, and yet the population of Ireland is only one-sixth of that of England. If England received the same proportion that Ireland does towards the cost of medical officers, the sum paid would be £420,000 instead of £165,000. Now, the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal put several questions to me in addition to the one that referred to Scotland and Ireland, and he asked what is the standard or gauge of successful vaccination? Well, according to the instructions issued with reference to the award of the Parliamentary grant, no award must be made to any vaccinator unless the scar produced by the operation is thoroughly well marked, and is not less than half a square inch in total area. That is what is considered successful vaccination, entitling a public vaccinator to a first-class award. Then the hon. Member for East Donegal said something about lymph. He said, I think, that it was the virus of modified small-pox. I cannot agree with the hon. Member in his definition as to that point. I am informed that no lymph which is used for vaccination of any kind has ever, within the memory of man, passed through the human body. Dr. Jenner's first lymph was derived from an animal source; and the lymph which is now sent out is calf-lymph. None of the lymph, I say—at all events, in historic times—has passed through the human body; therefore, I cannot think the hon. Gentleman is in any way justified in calling the lymph modified small-pox.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: What is it, then?

Mr. RITCHIE: I am afraid I am not qualified to give the hon. Gentleman a medical opinion of what lymph is. I have told him whence it is derived, and he will see, from what I have said, that there is no ground for calling it modified small-pox. I must leave the matter as it stands, pleading my utter ignorance to give anything like a medical definition of what lymph is.

An hon. Member: Will the right hon. Gentleman repudiate the answer given by a well-known witness before a Select Committee of this House, to the effect that he had two sources of supply for vaccine matter, and that in one case he obtained it from the cow with lymph of small-pox?

Mr. RITCHIE: I am not entitled to repudiate a statement that I have not seen. I am not responsible for this statement. I can only tell the hon. Gentleman what my information is at the present time. I cannot attempt to reconcile what the hon. Member refers to with the information I have received. As to the diseases contracted by vaccination, they are said to be syphilis, tubercle, and scrofula. Well, 750,000 are vaccinated annually, and not a single case has come before the Board of communication of either disease through vaccination. I am told, on good authority, that among the last 6,000,000 of English vaccinations no case of syphilis has come to light.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Have any been sought for?

Mr. RITCHIE: It is certain that if cases could be substantiated they would be produced and placed before the Local Government Board. We are constantly receiving reports of cases of injury, and we make it a practice to inquire into every case laid before us. There certainly has not been a single case in which any allegation as to communication of syphilis by vaccination which has been made has been substantiated after full inquiry. I do not for a moment deny that cases of injury, and of death, unhappily, do occur; but their number, looking at the number of children vaccinated, is exceedingly small. I think something like 290 cases have occurred in five years—from 1881 to 1885. Those are all the deaths that have been registered as being due to vaccination. The hon. Gentleman the Member for East Donegal knows quite well that one of the most fruitful sources of these deaths is erysipelas, after the operation has been performed; and he also knows this—that erysipelas may be, and very often is, contracted not as any result of vaccination itself, but from the fact of a wound existing in the arm and the patient who is operated upon passing through an atmosphere of erysipelas. We invariably make inquiries into cases of that kind when they arise, and in almost every case we are able to discover the cause of the attack of erysipelas, and to show that it has not been by any means caused by the operation itself. In these cases almost any scratch—certainly, any wound, however inflicted—would have led to the disease being communicated just as readily as the operation of vaccination.

Mr. PICTON: Then, why scratch the children?

Mr. RITCHIE: Because, I presume, the operation cannot be performed without it. Do I understand the hon. Member to hold that vaccination should not take place because that is what it comes to?

Mr. PICTON: Not compulsorily.

Mr. RITCHIE: It is not a question of compulsion at all. The hon. Gentleman says—"Why scratch the arm?" That is to say, why perform the operation at all? Well, is the hon. Member prepared to abolish vaccination? I do not suppose he is prepared to do anything of the kind.

Mr. PICTON: The right hon. Gentleman was describing the cause of erysipelas. He said a mere scratch would cause it in delicate children. Then I said—"Why scratch them?"

Mr. RITCHIE: I never said a word about delicate children. It does not at all follow that because a child contracts erysipelas that therefore it is an unhealthy child in any way. I am not alluding to unhealthy children. I thought the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Picton), when the result of his observation was put broadly before him, would at once get up and repudiate it. Just one word with reference to Leicester, the condition of which town he has quoted as an example of the satisfactory result of non-compulsory vaccination. The hon. Member knows quite well that, so far as the Local Government Board have any jurisdiction in the matter, they are always averse to the law being pushed to extremities. We have again and again drawn the attention of the Guardians to the fact that when their prosecutions degenerate into persecutions, so far from doing good they do a great deal of harm. But we cannot take away by action of the Local Government Board—we cannot see our way to taking away from the Guardians the responsibility of judging of cases which responsibility should rest on themselves. Something has been said of the case of Charles Hayward, who has been again and again fined for non-vaccination. Well, I regret that case should have arisen. I felt regret so much that I sent an Inspector down to the Guardians, in addition to all the letters we have written to them. The Evesham letter, as the hon. Gentleman knows, has been sown broadcast amongst all the Boards of Guardians, conveying the views of the Local Government Board. In addition to that, I sent down an Inspector to see the Guardians, and ask them whether the course which they thought it necessary to pursue with reference to Charles Hayward ought to be pursued. What was the representation that was made to us? Why, that this was a case which was flung at our head by the Anti-Vaccination Society. This Charles Hayward acknowledged that all the fines were paid by the Anti-Vaccination Society. He had set himself up to fight the Guardians, and to defy the law as represented by the Board of Guardians. Well, we, having the responsibility cast on our shoulders in this matter, must act on our own judgment, and do what we think best to see that the law is carried out. I felt that this Board of Guardians was most conscientious in the performance of the duty devolving on them, and I did not consider that my powers went beyond what I undertook to do, to show to them that in certain cases they ought to seriously consider whether the law is more likely to be respected by operations of that kind or the reverse. Having done that, I left the matter to them, and I am bound to say that, having heard the explanation they had to offer, I think there is an immense deal to say for the course they have taken. I was going to say one word about Leicester. The hon. Gentleman who preceded the Gentleman who now sits for Leicester in 1883 gave as an illustration of the feeling against vaccination the condition of the town of Montreal. Mr. Taylor said that only five years before the Town Hall at Montreal was razed to the ground, to show that people would not endure vaccination. No doubt, up to that time, Montreal had been singularly free from small-pox. But in 1885 an epidemic reached the town. It commenced in August, and during that year 3,164 deaths took place in a population of 167,500, or at the rate of 18,880 per 1,000,000. In one ward of the city the deaths were at the rate of 33,850 per 1,000,000. As regards Leicester, the authorities there have a small-pox hospital outside the town, and though it is a fact that only one death has occurred in the town from the disease in 10 years, there have been during that period 10 deaths in the borough hospital.

Mr. PICTON: Where do the patients come from?

Mr. RITCHIE: No doubt, the authorities in Leicester do exercise an immense amount of precaution with reference to small-pox. Whenever there is the least reason to believe that small-pox has broken out, the patient is removed at once to the hospital, and not only the patient, but everyone in the house, and the authorities immediately proceed to vaccinate and re-vaccinate each person.

MR. PICTON: I contradict that. What they do is to clean up the house, sanitate it, and put it into proper order.

MR. RITCHIE: I am very sorry to have laid such a charge at the door of the Local Authorities. The hon. Member, no doubt, is most justly indignant; but that is my information. I have no doubt that they clean up the house as well; but I think, if the hon. Member makes inquiries, he will find out that they vaccinate and re-vaccinate everyone in the house in which the infection has broken out. The hon. Member will not deny this, that every person who has anything whatever to do with the hospital in Leicester — medical officers, inspectors, nurses, matron, doorkeepers —are all vaccinated and re-vaccinated.

MR. PICTON: That is the fault of the doctors.

MR. RITCHIE: No doubt; and a very wise precaution to take. My information is that the greatest precautions are taken in Leicester with reference to the isolation of cases of small-pox when they do occur, and that every precaution is taken to vaccinate and re-vaccinate everyone who comes within the area of the infection of those who have been suffering. I do not know that there is any other point that has been alluded to in the course of this debate to which I have not referred. There was, I think, only one thing the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) suggested, and that was that there should be a Commission of Inquiry. Well, I have very grave doubts whether any Commission the House could appoint would have the least effect in getting rid of the prejudices of those who are now opposing vaccination. I do not believe you could bring forward a single medical man of any eminence whatever before a Royal Commission to give evidence in favour of abolishing vaccination. I do not know a single man amongst the Jenners, Listers, or Gulls who would be prepared to come forward and say one single word against vaccination. The Committee of 1871, presided over by Mr. Forster, has been alluded to. Well, that Committee went very searchingly into the whole question of vaccination, and I do not know that anything has occurred since which would seem to demand further inquiry. The medical officers of the Local Government Board are, perhaps, the most skilled in matters of this kind of any medical men throughout England; and though they are taunted with their official connection with the Government, and though it is said that what they say and what they do is said and done in their own interests and not in the interests of the public, I venture to think that Dr. Buchanan and those who give evidence in favour of the Local Government Board are altogether oblivious to their own interests. These gentlemen are altogether above reproach, and they, with 99 out of every 100 of the thinking men of the country, are unequivocally in favour of vaccination. I confess that I cannot see the slightest chance of such an inquiry as that proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford having the least effect on the minds of the anti-vaccinators. I do not believe it would deprive us of one single opponent whom we now have the misfortune to meet. I am afraid I have trespassed somewhat unduly and long on the attention of the Committee. I have only touched very lightly on the various points that have been raised. I should have been glad if I had had an opportunity of going more fully into the question; but I hope I have satisfied the Committee that they would not act wisely in refusing to give the Government the Vote we ask for.

MR. A. M'ARTHUR (Leicester): I did not intend to intrude upon the time of the Committee; but I desire to reply to one observation which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. I understood him to say that all the cases of small-pox treated in the Leicester Hospital came from the town of Leicester; but that is not the fact. We have traced each case to its source, and we have found them to come from Birmingham and other outside places. The cases have been taken into the hospital; they have been subjected to the sanitary arrangements to which reference has been made, and the disease has not re-appeared. I am not aware of a single instance in Leicester in which a fresh case has arisen owing to infection left behind by a case sent to the hospital; and if that amount of success attends the stringent application of precautionary measures in Leicester, why should it not happen in other towns? I am not disposed to argue against vaccination. On the contrary, I believe it—as is stated by the right hon. Gentleman—to be of great value. I have had all my own family vaccinated and re-vaccinated, and I believe that where the operation is performed with pure lymph and upon healthy children the effect is generally good, and if I could be persuaded that vaccination is in all cases a certain preventative of small-pox I should feel it my duty to vote in favour of compulsory vaccination. But I have known many cases where, as the right hon. Gentleman has himself admitted, injury has been done and death has resulted from vaccination. That being so, although I am in favour of vaccination individually, I feel that I cannot conscientiously vote for it in a compulsory form. I hope I am not transgressing your ruling, Sir, in saying that I have read a great deal about this question, and have heard a great deal about it, and that whenever I have had an opportunity of consulting medical men I have asked their opinion with regard to it. I am bound to say that, in the vast majority of cases, that opinion has been in favour of vaccination; but I am bound to say, also, that I have known cases in which medical men of high standing have disagreed with that view and have been opposed to vaccination altogether. I recollect some time ago asking a gentleman who had been 30 years in the profession for his opinion upon this question, and his reply was —"If you ask me for my candid opinion, it is that nine-tenths of all the skin diseases that we have in this country arise, directly or indirectly, from vaccination." Well, I quite endorse the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman and others, that the medical men of this country are of high standing and of high honour, and that no charge has been brought against them as a whole; but in the case I refer to, where a medical gentleman told me he believed nine-tenths of the skin diseases of the country were due to vaccination, I asked him what he did with his own children, and he said—"I do not vaccinate them." I pressed him why he did not discuss the matter in the papers, and why he did not speak out on the subject, and his reply was—"I do not feel disposed to take that extreme step. I am a public vaccinator, and the post is worth a good deal to me." Therefore, the opinions of medical men are to be qualified by the fact that they are paid for their services as vaccinators. I may say, with reference to Leicester and other towns as well, that I do not for a moment doubt the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's statement. He states what he has heard; but I do not know that his informants are altogether to be relied upon. There are many parents in Leicester who would not allow their children to be vaccinated on any terms, as they are conscientiously opposed to it. There are now in the town between 20,000 and 30,000 people unvaccinated. Ever since I have been in Leicester I have heard it said that the time will come when the town will suffer for this disregard of vaccination; but we have never relaxed our sanitary precautions, and the outbreak which has been threatened has never come, and, I trust, never will come. I, therefore, say that this Vote is one which cannot be defended on any right principle, and therefore I shall vote for the Motion.

SIR UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH (Lancashire, Clitheroe): I merely desire to say a few words in reply to the opening and concluding observations of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie). The right hon. Gentleman, in the opening part of his speech, admitted that the opposition to compulsory vaccination was not decreasing, and he said he should not be surprised at its increasing, because of the gross misrepresentations disseminated amongst the public. I would ask what is the proper way of meeting this misrepresentation amongst the public, which has a tendency to cause agitation of this kind to increase? Is it not by the measure pointed out by the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) —namely, by the institution of a public inquiry of a character calculated to command public confidence, whose conclusions would be received not as the conclusions of prejudiced persons, but as those of persons appointed because of their impartiality and fitness to conduct the inquiry, and because of their capability of ascertaining the truth. The right hon. Gentleman has alluded to the fact that the medical officers of the Local Government Board are entitled to the greatest confidence. I would not say a word against that view of the right hon. Gentleman; but what I wish to point out to him and to the Committee is this—that those who have strong opinions or, it may be, prejudices on this subject—and I do not propose to decide whether or not they are justified in those prejudices—naturally do not regard the utterances of an official of a Department like that presided over by the right hon. Gentleman in the same way as they would regard the decision of a Commission constituted in the manner recommended by my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford. The officers of the Board are held to be committed, to a great extent, to certain opinions. Early in his career Dr. Simon committed himself to opinions which cannot now be maintained by the right hon. Gentleman and the present officers of the Board. It is natural that the public, or that portion of the public who are suspicious on this subject, should regard any views put forward by such officials with suspicion. Then the right hon. Gentleman has stated that prosecutions have a tendency sometimes to degenerate into persecutions. Is it not possible that there may be an advantage in having an inquiry, inasmuch as it may show why prosecutions are apt to degenerate into persecution? The right hon. Gentleman has himself described to the Committee how circumstances have occurred which have rendered it desirable for him to send down Inspectors of the Local Government Board to remonstrate with the Local Authorities as to the manner in which they carry out the law for the enforcement of vaccination. All these statements of the right hon. Gentleman during the course of this debate seem to me to illustrate the existence of scepticism in the minds of many people, and doubts in the minds of many more, as to the value of the law of compulsory vaccination. They seem to me to show the wisdom, which I trust the right hon. Gentleman will himself admit, of instituting another of those inquiries which have been held from time to time, and of taking care that it is one appointed in such a way as to command public confidence. I am going to be very careful myself not to express any opinion of my own on the subject of the present law. I wish myself to reserve my opinion until some inquiry of this kind has been held. I will boldly say, agreeing with what the hon. Member for Bedford has said in the course of this debate, that, personally, I regard vaccination as being, to a large extent, a preventive of small-pox, and therefore of great value; for we all know what a frightful disease small-pox is. It has been described as the most hideous, loathsome, and fatal disease, save, perhaps, hydrophobia, which can possibly affect the human system. My contention is that the right hon. Gentleman has shown by his observations that there is a cause for such an inquiry as that asked for by the hon. Member for Bedford; and I will not say any more than press upon the Local Government Board and the Members of the Government the desirability of considering very carefully whether it would not be better, in the interests of the views they have themselves taken of this matter, that there should be a full and impartial inquiry. Let me point out this in conclusion. Suppose that such an impartial inquiry by a Commission so constituted as to command public confidence is held, and results in the complete justification and maintenance of the view of the Government, that the present law is a good law and ought to be continued. The right hon. Gentleman's hands would be strengthened enormously. He says that not a single fanatic anti-vaccinator would be converted. That may be true; but there are many people who hang upon the skirts of the fanatics who strengthen a movement such as this anti-vaccination agitation by their sober and sensible support, and these people, I take it, would be greatly influenced by the result of such an investigation.

Dr. CAMERON (Glasgow, College): I have come to my own conclusion concerning the value of vaccination, and have come to it not, as most men, too blindly and on simple anthority, but after careful analysis of the most detailed statistics of 50 years' experience; and I am the more strengthened in the conclusion I have arrived at after that examination into the subject, because I find that the laws which, on examination of these statistics, appear to reveal vaccination as a remedy for the prevention of small-pox, tally with the general principles in the laws which have since been discovered with regard to the action of vaccinators in general. Now, Sir, these inquiries on the subject have left me no doubt whatever as to the protective nature of vaccination—no doubt as to the efficacy of vaccines in a number of diseases, and as to their protective influence in connection with small-pox in particular. But I have always thought that the question of compulsion and administration is not a medical question at all, and that it is a matter which should be left in the hands of laymen. At the same time, I have never had any practical doubt about compulsion. I am perfectly willing to admit that it is not a medical question, but is a question of administration to be looked into by laymen; but, at the same time, I say I have no grievance against it. But what I desire to point out, or, rather, what induced me to rise, was the remark made by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board as to the power of the Government to find some means of reconciling to the practice of vaccination persons who do not altogether approve of it, and even some of those who are vehemently opposed to it. I am certain that if the right hon. Gentleman would take the trouble to look into the matter himself, and would, instead of making the practice of vaccination a deterrent to persons who ought to be vaccinated, he would try to make it as easy as possible to go through the process—I am quite certain that he would sweep away the objection which exists to the practice. Not long ago I succeeded in inducing the Government to set up a calf-lymph establishment in Lamb's Conduit Street, where persons could be vaccinated straight from the calf. I did so because I was convinced that this kind of vaccination would remove a great many of the difficulties which exist in the case of vaccination from the arm. Not only was I convinced that the vaccine-lymph from the calf would be a more perfect preventative, but I urged upon the Government that a number of persons would be willing to have their children vaccinated in that way who would not, perhaps, be willing to subject their children to vaccination from other children who might be supposed to be infected with disease. Well, the scheme was pronounced to be absolutely impracticable, and all sorts of objections were raised to it. At least 100 objections were raised—it was unreliable, it was this and that and the other. It was not until the institution was established that every one of these objections was found to be dissipated into thin air, and that the nature of the advantage of the plan was recognized. What has been the result of that institution? Why, as a matter of fact, the number of persons who have been vaccinated there is enormously greater than the number vaccinated at any other station in London. The fact that people can have their children vaccinated with calf-lymph straight from the calf removes from the minds of large numbers of people their one objection to vaccination. Let the right hon. Gentleman consider this matter, and act upon the suggestion. Let him not, for Heaven's sake, attempt to strengthen his case by suppressing facts. I have no doubt that he was quoting from evidence supplied to him when he said that no case is known in which it has been conclusively proved that syphilis has been communicated by vaccination. In saying that the right hon. Gentleman committed himself to a statement which is altogether incapable of proof. That statement was made for many years, and had it not been for the fact that during the sitting of the Commissioners there was an outbreak of syphilis, where it was clear that it had been communicated by vaccination, the fallacy would never have been recanted.

MR. RITCHIE: When was that?

DR. CAMERON: During the sitting of the Commission. One hon. Member, in speaking upon this question, referred to a certain amount of the vaccine matter used in this country as being modified small-pox. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board indignantly denied that assertion, and there again his denial was incorrect. I am not going to deal with theories on this question. The right hon. Gentleman mentioned facts referred to by Seely. As a matter of fact, that lymph was very widely disseminated, and one of the highest authorities upon this subject—a French physician who is very well-known in this country—declared that that lymph was neither more nor less than modified small-pox, and that, according to his experiments, it was by no means certain that it was not contributing to small-pox infection. Now, I do not endorse that statement, or contradict it; but I say that when such an authority as this—one of the greatest authorities on the science of vaccines in the world—does not hesitate to take such a view, I hold that it would not be very dreadful for the right hon. Gentleman to look into the facts, and if he sees that such things are the case, to take steps to clear out of the country all the questionable lymph. I maintain that that could be very easily done. There is this calf-lymph in Lamb's Conduit Street, from the windows of which the entire stock of lymph in the country could be replaced in a very short space of time. I will take the case of Leicester. Now, I know that the medical authorities on the Local Government Board are always trying to explain away the case of Leicester; but to my mind what is going on in that town is a most important experiment, and I am perfectly content to observe that experiment in connection with other experiments that are going on in other parts of the country. Some years ago, when there was an epidemic of small-pox in London, I called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor to the system of vaccination adopted in Scotland as contrasted with the system adopted in London. In Scotland there is general vaccination; but from time to time—in Glasgow, for instance—an epidemic breaks out, and when such a thing occurs every care is taken to withdraw the persons infected, and to allow the authorities to give re-vaccination to all who desire it. I have shown that in London nothing of the sort existed. I showed that there are no opportunities afforded for this re-vaccination, and where there are opportunities people cannot avail themselves of them. I would urge the right hon. Gentleman to trust rather to facilities offered for vaccination and re-vaccination than to compulsion. If he did this I am sure that the facilities he would offer would be largely availed of, as they are largely availed of in every town of Scotland where they are offered.

Mr. RITCHIE: You have got compulsion in Scotland.

Dr. CAMERON: Yes; but we do not rely upon it; if we did we should put ourselves in as bad a state as you do. But I say that instead of compulsion we have persuasion, and this leads me to a particular point in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He was challenged for not affording in the case of the Scotch vaccinators the same inducements for bringing about an improved system of vaccination, and he told us that when the Local Government Board scheme was brought forward that should be done. I called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor to the anomaly, and it is not at all attempted to defend it. In fact, the right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor admitted the anomaly, and promised that it should be rectified; but from that day to this no step has been taken in the matter. I must say that the right hon. Gentleman's facts as to vaccination in Scotland were incorrect. As a matter of fact, only paupers are vaccinated by these officials; but the public officer of health at the expense of the town has a vaccination establishment or public institution—for instance, "The Faculties of Physicians and Surgeons" keeps a vaccination establishment and a number of vaccination stations that, not paid for out of the poor rates, are supported at the public expense. [*Cries of* "Divide!"] Well, I do not wish to help the right hon. Gentleman to talk out the Vote, and I will not occupy the time of the Committee many more moments. I desire to say that I do not approve of the system of Grants in Aid at all; but when you want to make them fair as regards different portions of the Kingdom you must make them equal with regard to those different operations, or else do away with them altogether. There would be no difficulty in making them equal. He says there is no authority like the Local Government Board to look after the matter in Scotland, but we should adopt the same course as to this Vote in Scotland which is adopted in regard to the medical grant in England. The right hon. Gentleman should compute the proportion which Scotland should receive, and should distribute it under the present method.

MR. RITCHIE: This is done by Act of Parliament.

DR. CAMERON: Yes; it should be done by Act of Parliament one way or the other. It is the duty of the House to see that grants are given on equitable principles, and if an Act of Parliament provides for these grants being made on equitable principles he should see that the law is amended. While the right hon. Gentleman has receded far from the position taken up by his Predecessor on that Bench seven or eight years ago, the then President of the Local Government Board thought the anomaly was indefensible, and I think he promised on the very next Session to have the matter sent up with a view of rectifying that anomaly. As it frequently happens when a promise is made by a Gentleman occupying a seat on the Treasury Bench no practical result followed. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) appears to be absolutely impenetrable to the just demands made to him in this matter. He appears to have no idea that there is any injustice perpetrated, and in that respect I think he has shown signs of very great retrogression.

DR. R. McDONALD (Ross and Cromarty): I shall not detain the Committee more than a few moments. I want to point out, in the first place, what I think is not sufficiently known to the House and to right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench, and that is that the position of many of the public medical officers in Scotland and public vaccinators in England is very much on a par. When I was a parish medical officer in Scotland I vaccinated 1,100 people in the course of a few months. The parish paid me for the work. I am opposed to public vaccination, and I will explain why. A public vaccinator is appointed for a district wherein he may not be a resident. Children are brought to him to vaccinate. He may see one child which is apparently healthy, and take matter from it with which to vaccinate others. He knows nothing about the child; he may never have seen it before it was brought to him to vaccinate; he knows nothing about the constitutional history of its family. Possibly, a month afterwards, when he sees the child again he will find it suffering from syphilis. The system of public vaccination is wrong, because every man is bound, or ought to be bound when he takes vaccine lymph from a child, to know the history of the child. I regard these Grants in Aid as entirely useless. I object to them, in the first place, because they are not given to Scotland or to Ireland; and I object to them, in the second place, because they are given to the same gentlemen year after year. If the right hon. Gentleman will look down the list of gentlemen who get these public grants he will see the same name recurs six, seven, and 10 times. I do not say that the inspectors are much at fault. Perhaps they are doing the work in the different districts better than others could; but, at any rate, one cannot help regarding it as somewhat suspicious that the same men should receive the grants year after year. I must vote with my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), because these grants are not given to Scotland. I think it would be wise of the Government to grant a Commission of Inquiry into the system of public vaccination. I have seen evils arise from the system. I have seen deaths follow vaccination, but they have not been really due to vaccination. If after vaccination a child has a skin disease and dies, the mother and father consider it has died from syphilis produced by vaccination when it has died through the sins of its parents. We medical men know very well that syphilis can pass a generation—that you may have parents perfectly free from syphilis all their lives, and yet you may find syphilis in their children. All this talk about death from vaccination is, to my mind, perfect nonsense. I think that calf vaccination has been a great boon. The hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Leicester (Mr. A. M'Arthur) has said that no cases of small-pox have occurred in Leicester. Surely no case of small-pox can arise anywhere unless the disease is communicated. Small-pox must arise through the disease being communicated to the individual. There are no germs of disease in Leicester because there is no disease there; but I make the statement in perfect faith and perfect knowledge that it will come to pass that as sure as the sun rises to-morrow Leicester will pay for its anti-vaccination doctrines. Ninety-nine medical men out of every 100 are of the same opinion as myself. Whatever our hopes may be we shall find, I am sorry to say, Leicester paying some of these days a heavy penalty for its opposition to, and disregard of, the vaccination law.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I rise for the purpose of explaining my vote on this occasion. I intend to support the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor); but I do so simply because the Vote we are now asked to pass is a bonus conferred upon officials for doing their duty. To give such a bonus is absurd, and therefore I intend to vote against it. No one—no sane man, and I presume we are all sane men here—will deny the good results which have attended vaccination. The present generation are practically secure from that terrible disease which ravaged the generation which went before it. Every man who can recollect what happened a generation or two ago can tell us of the wonderful changes which have been effected by vaccination; and, accordingly, I am very pleased to-day to hear that my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal does not support the anti-vaccination craze. [Mr. Arthur O'Connor dissented.] Oh, I understood him to say so. Then I hope the time will soon come when he will withdraw his support from this phantom. I must take exception to what the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) said with regard to the grant made to the Irish Poor Law medical officers. He said the grant made to these officers was equal to half of their salary, and that it was made to them in connection with vaccination. The Irish Poor Law medical officers have to perform all the various medical services, and they are not paid specially for vaccination services. The reverse is the case in England. Public vaccinators here are paid simply for vaccination work. People talk a great deal about the advisability of direct vaccination from the calf. There is no necessity whatever for keeping up these vaccination institutions. Anyone who has any practical acquaintance with the subject will tell you that vaccination direct from the calf is attended with very much graver results than other vaccination—that patients are placed in greater jeopardy and danger by vaccination direct from the calf than by vaccination from the individual.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT (Manchester, S.W.): May I ask you, Mr. Courtney, if the Question before the Committee is whether there should be vaccination from the calf or from the individual?

The CHAIRMAN: The question has been raised in illustration of the administration of this Vote.

Dr. TANNER: I assure my hon. Friend (Mr. Jacob Bright) I do not intend to deal with the matter *in extenso*. I merely want to convince some hon. Gentlemen who apparently are labouring under a false impression. Let me give one instance of the evil effect of calf-vaccination, and perhaps that will do more than if I were to give them statistics galore, as we say in Ireland. The case occurred during the past year in the County of Cork. A lady of high rank in that county would not allow her child to be vaccinated from the lymph which was taken from the veins of an ordinary child—a child of the people. What happened? She sent over here to one of the public vaccine establishments and got lymph direct from the calf. This child of the aristocracy was not, as is very often the case with aristocratic children, very healthy; it got erysipelas and died. I assure hon. Gentlemen that this was the one solitary case in the South of Ireland of a child being vaccinated directly from the calf, and yet it was attended with fatal results. We are to say whether this Vote shall pass or not. I say the Vote is unnecessary. Although, at the outset, vaccination may be necessary to protect the population, as time rolls on there is not that absolute necessity for re-vaccination which people appear to think is necessary. The case of the North American Indians has been frequently mentioned. These people were not protected in any case from the virulence of the disease, and, accordingly, when small-pox appeared amongst them, it swept them down wholesale. That is not the case in any European country, or in this country. Vaccination has been in force here for a very long time, and, where it has not prevented the disease, it has modified its severity when it has broken out. This being the case, we ought to see a reduction of this Vote, instead of being asked, year after year, to vote the same sum. I give this as my second reason for supporting my hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) if he goes to a Division on the present occasion. I have only a word to say with respect to the proposal that a Commission of Inquiry should be appointed. The present Conservative Government have appointed many Commissions; surely one Commission more or less will not do any harm. There is no smoke without fire, and although I am against the anti-vaccinators, I think that if you appoint a good Commission to inquire into the alleged grievances you will certainly dissipate all the fears and doubts, and restore confidence where, at the present time, we have nothing but doubtings and trepidations. I sincerely hope that a Commission of Inquiry will be appointed, and that the Vote will be diminished.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): I do not wish to prolong this debate; but it is only right to draw attention to two points in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie), which, I think, as the Representative of a constituency interested in this matter, I am entitled to do. The right hon. Gentleman threw doubt upon the connection of syphilis with vaccination. But, if that were so, I should like to know how it is that in the instructions which have recently been issued to the public vaccinators, the public vaccinators are especially directed to give their closest attention to the state of the children from whom they take the lymph, to ascertain whether they are free from syphilis or not? These instructions amount to an official recognition of the risk, and it is because of the recognition in official, as well as other sources of the danger of other diseases being communicated by vaccination, that there is this objection to the system. My second point is this. The right hon. Gentleman was challenged to state exactly what was the standard and the gauge upon which these bonuses and rewards to public vaccinators were to be assessed; and what he said practically was that the size of the scar which the public vaccinators produced was the gauge. I should think the best plan would be to wait for six months or a year, and to give the reward to the public vaccinator who had then the smallest number of children who had become ill on his hands. A great objection felt to the system of which these bonuses are part is that you are compelling people to submit their children to definite risks—risks which are acknowledged to be risks officially, as well as by the people and those who represent them—and that you are doing that to obtain a protection which is acknowledged not to be absolutely complete against a danger which is exceedingly remote.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): I merely wish to explain my vote. I intend to give my vote in favour of the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), not because I agree with him for a moment in thinking that vaccination produces more harm than good, but because I am opposed to compulsory vaccination. It seems to me there is not a sufficient consensus of opinion amongst the medical men of this country in favour of vaccination that we should force people to be vaccinated.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have indicated that the question of compulsion is not directly before us.

MR. LABOUCHERE: I suppose one may vote with a conscientious feeling that it is.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 66; Noes 196: Majority 130.—(Div. List, No. 315.) [6.20 P.M.]

Original Question again proposed.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I wish to make an appeal to hon. Members. There will be an opportunity of asking any questions on Report. We have now been engaged on this Vote for three hours and a-half. It is of great importance we should take the Vote to-day, and, therefore, I hope hon. Members will allow it to pass without further discussion.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I appreciate the appeal made by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith); but really I must point out to him that the Local Government Board covers a very broad field—that there are many questions besides that of vaccination which may be raised on the Vote. My object in rising is to make one or two observations upon the relations of the Local Government Board to the pauperism of the Metropolis. I regret, Sir, it has not been possible to legislate during the present year, with a view of redressing the gross inequalities which at present exist between the poor rate of the poor districts of London and the poor rate of the richer districts of London, and I shall never be content until the cost of pauperism in London, being a common interest of the Metropolis, is defrayed by an equal rate over the whole area. My chief intention is to call attention to one item of expenditure which is defrayed out of what is called the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund. I refer to the rations of the officers of workhouses. It is a question to which I called attention in Supply last year. I complain that the Local Government Board, having imposed upon it the statutory duty of fixing a scale in accordance with which the cost of rations is to be paid out of this Fund, has fixed a scale which is not a reasonable and a proper scale; they have fixed a scale whereby every principal officer is allowed 12*s.* a-week, and every subordinate officer 7*s.* a-week. Since I last addressed the Committee upon this subject, I am happy to say that the scale has been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie). I think I am right in saying he has fixed the scale as regards the principal officers at the old rate—namely, 12*s.*—but he has raised the scale with reference to the subordinate officers from 7*s.* to 8*s.* 9*d.* I am very grateful to the right hon. Gentleman for what he has done. It has relieved my constituents in Bethnal Green of a good many hundreds of pounds per annum, as it has also relieved the constituents who are represented by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ritchie) himself. But my contention is that the right hon. Gentleman has not carried his revision quite far enough. Last year I drew his attention to the actual cost of these rations in two East End constituencies. In my own constituency of Bethnal Green the actual cost of the rations of the principal officers and subordinate officers together is 12*s.* 8*d.* a-head, and in Shoreditch it is 13*s.* 9*d.* a-head. Now, even after the revision for which we are indebted to the right hon. Gentleman, the amount per head allowed out of the Metropolitan Common Poor Fund is only 9*s.* a-head, so that the ratepayers of Bethnal Green are paying out of the local rates 3*s.* 8*d.* a-head, and the ratepayers of Shoreditch are paying 4*s.* 9*d.* a-head. I want to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman—and I have given him notice of the character of the questions which I propose to address to him—I want to ascertain how he has arrived at the present scale. I want to know whether he has taken the absolutely lowest cost of rations throughout the Metropolitan Unions, or whether he has taken the average of a certain number of the lowest cases; and if he has adopted the latter course, I want to know upon how many cases he has formed his average, and what are the names of the Unions he has taken to form the average? I should also like to know what is the highest actual cost throughout the Metropolitan Unions, what is the lowest cost, and what is the average cost? I am also a little curious to know what is the cost of the St. George's Union itself? I press the right hon. Gentleman with this question. Does he contend that the Metropolitan Board of Guardians, exercising fair and reasonable economy in this matter, need not exceed the scale which is laid down, or, upon the other hand, does he charge the Guardians of Bethnal Green and Shoreditch, who, respectively, expend 3*s.* 8*d.* and 4*s.* 9*d.* more than the scale, with extravagance? Sir, there are one or two other questions upon which I desire to get information from the right hon. Gentleman. My attention has been drawn to the great discrepancies in the cost per head of the children educated in different pauper schools in connection with the Metropolitan Unions. In the Report of 1882 I find an analysis of such expenditure, and I invite the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the extraordinary, as it seems to me, discrepancy between the cost of educating a pauper child in one school and the cost of educating a pauper child in another school. At the head of the list there is a training ship *Exmouth.* I should expect that, owing to causes which I need not explain, the cost of education on board the *Exmouth* would be very high, and therefore I do not rely very much upon that case. The actual cost per boy in the training ship *Exmouth* is £38 per annum. But, then, I come to a pauper school proper, the South Metropolitan School at Herne Bay. The total cost per head is stated to be something over £31. I will not weary the Committee by giving the intervening instances; but I will take the lowest in the scale, which is——

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will indicate how this question is connected with the Local Government Board?

MR. PICKERSGILL: My object is to draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the cost in order that in accordance with what I understand to be part of the function of the Board, he may communicate with the various authorities.

MR. RITCHIE: It is entirely beyond the province of the Local Government Board.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I was under the impression it was one of the functions of the Local Government Board to look very closely into cases where there is great discrepancy in the cost of performing the different services; but I will submit to your ruling, Sir, and leave the question. There is one other question which I think will come within the cognizance of the Local Government Board, and it is the question of outdoor relief. Now, the Local Government Board has very large powers of supervision with regard to outdoor relief. I quite admit that outdoor relief requires to be very closely watched, but I am also convinced that in the present circumstances outdoor relief cannot be altogether dispensed with. My object in referring to this question is to impress upon the right hon. Gentleman the importance of not breaking up a decent home, where it exists, by sending the family into the workhouse. Upon this point I will——

MR. RITCHIE: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman, but he is now raising a question over which the Local Government Board have no jurisdiction. The Guardians of the Poor are responsible to their electors, and they administer relief, some in one way and some in another—some give no outdoor relief, and others do. We have no control in the matter.

MR. PICKERSGILL: The Local Government Board certainly issue statutory orders under which the Guardians act; and, therefore, subject to your ruling, Mr. Courtney, I should like to say a word or two more upon this question.

THE CHAIRMAN: If, as I understand, the Local Goverment Board cannot override the discretion of the Guardians in the matter of outdoor relief, it would not be competent for the hon. Gentleman to discuss the question of outdoor relief upon this Vote.

MR. PICKERSGILL: I understand it is not disputed that the Local Government Board have power of regulating to a large extent outdoor relief. I do not wish to detain the Committee for more than a moment longer. I simply desire to refer the right hon. Gentleman to an authority upon this subject, to which I am sure he will be disposed to pay very great respect. With regard to the care which is exercised in one London Union not to break up decent homes, Mr. Brown, the clerk to the St. George's Union, says—

> "Applications for relief are met in most instances by an offer of indoor relief either to the whole family or, where there is a home worth preserving, to a part of the family. In the latter case the remaining part of the family is assisted by co-operation with the Charity Organization Society, and thus decent homes are not broken up."

I thank the Committee for listening to the remarks I have made, and I thank the right hon. Gentleman also for what he has already done, and the great care he has devoted to the complaints which have been brought before him.

MR. RITCHIE: I am very much obliged to the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Pickersgill) for what he has said with reference to my action in connection with the question of rations to which he called the attention of the Committee last year. As he well knows, I should have been very glad, representing as I do a very poor union, if I had been able to do more than I feel myself at liberty to do. He asks me upon what principle I acted in fixing the scale. Well, I felt that looking to the fact that this charge was borne by the whole of the Metropolis, I was bound to look at what was the lowest cost at which the rations could be provided. I thought it would be quite out of my power to fix a scale which would leave a profit on the rations in any particular Union. I felt I was precluded from fixing any higher sum than the lowest sum which I saw, from a Return made, it was impossible to provide rations.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say he took the absolutely lowest cost?

MR. RITCHIE: Yes.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: May I ask what that was?

Mr. RITCHIE: I am afraid I shall detain the Committee too long if I go into details.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: That is a very simple question.

Mr. RITCHIE: In Hackney the average weekly cost in Class II. was 8*s.* 10½*d.* per head. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman wants the average weekly cost in Class I.?

Mr. PICKERSGILL: Yes.

Mr. RITCHIE: I find that 12*s.* is the cost in the Holborn Union, and that that is the lowest cost in that class. I felt bound to adhere to the lowest cost.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: But surely the same Union should be taken for both classes?

Mr. RITCHIE: No, I think not.

Mr. PICKERSGILL: Most certainly.

Mr. RITCHIE: We were bound to take each class by itself, and see what was the lowest sum for which it was possible to provide the rations required. Of course, we had to consult the lowest Union in each class; which we did. With reference to the question of outdoor relief, the hon. Gentleman is quite right in saying that the Local Government Board have certain jurisdiction in the matter. Within certain limits the jurisdiction lies with the Guardians. The regulations of the Local Government Board provide that where outdoor relief is given it is not to be given to able-bodied men without the labour test. Short of that it is entirely within the option of the Guardians. As the hon. Gentleman is aware, in some of the poorest Unions there is absolutely no outdoor relief at all. In St. George's-in-the-East, one of the poorest Unions, outdoor relief is so small that it is hardly worth mentioning, and there a large amount of assistance is given by the Charity Organization Society. I understand a deserving person is never turned away from the workhouse without relief in some way or other being given. The hon. Gentleman is aware that we have had a Return presented to Parliament upon the question of outdoor relief. If he does not possess a copy of it, I shall be glad to supply him with one.

Dr. CLARK: I wish the Government to get several Votes to-night, and therefore I will postpone until Report one or two questions I intend to raise upon this Vote. We shall certainly oppose this Grant in Aid next year, unless the Government will level up in the case of Scotland.

Dr. TANNER: I desire to ask a question for my own information and the information of hon. Gentlemen generally. I should like to know how it comes to pass that when there is a decrease in the salaries there happens to be an increase in the travelling expenses connected with the Medical Department? I also want to ask a question in connection with Sub-head D—Poor Law medical officers. There appears to be some doubt as to whether the English and Welsh Poor Law medical officers are public vaccinators—whether they are enabled to act as public vaccinators in the same sense as Irish Poor Law medical officers act as public vaccinators? I also desire to ask the right hon. Gentleman a practical question connected with the diplomas granted by the various schools. Are the Poor Law medical officers who are under the Local Government Board able to grant certificates in vaccination? This is a question which has cropped up again and again. I cannot understand why these officers in England and Wales are not able to grant certificates in vaccination, while officers in Ireland who are paid in the same way are able to do so.

Mr. RITCHIE: The Poor Law medical officer in England is capable of performing, in addition to his duties as Poor Law medical officer, the duties of vaccination officer; but not necessarily so, as is the case in Ireland. Certificates are given by officers of the Local Government Board, and not by any Local Authority at all.

Dr. TANNER: The right hon. Gentleman fails to grasp my point. Certificates are required in connection with various diplomas granted by schools. In Ireland these certificates, if signed by a dispensary officer, are valid for any of the examinations that the student may go in for. That is not the case in England. Students have to go to the public vaccinators, and not to the dispensary officers, for certificates. I want to know why that is the case, because it seems extraordinary that one system should exist in England and another in Ireland? The reason why I call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to this point is that a number of Irish students come over to England to obtain certain English diplomas; and, to their surprise, they have to go to the public vaccinators, instead of taking out a certificate in the usual way—namely, through a dispensary officer.

MR. RITCHIE: The ordinary dispensary officer in Ireland is also the vaccination officer. The Poor Law medical officer in England is not necessarily the vaccination officer. Therefore, you could not expect the Poor Law medical officer to give a certificate which it is necessary for the vaccination officer to give.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £8,227, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1888, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners in Lunacy in England."

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. William Corbet,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at five minutes before Seven o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 25th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) * (172).

Committee — Bankruptcy Offices (Sites) * (76-187).

Committee—Report—Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment (*re-comm.*) * (176).

Select Committee — Report — Butter Substitutes [No. 186].

NEW PEER.

The Right Honourable John Gellibrand Hubbard, having been created Baron Addington, of Addington in the county of Buckingham—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND—LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY asked the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for Scotland, Whether he could give their Lordships any information with reference to what prospect there was of passing the Bill enlarging the powers of his Department?

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN), in reply, said, he proposed to lay the Bill on the Table in the course of the next two or three days; he was sorry he had not been able to introduce the Bill earlier. He hoped that the Bill would be satisfactory to the noble Earl; and although it was late in the Session, he trusted that it would be possible to pass it without delay through both Houses of Parliament.

CENTRAL ASIA (AFGHANISTAN)—THE FRONTIER QUESTION.—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY asked, Whether the noble Marquess opposite could give the House any information as to the reported settlement of the Afghan Frontier Question?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): I am happy to say that a settlement has been arrived at upon the points which have been in dispute. The settlement is of so technical a character, and to understand it so much knowledge of localities is required, that I fear I shall only mislead the noble Earl if I were to attempt to explain it. The documents upon the subject will be laid upon the Table at the earliest opportunity.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I do not expect the noble Marquess to give details. What I venture to ask him is, whether it is true that an arrangement has been made by which the Ameer retains the district of Kham-i-Ab?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I understand that he will.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

RESOLUTION.

THE MARQUESS OF BRISTOL rose to call attention to the subject of international arbitration, and to move—

"That this House, in view of the yearly increasing armaments of European nations, is of opinion that the formation of an international tribunal for the reference of national disputes in the first instance is highly to be desired."

The noble Marquess, who was imperfectly heard, was understood to say that nothing but an imperative sense of public duty would have induced him, who was ordinarily a silent Member of the House, to bring this subject before their Lordships. He was old enough to remember the Great Exhibition of 1851, in which the noble Earl opposite, then Secretary for the Colonies, took so prominent an interest. At that time the most hopeful anticipations of the future prevailed, and it was believed that a new era was opening in which all the nations of Europe would be bound together in a brotherhood of amity and concord. Now nothing was seen or heard in Europe but the preparations and the operations of war. No effort, therefore, ought to be spared to lessen or minimize, and, if possible, to put an end to, the existing state of things. He left this Resolution with confidence in their Lordships' hands. If they could see their way to give him their support and encouragement in the great and glorious cause of peace and goodwill among men, he was sure that support would not be withheld; but if from any cause they should, in their wisdom, conceive that the time had not yet come when it would be opportune for taking any such action as he recommended, he hoped their Lordships would not give the Resolution a direct negative, but would permit him to withdraw it.

Moved to resolve, "That this House, in view of the yearly increasing armaments of European nations, is of opinion that the formation of an international tribunal for the reference of national disputes in the first instance is highly to be desired."—(*The Marquess of Bristol.*)

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY, in supporting the Motion, wished to point out, before any objections were made as to the possibility of carrying out the Motion, that a Court of Arbitration existed already, and that although it had been for many years in abeyance, yet it had been revived very recently with great success. When all Europe was Catholic the Court of Rome was the natural arbitrator when disputes arose between nations, and very recently the German Empire had submitted its dispute with Spain respecting the Caroline Islands to the Pope, who, by accepting the duty of arbitration which had been confided to him, had averted a war which at one time seemed imminent. Men's minds on the Continent had been prepared for a revival of the intervention of the Court of Rome, in order to diminish the evils of unjust wars. During the Vatican Council of 1869-70 a postulatum had been presented, signed by 40 of the leading Bishops from all parts of the world, and formed a part of the acts of that Council, praying the Pope to take measures for the re-establishment of respect for the Law of Nations. In November of last year there was a Congress at Lille, at which the Abbé Defourny and Baron d'Avril presented proposals for the re-establishment of the Law of Nations, and a pamphlet by the Abbé Defourny containing a draft of a Bill for the French Chambers, enjoining the necessity of examination of all international disputes by a duly constituted body, and of its sanction previous to the issue of a declaration of war. These proposals were nearly the same as the provisions of English law with regard to declarations of war, and the functions to be entrusted to the body charged with inquiring into international disputes were those which were vested in our Privy Council previous to the Statute of Queen Anne. He thought that Her Majesty's Government might do well to follow the example of Prince Bismarck, and refer their next difficulty to the arbitration of the Holy See. Those who doubted the impartiality of the Holy See, might be reminded of what was well-known, that the Pope had objected to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and had blamed the Dragonnades of the Cevennes, and had blamed James II. for disregarding the feelings of his Protestant subject; and what was less well-known, that the Pope had objected to the expulsion of the Morisioes from Spain.

The PRIME MINISTER and SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of Salisbury): My Lords, it is impossible for me to mistake the spirit of earnestness in which my noble Friend (the Marquess of Bristol) has brought this subject before the House; and I know that he does not stand alone in the feeling with which he regards the proposal he has made. There are a certain number of persons very earnest and very excellent who believe that this would be a remedy for the terrible evils of war, and who from time to time urge it on the public mind. He has had some great predecessors. I may mention alone the name of Cobden as one who certainly took the proposal out of the category of merely fanciful suggestions. Yet I confess—and I think it is the general feeling—that deeply as everybody sympathizes with the object my noble Friend has in view, and earnestly as we must desire to see the day when the horrors of war may be prevented by the establishment of some species of international arbitration, it is very far from us now and further apparently than it was some years ago. No one, I think, can watch the progress of affairs on the Continent of Europe and the tendency of various States without seeing that the pacific spirit has not increased, and that the chances of avoiding war are not more favourable than they were. My Lords, the reason why any proposal of this kind has not yet been dealt with by any Government as a practical proposition is that it presupposes in States a condition of mind which would in itself accomplish all the objects my noble Friend has in view. If nations were once to get to that state of mind that they would submit all their disputes to any tribunal, and would obey that tribunal, the warlike spirit would so far disappear that the very necessity for taking precautions would cease to exist. At present we can only say we see no prospect of the formation of any such tribunal. I will not be tempted by my noble Friend (Lord Stanley of Alderley) to discuss the capacity of the Papal See to fill such a position; but there is no probability of the formation of any tribunal under which all nations would confidently feel that they would have equal law. There is no Legislature to lay down the law by which such a tribunal could be guided, and there is no authority to enforce its decrees when once they have been pronounced, and therefore it would be a mere form and its functions would be reduced to a nullity. My noble Friend proposed to avoid these practical objections by leaving to nations after they had submitted themselves to a tribunal the choice if they thought fit of going to war if they did not like the decision. The only effect of that provision would be to interpose a period of time between the origin of the dispute and the declaration of war, which would give an opportunity to the Power least prepared to bring itself to a level with the Power most prepared. It is very unlikely that any Power which felt itself to be the best prepared would submit to an artificial disadvantage such as that. The chief effort of all nations now with regard to its warlike machinery is not merely to make it as potent as it can be made, but also to bring it into such a state of perfection that it can be set in operation at the earliest possible time. I fear, therefore, that the proposal of my noble Friend is contrary to the tendency of all modern nations, and is not likely to meet with acceptance at their hands. I think, my Lords, we are misled in this matter by the facility with which we use the phrase "International Law." International Law has not any existence in the sense in which the term "law" is usually understood. It depends generally upon the prejudices of writers of text-books. It can be enforced by no tribunal, and therefore to apply to it the term "law" is to some extent misleading, and I think has given rise to the somewhat exaggerated hope to which those persons who hold the views of my noble Friend approach this matter. I do not think there would be any advantage in committing this House to a barren statement on the subject. I do not believe that one man in one hundred supposes that such an issue as my noble Friend desires, intensely desirable as it is, will be witnessed by ourselves, by our children, or by our grandchildren; and it is idle to attempt to conceal from our minds the terrible realities of the case. I, therefore, can meet the Motion of my noble Friend in no other way than by recommending him to withdraw it.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

WAR OFFICE (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON WARLIKE STORES.—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in rising to call attention to that portion of the Report of the Royal Commission—

> "Appointed to inquire into the system under which patterns of warlike stores are adopted and the stores obtained and passed for Her Majesty's service,"

which deals with the charges made by

Colonel Hope against certain officers and other persons who have been or now are in Her Majesty's service, said, that the answer made on this subject in the House of Commons by his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War, on the 30th of June, 1887, did not appear to him entirely satisfactory. The Secretary of State had made a distinction between the cases of Colonel Hope and Captain Armit. On June 27, 1887, his right hon. Friend addressed a letter to Captain Noble, the head of the Ordnance Department at Sir William Armstrong's works, in answer to a communication from that gentleman, substantially to the following effect:—

"Mr. Stanhope entirely agrees with the finding of the Commissioners that these charges 'were based on pretexts which were not enough to raise in any fair mind even a passing suspicion that there might be corruption;' and as regards the transactions in which you were more immediately concerned that the charges were 'not only wholly unfounded, but there never was any evidence whatever to justify their being made.'"

In making a few remarks on the subject of his Notice, he wished it to be understood that he was not speaking of any errors of system or judgment, but of these charges of corruption. He would remind the House that these charges had been going on for years. Colonel Hope's charges might be summarized thus—

"That between the years 1858 and 1861 Sir William Armstrong and Captain Noble made a corrupt conspiracy whereby the country was induced between 1859 and 1862 to give orders for worthless guns to the Elswick Ordnance Company to the amount of £1,087,000. That after both Sir William Armstrong and Captain Noble had left the public service, the influence of the Elswick firm continued and was exercised by them through a small clique of corrupt officials for the purpose of procuring a practical monoply in the construction of guns to the Elswick firm. These persons Colonel Hope described as the 'gun ring,' which he said consisted of Sir William Armstrong, Captain A. Noble, General Campbell, and some others, to whose names he could give no clue; and Mr. Lynall Thomas added, as members of this 'gun ring,' Mr. Lewis Engelbach and Mr. Hunter, a clerk in the War Office. The evidence on which Colonel Hope relied for the establishment of the charge relating to what he called the 'initial conspiracy' was, according to his account, to be found in two Blue Books published in 1862 and 1863, containing the evidence and Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons which sat in each of those years and made their final Report on the 23rd of July, 1863. The evidence of the second charge, that of corrupt influence, subsequent to the original conspiracy, was the existence of the following alleged facts:—(1.) The appointment of certain Committees, the partiality of which was said to appear both from their constitution and from their Reports. These Committees were, first, the Committee to inquire into the bursting of the *Thunderer* gun in 1879. With regard to this Committee, Colonel Hope said that Captain Noble went out to Malta in order fraudulently to devise some theory with regard to the bursting of the gun in question which would exonerate the Royal Gun Factory in general, and in particular Sir Frederick Campbell, who was at that time Director of Artillery, from the charge of making bad guns; and that Sir Frederick Bramwell gave evidence in the matter professionally, knowing nothing of the subject except what he learnt from Captain Noble and attending before Committees for the purpose of supporting Captain Noble as an expert witness. Secondly, Colonel Hope complained of the constitution of the Committee for inquiry into the bursting of the *Collingwood* gun in 1886. This, he said, was fraudulently constituted, inasmuch as Captain Noble, as representative of the Elswick firm, and another gentleman, Mr. Whinfield, as representative of Whitworth's firm, were members of it, whereas Colonel Hope himself was excluded, though he had applied to be put upon it. There was, thirdly, the Committee on the bursting of the *Active* gun, which assembled in 1885. This gun was made by the Elswick firm upon Woolwich plans. (2.) The statement made by Lord Hartington in Parliament in March, 1884. This statement, according to Colonel Hope, was made by Lord Hartington in perfect good faith, but was in fact 'a wicked and unpatriotic lie,' put into his mouth by members of the Ordnance Department for the purpose of concealing a mistake which had been made by the Department in deferring for an unreasonable time the adoption of steel for the manufacture of large guns."

The Committee in their Report state—

"One or two further observations arise upon Colonel Hope's evidence as to this second Committee. Chairman.—Where is the Report of that Committee?—I have never seen it. You do not know that it has been published?—I do not know. So that your knowledge about that Committee is indistinct?—Entirely. But I suppose if it was a War Office Committee the Reports would be preserved?—Certainly; the Report must be in existence. The Report is contained in full in the Report of the Select Committee on Ordnance, 1862, p. 166. It is abstracted, and the evidence on it is referred to in the Report made by the Select Committee on Ordnance in 1863, p. 4. Great importance was attached to this decision. Colonel Hope told us that he had derived his information principally from these Blue Books, but that he dictated from memory to a shorthand writer the paper in which his accusations were contained, and that he did not take the trouble to refresh his memory, either by going to the British Museum, or by going to the library of the United Service Institution, at either of which places he would have been able to see them. The reports were on sale at the Stationery Office in February, 1887, and we found no difficulty in obtaining a number of copies. Colonel Hope explained his conduct by saying that the paper was written in a hurry in order to be ready for the September number of *The Fortnightly Review*. It shows great rashness of assertion that statements so made should be declared to be true by a statutory declaration before the person who made them had taken the most obvious steps for testing their truth."

The Committee went on to state—

"Colonel Hope's statement about his having quoted 'textually' from General Peel's letter to *The Times* of the 1st of September, 1868, is wholly incorrect. The Commission examined that letter, and finding that it did not mention the subject at all, applied to Colonel Hope for information as to the source from which he had got his alleged quotation. Colonel Hope, upon his second examination, admitted that he had been mistaken about General Peel's letter, and being asked for his authority, said:—'I cannot find it. The words I quoted out of something, and I wrote them on a slip of paper, which I tore up when I dictated them to the shorthand writer. Then you cannot give any authority for that?—"I cannot find it, and I have hunted everywhere. They are not my words; I quote it out of something." It is clear to us that Colonel Hope has entirely mistaken the object and purpose of this third Committee, and that he has ascribed to it a degree of importance which it did not deserve. The result is that with reference to each of these three Committees Colonel Hope has made mistakes which entirely destroy the value of his evidence, and that the gross imputations which he throws, on the strength of them, first upon those who appointed the second Committee, and secondly upon Sir William Armstrong in connection with the third Committee, which he says Sir William Armstrong 'squared,' are unfounded and fall to the ground."

And they added—

"Colonel Hope's contention that Sir William Armstrong contrived by fraudulent conspiracy with Captain Noble to give to himself enormous contracts for worthless guns thus appears to us to have been based upon a series of misstatements. We do not suppose that they were intentionally false. Colonel Hope admitted his mistakes with honourable candour, but we think that he was culpably reckless in making those statements. A full account of the circumstances under which these contracts were given is contained in the Blue Books already referred to, from which it appears not only that Colonel Hope's assertions are ill-founded, but that he ought to have had in his hands the very documents which, with the most common attention, would have shown that the matters out of which he has drawn these charges were fully considered by a Special Committee of the House of Commons 24 years ago, and that they, though differing in opinion as to the wisdom of the course adopted, abstained from condemning it, and described it in such a manner to leave no doubt whatever that whether that course was wise or foolish, it was taken in good faith, at the request and on the suggestion of the late Lord Derby, General Peel, and other persons, whom it would be absurd to defend from a charge of corruption."

The Committee summed up the case as follows:—

"This is the whole account of these transactions, and it appears to us not only that the charges made against these gentlemen in this matter are wholly unfounded, but there never was any evidence whatever to justify their being made, whereas there was evidence which ought to have been consulted by Colonel Hope, which he had actually referred to in support of his charges, and which he might have examined at his leisure, with no other trouble than that of going to the British Museum, or by laying out a few shillings at the Stationery Office. We regard this as discreditable to Colonel Hope, although he may be considered as having more or less atoned for his conduct in making these charges by the frankness with which he admitted his mistakes when they were pointed out to him."

With regard to the *Thunderer* Gun Committee, Colonel Hope in his evidence gave the following answers to questions that were put to him:—

"The first point referred to by Colonel Hope is the evidence as to the *Thunderer* Gun Committee. On this Colonel Hope originally gave the following evidence:—Chairman.—You suggest that two persons—namely, Captain Noble and Sir Frederick Bramwell—I can only read it thus, but you must be good enough to say whether this is or is not your meaning—went out to Malta, and that there, in order to conceal the facts, they invented a theory that the *Thunderer* gun had been double loaded?—Yes. You mean that they fraudulently invented that theory?—Captain Noble did. You think that Captain Noble's object was, to put it quite plainly, the fraudulent object of inventing a story which would tranquillize the public and avoid a recognition of the real facts with regard to the *Thunderer's* guns?—Yes, I have no doubt of it."

The Committee went on to state—

"Under these circumstances it appears to us ridiculous to allege that there was any kind of corruption or fraud in the matter. It is, of course, open to Colonel Hope or to any one else to differ from the opinions entertained by the Committee, by Sir Frederick Bramwell, and by Captain Noble, but to infer fraud from the fact that they arrived at the conclusion at which they did arrive seems altogether extravagant."

They further state—

"The next matter alleged in proof of corruption is the 'wicked and unpatriotic lie' stated by Colonel Hope to have been put into the mouth of Lord Hartington by the Ordnance Department, and to have been repeated by Colonel Maitland at a lecture given by him at the United Service Institution in 1884. We exceedingly regret the coarse and offensive language used by Colonel Hope upon this occasion. It is language which admits neither of justification nor excuse; but as Colonel Hope in the latter part of his evidence considerably modified what he said on the first occasion, it is unnecessary to discuss the bearing of this matter on the question of corruption. It is obvious that the statement made was a statement upon matters keenly discussed between professional men upon which great difference of opinion may and does exist. Colonel Maitland maintained that the statement by Lord Hartington on the authority of the Ordnance Department was strictly true, and he obviously understood that statement in a somewhat different sense from that which was attached to it by Colonel Hope. Mr. Vickers, the eminent steel manufacturer of Sheffield, said that if Colonel Maitland's statement had excepted his firm it would have been strictly true. This matter, therefore, may be thrown out of consideration in connection with the present charge."

With regard to Colonel Hope's charge that the Ordnance Department was a "seething mass of corruption," inasmuch as two members of that Department were large shareholders in the Elswick Company, the Committee reported—

"Upon this Colonel Hope avowedly stated that he had merely suspicions and admitted that he had no knowledge except what he gained from the inspection of the Register of Joint Stock Companies."

With regard to the alleged corruption in the purchase by the English Government of the guns which were being constructed by the Elswick firm for the Italian Government, the Committee reported that to say that the purchase was corrupt appeared to them to be an utterly groundless assertion. With regard to the charge against Sir Frederick Abel the Committee reported—

"Colonel Hope further observed that Sir Frederick Abel, the chemist to the War Department, had £1,500 worth of shares in the Elswick Company, and Major Armit makes the same statement. This is true. There is no evidence to show any sort of corruption on Sir Frederick Abel's part, and nothing to his discredit has been suggested by any one. We think it undesirable that officials in the War Department should hold shares in a firm of any kind which enters into contracts with the Department, but in the absence of such a rule we cannot think that any blame ought to attach to Sir Frederick Abel. This is the one point on which Colonel Hope has been rightly informed in the whole of his allegations of corruption, and it is a point to which he himself attaches no importance."

The Committee also reported that the charge against Sir Frederick Campbell was utterly groundless. The result of this charge having been brought against this distinguished officer year after year had been to seriously injure his health. The Committee wound up their Report by stating—

"This completes the whole of the evidence adduced by Colonel Hope to prove his assertion of corruption in the Ordnance Department. It appears to us that when the matter is properly stated it is not enough to raise in any fair mind even a passing suspicion that there might be corruption. Of all the assertions made one only is true, and that one is worthless. It is the assertion that Sir Frederick Abel holds shares in the Elswick Company. We may observe that most of his charges have been formally withdrawn by Colonel Hope. He said that he had been mistaken about all the three Committees, that he had been mistaken about the transaction between Sir William Armstrong and the Government in 1859, that he had been mistaken in imputing a conspiracy to Captain Nolan and Sir William Armstrong in 1860, and that when he said the Ordnance Department was a seething mass of corruption he had made use of a foolish expression. The expression appears to us correct as far as it goes, but it is also inadequate. It is something worse than foolish to bring accusations of this grievous nature against gentlemen and men of honour upon pretexts which, when examined, come to nothing."

But that was not all. It might be expected that Colonel Hope would have made some apology to the Commission at least for the trouble to which he had put them in investigating unfounded charges. Not at all. Colonel Hope wrote a letter to the Chairman of the Commission, after the Report was published, in which, if he did not repeat the charges, he did in the most offensive manner insinuate them. Speaking of the dealing with Sir William Armstrong, he said, at page 17—

"I called this 'continuous corrupt favouritism.' That it was continuous favouritism is a fact. I rejoice to learn that you have been satisfied that it was not also corrupt."

Speaking at page 27 of a Return made to the Royal Commission, he said—

"But it is, to my personal knowledge, a false return, intended to mislead you, and through you the public."

He did not think it necessary to say anything more. When their Lordships found that men who had borne the highest character in private life were, when placed in a public position, subjected to such unjust accusations as had been brought against them by Colonel Hope, Captain Armit, and others, they were bound to protect them, not only because it was right, but because it was politic. Did their Lordships think we should get men to act with loyalty if, when they were subjected to these repeated attacks and accusations of corruption and bribery in its worst form, and when these attacks had been disproved, the Government took no steps to protect them? He hoped his noble Friend would give some assurance that some steps would be taken beyond what had been indicated by the Secretary of State for War. He would ask whether a gentleman who, in the words of the Secretary of State, was capable of making false, calumnious, and disgraceful charges, and whose conduct had been characterized by the Commission as "culpably reckless," was a fit person to hold a high commission in Her Majesty's Forces as head of a Volunteer regiment?

Lord NAPIER and ETTRICK said, that, as an old friend and a relative of the gallant officer whose conduct had been so severely impugned, he wished to say a few words. He had long been intimate with the gallant officer, and cognizant of his many high qualities which were not known to the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley). Colonel Hope belonged to a family more than usually distinguished in the Public Service, a family which was honourably represented in their Lordships' House, and which had been conspicuous characters to the Navy, the Bar, and the Bench, as well as to other departments of Her Majesty's Service. He ventured to say that Colonel Hope in no respect derogated from the high reputation which his family bore. Colonel Hope entered the Army in the beginning of the Crimean War, and, although in a very humble professional position, such was his energetic character and the remarkable qualities with which he was endowed, he very soon made a name even in a scene where so many were distinguished. Before the end of that war he had acquired a claim to the highest distinction which a young officer could obtain—the Victoria Cross—by humane and romantic courage which, though it might have been equalled, has never been excelled in Her Majesty's Service. He would ask their Lordships to think of this young officer as carrying his wounded comrades from the field in the face of the fire of the Russian batteries, or as standing on the roof of a burning magazine and extinguishing the fire which must have caused terrible destruction of life, while not a few shrank from the appalling work of the moment and others stood around, to use a phrase which had now become classica in an attitude of "animated expectancy." It might be said that the distinguished actions of his gallant friend in his younger days were no justification of the errors of which he had been guilty in later years. He did not say that they were; but they might lead their Lordships to the conclusion that the aberrations of which his gallant friend had been guilty were the aberrations of a generous and exalted mind, that they could be traced to no personal motives, but were caused by a disordered or distempered view of public duty. After the end of the Crimean War, Colonel Hope, believing that all chances of fighting were over, forsook the Military Service and passed at once to the opposite extreme. Ceasing to be a subaltern, he became an attache, and accompanied him when he had the honour of being Minister to the United States. There Colonel Hope remained for two years, during which he devoted himself with the greatest assiduity to the performance of his duties, and in connection with them to inquiries into the military organization and equipment of that country, and especially to inventions having reference to military armaments and equipments in which the citizens of the United States were so expert. Colonel Hope was the author of Reports to Her Majesty's Government on these topics, and the Reports were allowed to be of great use. Colonel Hope served also in Holland at The Hague, and in that peaceful and even what might be called stagnant scene managed to attract the approval of Her Majesty's Government by the services which he rendered. Colonel Hope not finding the Diplomatic Service offering a sufficient field forsook it and entered into the pursuits of engineering and mechanical contrivance, for which he had a natural genius. That was a career which sometimes led to great triumphs and gains, but was also sometimes attended with great trials and misfortunes. In the course of his struggles as an inventor and projector Colonel Hope was brought into contact with the Department of Ordnance. During his connection with that Department Colonel Hope came to think that injustice was sometimes done by it, that it was not invariably competent in all its branches, and that it was governed by a spirit of exclusiveness. If he had restricted his incrimination to the charge of incompetency and error his action would not have been blameworthy, for it was right that the imperfections and miscarriages of a Public Department should be brought to light. He was no advocate of strong or unjust language; but no one who had taken a prominent part in bringing before the public in recent years the errors, imperfections, and miscarriages in that and other departments of military administration would say that their exertions had been useless. The best proof of this might be found in the Report of the Commission itself, to which reference had been made, which, while it exonerated the gallant officers referred to by Colonel Hope from the charge of corruption, certainly did not exonerate the department from the imputation of incompetency and inefficiency. Unfortunately his gallant relative had not confined his criticism to the conduct of the department, but had attacked also the morality of individuals holding conspicuous positions within it. That was undoubtedly the weak part of his gallant relative's case. He rejoiced to know that the Commission had thoroughly exonerated all the officers whose morality had been impugned, and deeply regretted that Colonel Hope should have occasioned pain to any honourable officers in Her Majesty's Service. His gallant relative owed an apology to the officers whom he had attacked. He might almost be considered to have apologized already, for in a letter to the Commissioners he had acknowledged the justice of their decision. He (Lord Napier and Ettrick) did not complain that the subject had been brought forward, but he asked their Lordships to deliberate upon it with caution and reserve. Colonel Hope was at present liable to be prosecuted before the Court by the officers whom he had offended, and if their Lordships were collectively to express an opinion averse to him his case, should a prosecution be undertaken, would go into Court prejudged. In conclusion, he asked that a lenient view might be taken of the conduct of his gallant relative, and appealed to their Lorships to refrain from pronouncing any hasty decision which might imperil Colonel Hope's connection with the Volunteer Force, to which he had so long given zealous and gratuitous service, and that might sever the last link that connected him with the glorious profession of which he was once a distinguished ornament.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Lord HARRIS) said, he was glad that the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley) had brought the subject before the House, and had stated, as the Report showed, that the charges made by Colonel Hope had been most clearly and conclusively disproved. A discussion which had already been held upon this subject had given their Lordships an opportunity of expressing their indignation that such charges should have been made against officers of high character. That discussion, he thought, must have convinced the public that those officers still deserved its entire confidence. He had refrained from saying anything when this subject was last before their Lordships, because he preferred that others who had longer and greater experience should express their confidence in the Public Services. There was a danger, however, that the public might forget that the charges had been disproved, that it might remember only the statements of the Commission, that the system of carrying on affairs at the War Office was capable of amendment. This, he hoped, would not occur. Notwithstanding what has been said by the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Napier and Ettrick), the public ought not to forget that men of probity and distinction had lain for months under the gravest and most hateful charges, with the result that the health of one of them was seriously affected, and that the working powers of the remainder were for a time greatly impaired. The noble Earl deserved thanks for having stated as clearly as he had that the charges had fallen absolutely to the ground. The noble and gallant Lord opposite, whose feelings of kinmanship he honoured, had appealed to their Lordships to extend sympathy to Colonel Hope on the ground of his distinguished services in the Crimea and elsewhere. He thought that equal sympathy ought at least to be extended to the men who had been compelled to live under the charges brought by Colonel Hope. The noble and gallant Lord had used the expression "if" the Commission exonerates these officers. There was no doubt that the Commission did exonerate them from all charges of corrupt practices.

LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK said, he did not mean to cast the slightest doubt upon the fact.

LORD HARRIS: The result of the Inquiry was that there was no evidence warranting a suspicion of corruption on the part of any of the superior officers of the Ordnance Department. He was glad to hear the noble and gallant Lord say that Colonel Hope owed an apology to the officers and to the Department. The noble and gallant Lord quoted some sentences in a pamphlet which Colonel Hope had issued. He had read the pamphlet, and could discover no word of apology in it for his conduct to the men whom he had so grossly wronged. He could hold out no hope that the Secretary of State would give any further consideration to the question. As to Colonel Hope's retention of his commission in the Volunteer Forces, he would ask the House to look at the question from the point of view of the Secretary of State. The Commissioner had stated that Colonel Hope had atoned, more or less, for the charges which he had made, and had, with great frankness and honourable candour, admitted the mistakes which he had made. He could not be surprised at the noble Earl's statement, that he had been unable to discover any grounds for this statement of the Commission. But it should be remembered that the Secretary of State was not upon the Commission, and he had to accept the evidence and the Report of the Commission as they stood, and was bound by them. He could only say, further, as the Secretary of State had said, that it was open to any person aggrieved by Colonel Hope's statement, to take proceedings against him in a Court of Law.

SMOKE NUISANCE ABATEMENT (METROPOLIS) BILL.—(No. 157.)

(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL, in moving that the House go into Committee on this Bill, apologized for the non-appearance of the evidence taken before the Select Committee.

THE EARL OF WEMYSS said, he must object to the House going into Committee on the Bill, as there was a distinct understanding that the Committee would not be taken until this evidence was forthcoming.

Order *discharged*, and the House to be put in Committee on *Thursday* next.

TEINDS, &c. (SCOTLAND).

MOTION FOR PAPERS.

Moved, "That there be laid before this House Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland, and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881)."—(*The Earl of Minto.*)

THE SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND (The Marquess of LOTHIAN) said, that after the discussion which took place the other day he made inquiries, and, though he could not undertake that the return would be a complete one, he thought he might be able to give it in a form that would be satisfactory to the noble Earl.

Motion *agreed to.*

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) BILL.

PROTEST.

DISSENTIENTE.

"1. Because exceptional criminal legislation weakens the ordinary administration of justice by inducing reliance on arbitrary methods, and is at the best only temporary in its effec , while it causes lasting irritation and intense hatred and mistrust of the law.

"2. Because, while it is the fact that in some parts of Ireland the people do not support the administration of the law, we do not, after nearly two years free from exceptional legislation, see evidence of such an amount of crime and lawlessness at the present time as has been held to justify Parliament in enacting measures of special severity.

"3. Because this Bill gives the Irish Executive power on its own responsibility to deprive the whole or any part of the Irish people of those constitutional safeguards and individual rights which are so justly prized in Great Britain.

"4. Because, even if some change in the law of criminal procedure in Ireland be expedient, it is not right to submit for judicial determination questions most difficult of solution, such as charges of conspiracy, to subordinate tribunals dependent upon the will of the Executive.

"5. Because this Bill is not only directed against crime and outrage, but against associations lawful in their objects and methods which are placed at the mercy of the Executive whenever such associations, in the opinion of the Executive, disturb the maintenance of law and order.

"6. Because such legislation is likely to create and stimulate the action of secret societies which will be more dangerous than open associations.

"7. Because the experience of a long series of repressive Acts conclusively shows that exceptional legislation of this kind has failed to secure any permanent respect for law and order, while it tends to render the present system of government in Ireland odious to the Irish people.

"8. Because the only true remedy for the evils which this Bill is intended to meet is to be found in legislation which will bring the people of Ireland into harmony and sympathy with the law and its administration."

"GRANVILLE
SPENCER
RIPON
KIMBERLEY
WOLVERTON
BRAYE
ROSEBERY
SANDHURST
HERSCHELL
OXENBRIDGE
HAMILTON of DALZELL
HOUGHTON
NORTHBOURNE
HAMPDEN
KENSINGTON
LEIGH
HOTHFIELD
BURTON
CAMOYS
HOBHOUSE
MONKSWELL
SYDNEY
THRING
CHESTERFIELD
GREVILLE
ACTON
ABERDARE"

House adjourned at half-past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 25th July, 1887.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* the Borough of Glasgow (Bridgeton Division), *v.* Edward Richard Russell, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee—Resolutions* [July 22] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Trustee Savings Banks * [334]; Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast) * [291]; Juvenile Offenders [245], *debate adjourned;* Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp) [326], *debate adjourned;* Bankruptcy Costs (Ireland) * [124].

Committee—Irish Land Law [308] [*First Night*]—R.P.; Open Spaces (Dublin) * [80]—R.P.; Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment [323]—R.P.; Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) * [317]—R.P.

Withdrawn—Marriages (Attendance of Registrars) * [164]; Fishings, &c. Valuation (Scotland) * [114].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL—*Third Reading*—Local Government (No. 7) * [296], and *passed.*

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY (CITY OF DUBLIN JUNCTION RAILWAYS) BILL (*by Order*).

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [22nd July],

"That, in the case of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into consideration, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited."

Question again proposed.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now considered.

MR. P. McDONALD (Sligo, N.): I rise for the purpose of opposing this Bill. My first ground of opposition is that the usual course has been departed from in this instance, inasmuch as we have had no opportunity of blocking the progress of the Bill, owing to the manner in which it has been brought before the House. It has not appeared on the Orders of the Day or on the Notices, in the usual form, and hence it was only when the present stage was reached that we were afforded an opportunity of placing our views before the House. The short history of the Bill is this. In 1884, three years ago, a Bill was passed in both Houses of Parliament authorizing the construction of this so-called loop line. It was most strenuously opposed in its several stages by the Corporation of Dublin, on the ground that the promoters of the Bill, instead of taking the most convenient mode of connecting the Westland Row Station with the terminius of the Great Northern Railway, took a different course altogether, which, if carried out, would probably lead to the disfigurement of the city. In fact, an act of perfect vandalism would have been perpetrated if the Bill had been carried into effect. The provisions of the Bill, however, have not been carried into effect, because the money has not been forthcoming for the construction of the line, and the Act of Parliament has consequently become a dead letter. The Act has now remained a dead letter for three years; but, in the meantime, as we in Ireland are anxious to see an extension of the railway system from Westland Row, we have supported another Bill for connecting that station with the Great Southern and Western Railway Company's line at Kingsbridge. That Company introduced their Bill into this House this year, and now that a practical scheme of connection has been legalized, I think it is somewhat too late for the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Company to come in and say—"We will now make our connection; we will try to raise the money, and by that means we may deprive the Great Southern and Western Company of the value of the privileges they have obtained for themselves in securing the authorization of a connection between Kingstown and Cork by railway." Now, Sir, this scheme for the construction of a so-called loop line, which we maintain will lead to the disfigurement of the City of Dublin, is to cost £300,000, and I can assure our Northern friends by whom it is promoted that, in all probability, if the money is raised, they will never receive one penny in the shape of dividends upon this enormous outlay. That, I believe, is one reason why the Act has been allowed to remain a dead letter. The promoters have now, however, secured some influential friends in the North who are coming forward to support them. But it is not so much upon that ground that I oppose the Bill. I oppose this stage most strenuously on account of the manner in which the measure has been rushed through the House, and for the departure the promoters have made from the ordinary usages of the House. I certainly think the House ought to express its opinion upon that matter, and that it should stop the further progress of the Bill. I therefore oppose the Motion, and I believe that a great number of my Friends who are sitting on this side of the House will go into the Lobby with me if the Bill is persisted in.

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.): The hon. Gentleman speaks of this line as if it were one that really affected the North of Ireland only. I, on the other hand, am here to assert that it would be equally advantageous to the whole of Ireland, and especially to the Queenstown route for the American mails. The hon. Gentleman complains that the Forms of the House have not been complied with. To that statement I also take exception. The Forms of the House, in every instance, have been complied with.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Then with what object is this Motion brought forward?

MR. EWART: The object of the Bill is to enable the promoters to make certain financial arrangements in order to secure that the scheme of 1884 should be carried out, and I am entirely opposed to any Motion for postponing the consideration of the Bill. Perhaps it would be for the convenience of the House that I should make a short statement. The Bill is promoted by the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company, to enable them to carry out the loop-line they were authorized by Parliament to make three years ago. This delay has been rendered necessary in consequence of the indisposition of two of the Companies who were interested in the Bill, and, notably, the Great Southern and Western Railway Company, to carry out the solemn undertaking they entered into under the Act of 1884. As to the merits of the Bill, it is not necessary that I should say much. They were thoroughly investigated by both Houses of Parliament, and the Corporation of Dublin were fully represented there in opposition to the scheme. Nevertheless, it was passed by both Houses. I will only say that this loop-line was supported by the four great Railway Companies in Ireland, and the principal Steamboat Company in the country. It was shown, when the Bill was before Parliament, that it was the only possible way of connecting the different railway termini in Dublin, and of supplying a want that has very long been felt. The Railway Companies invoked the aid of the Postmaster General of that day, Mr. Fawcett, who warmly supported the scheme, and sent an Inspector of Mails to give evidence in its favour, and to express the opinion of the Government that the construction of the line would be a very great advantage to Ireland and to the Queenstown route. So far as passengers are concerned, if this line is made, instead of having to drive through Dublin, as they do at present from one station to another, they will be able to go on without change of carriage; and, as regards the mails, facilities will be afforded for improving the interchange of mails between the whole of Ireland. It will further quicken the communication to Cork and all the provinces by half an hour to an hour, and it will expedite the American mail service to the same extent, both inwards and outwards. There will be a provincial despatch to Dublin of from half-an-hour to an hour later than at present. At this moment, the mails are not delivered in Belfast before noon, and Cork, of course, at a later hour; and the acceleration which will take place under this scheme will confer a great boon upon the town, and, indeed, on the whole of the provinces; while it would give an advantage of from half-an-hour to an hour in the despatch of the American mails *viâ* Queenstown. Therefore, upon every ground, there are strong motives for constructing this line, and I think it is hard that an endeavour should be made to stop the promoters at this stage.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Why should the Standing Orders be suspended?

Mr. EWART: If there were really any possible alternative scheme, or any reason for this opposition, the objection which has been raised to the progress of the Bill would have more claim upon the consideration of the House. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. P. McDonald) says that another Bill, which will give all the public accommodation that is required, has passed this House during the present Session. Now, that Bill has not passed this House at all, although it has passed certain stages, and it is very well known that if the Bill itself passed, it will be impossible for the money ever to be raised for the construction of the line.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Or for this.

Mr. EWART: No sane man will ever put his money into such a line.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Nor into this.

Mr. EWART: I would appeal to hon. Members who represent the City of Dublin to support the Bill. The hon. Member for Sligo has used some hard words about vandalism. This line does, certainly, cross the River Liffey, and passes through Beresford Place. But my own opinion is that if the line be nicely formed and elegant in its structure, instead of being injurious to Beresford Place and the Custom House, will be an improvement to it. Beresford Place is one of the most dreary, deserted looking spots in Europe, and a railway such as I have described crossing there would give animation to it, and show unmistakable signs that Dublin is advancing in material prosperity. I hope, in this matter, to have the support of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) for the construction of this line. It will certainly do Belfast and the Province of Ulster a great deal of good, while, with regard to Dublin, it will at once lead to an expenditure of £300,000, which, I think, is no small matter. Personally, I look upon this as a national question, and I sincerely hope that the House will agree to suspend the Standing Orders and allow the Bill to be passed to-day.

Mr. PENROSE-FITZGERALD (Cambridge): I cannot see that the hon. Member who has just spoken has removed any of the objections which the hon. Member for Sligo has raised to this Bill. Although the hon. Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart) has said that no sane man would put his money in a scheme for a connecting line between the Kingstown and Dublin Railway and the Great Southern and Western system, I, for one, in a very small way, have done so. I consider that such a railway is most needed under the existing circumstances, and that it will directly facilitate the transit of the mails from London to Cork. This Bill has been before the House for some time. What the technical points may be on which it has been delayed I am not aware, but that it has been delayed I am aware, and owing to that delay the Great Southern and Western Railway have formed a project which is now before this House for connecting Kingstown with their line to Cork, by means of a link from Rooterstown to Inchicore. Therefore, I think it is hard that we should have it thrown in our face that a Railway Company proposing to carry a line through the streets of Dublin should have power to prevent the Great Southern and Western Railway from going on with their project. The Northern Railways are already connected with the Great Southern and Western line at Kingsbridge; and the Great Southern and Western Railway runs the mails to

Cork direct. The proposition of that Company to construct a small loop-line from Rooterstown to Inchicore will connect all the great main lines with Holyhead, Dublin, and Cork. This line will place Kingstown, where the English and American mails arrive, in direct communication with Cork, and that is most important in view of the competing claims of Southampton, Milford, Falmouth, and other towns for carrying the American mails. If Cork is not prepared, as it ought to be, with a complete through transit from Kingstown it will inevitably go to the wall, and my sole object is to endeavour to induce this House, as quickly as possible, to pass such necessary measures as will enable the Great Southern and Western Railway Company at Queenstown to connect their line with the Kingstown boats. It is no fault of ours that the line authorized by the Act passed three years ago has not been made, and, no doubt, the Company had some reason for the delay. On their heads then the consequences must fall if their line is rejected. All that I ask of the House is not to allow our Bill to be crushed, because, for some reason of their own, the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Company have chosen to delay the construction of their line.

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): This is a question which closely affects the transit of the mails, and therefore has a certain amount of public interest, apart from the interest it has in connection with Ireland. Therefore, I desire to say one or two words upon the subject as to the great difficulty at present experienced in regard to the transit of the mails, to which reference has already been made. I am aware that this is one of two Bills which are promoted by rival Companies, both of which measures, I understand, have, among other objects, that of facilitating the transmission of the mails through and from Dublin. I have nothing whatever to say to that part of the present scheme, which proposes a communication between the Westland Row Station and the Northern railway lines. As to the means by which that communication is to be effected that is a matter with which I have nothing to do. I should be glad if I thought there were any reasonable prospect in the course of the present year, or in any short time, of seeing the scheme to which the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Penrose-Fitzgerald) has referred carried out. The matter, however, is really urgent, and the carrying out of that scheme must necessarily be delayed for some time. When the question was under consideration before the Committee in 1884, the great point urged was the fact that the mails, on their arrival from England, at Kingstown, had to be conveyed to Westland Row, then transferred to cars, then taken to another railway station, the Great Southern and Western Station at Kingsbridge. A deputation waited upon me on this subject last autumn, and I felt bound to tell them that if that arrangement continued to be carried out in regard to the transport of the American mails the inconvenience it entails is of such an extreme character that it would almost certainly be necessary to send the mails by some other route. No doubt, Plymouth, Southampton, and other places are competing for the conveyance of the American mails, although I draw from that fact a different moral from that which my hon. Friend draws. My hon. Friend asks the House to throw out this Bill, which would have the effect of securing the conveyance of the mails through the City of Dublin, because he thinks another scheme might be better if the promoters of a certain Bill now before Parliament were to carry the provisions of that Bill out. Now, although that scheme may be a good one, and I should be happy to support it in respect of the Office I hold as Postmaster General whenever it comes before the House in a practical manner, I do not think the House ought to throw away the opportunity now afforded to it of completing a through communication by passing the present Bill. Something has been stated in regard to an irregularity committed by the promoters in bringing forward the Bill, and reference has been made to some special and exceptional proceedings. Now, let me point out that it is perfectly competent for the promoters to ask the House to dispense with certain Standing Orders, with a view of facilitating any measure which it is seriously intended to pass into law in the course of the present Session. The House, in many instances, has acceded to such an application, and has sent a Bill forward to the

House of Lords with greater speed than the ordinary Forms of the House would allow, in order that it might become law before the end of the Session. This Bill is one which was not opposed in its Committee stage, and I do not think it lies very well in the mouth of those who oppose it in its present stage to complain that there has been any irregularity in the proceedings of the promoters. The Bill passed before the Chairman of Ways and Means as an unopposed Bill, and now that it has come down here for consideration, the opponents are trying to raise questions which they were unwilling to raise before the proper tribunal. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Hon. Members deny that; but this House has always looked with great suspicion upon an opposition got up at the last moment in order to prevent a Bill from being read a third time, when no opposition has been offered to it in its earlier stages. I hope it will be a long time before this House consents to endorse any such course of action, unless some better ground is shown for it than has been shown in this case. I have only one word more to add, and it has reference to the actual character of the Bill itself. This Bill does not propose for the first time to make this railway. It merely proposes to facilitate the completion of an authorized railway, by giving greater financial advantages than are at present possessed. The Corporation of Dublin opposed the original Bill when it was before the House in 1884, and they agreed to the insertion of clauses in the House of Lords—certain saving clauses in regard to their rights—with a view of meeting and obviating the objections which they had urged. Then I do not think that the Corporation of Dublin are justified in opposing the Bill on the present occasion, especially as it relates only to financial arrangements by which it is intended to give effect to what is already the law of the land. I do not think I am called upon to refer to any other scheme which is not at this moment before us. I shall be glad, in my official capacity, to welcome either, or both, of these Bills. I should be tolerably happy with either; but I think that this Bill stands a better chance of being passed than the other, and I hope the House will not throw away the opportunity it now has of making the connection with the Westland Row Station, and I trust that hon. Members from Ireland will scruple to take any course which may make it necessary to reconsider the whole question of the carriage of the American mails *viâ* Ireland.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I have listened with positive amazement to the statement of the Postmaster General. How, in the name of goodness, does this Bill affect the American mails! If the right hon. Gentleman knows Dublin as well as we do, he must know that this Bill affects the conveyance of the American mails no more than if we were to put another bridge across the river here at Westminster. The American mails go from Westland Row at the present moment down to Queenstown. This is a proposal to build a bridge and to take trains across the Liffey, so as to connect Westland Row with the line to Belfast; and it has no more to do with the American mails than Tenterden Steeple has to do with the Goodwin Sands. The right hon. Gentleman has made what almost amounts to a threat against the Irish Members if they oppose this Bill; and he has suggested that the Corporation of Dublin are, for some purposes of their own, encouraging this opposition. As to the merits of the financial proposal, I know nothing. I do not care a snap of the fingers which Company makes the connection, or which does not; I should be glad to see both succeed, so long as they succeed in a proper manner; but we are told by the right hon. Gentleman that the opposition has been got up at the last moment by the Corporation of Dublin, and that, therefore, we ought to be suspicious of it. That is an insinuation which I utterly repel. Three years ago I gave to this Bill the utmost opposition in my power. I looked upon it as a Bill introduced by Goths and Vandals, and I recollect that at that time an unworthy attack was made upon the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who was then a Member of this House, for the purpose of prejudicing the Committee which was appointed to consider the Bill against the opposition raised to it. What is the Motion now before the House? The Postmaster General says that the House has always been in the habit of assenting to proposals of this kind, and especially in view of the fact that the opposition has been got up at the last moment. Now, what was the first moment at which the opposition could have been got up?

The right hon. Gentleman having himself been Chairman of Committees, ought to understand the Forms of the House, and I certainly expect to hear from the present Chairman of Ways and Means some justification of the proposal contained in this Motion to suspend the Standing Orders when I ask how we could have got up an opposition against the Bill. As a matter of fact, the measure has been smuggled through the House at this late period of the Session with the connivance of the authorities—I do not say in any improper way, but the authorities of the House have certainly favoured this proposal in some manner which I do not understand. We have heard from the hon. Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart) a good deal about the merits of the Bill; but will he tell us what justification there is for suspending the Standing Orders? I presume that the Rules of this House have been laid down for valuable reasons. We hear a great deal nowadays about the Forms of the House. Every Form of the House has been established, I suppose, by the wisdom of our predecessors for a particular and specific purpose, and if those Forms should be adhered to for anything at all, certainly they should not be departed from on questions affecting the raising of capital. We have not heard a single word from the hon. Gentleman who is apparently engineering the Bill as to why the Standing Orders should be suspended. The first proposal contained in this Motion is to suspend Standing Order 84. Let me turn to that Standing Order. The Postmaster General says that the opposition has been got up at the last moment. Standing Order 84 says—

> "Three clear days at least before the consideration of any private Bill ordered to lie upon the Table a copy of every such Bill, as amended in Committee, shall be laid by the agent before the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and the counsel to Mr. Speaker, and deposited at the office of the Board of Trade; and in the case of every Bill required by the Standing Orders to be deposited at the office of the Local Government Board on or before the 21st day of December, shall also be deposited at the office of the Local Government Board."

Why, then, was that not done? Why do the promoters not do it? Why should there be this amazing hurry? Certainly I did not know that there was a rival scheme before the House until the hon. Member for Cambridge got up to say that he had put his money in it. I am very glad that he has, because I say that the proposal to spend £300,000 by a Railway Company which is practically bankrupt—namely, the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company—which has only paid 1 per cent for a number of years, and whose chief Director, the moment this Bill was passed, resigned his seat on the board, and said that he would no longer be responsible for the affairs of the Company, is preposterous. This is a Bill which is backed up by persons who have not one penny of interest in the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Line, and who want to spend £300,000 in building a bridge across the Liffey, in order to save 10 minutes in the transit through the City of Dublin. I have pointed out that the Bill has no more to do with the conveyance of the American mails than Westminster Bridge; and what protection are we to have if we are to permit promoters of Bills to violate one of the fundamental provisions of our Standing Orders, requiring Notice and warning to be given to Members of this House and other parties concerned? Yet it is proposed in regard to a Bill for which not a single stiver has yet been subscribed, that this Standing Order should be suspended. Then, what is the next Standing Order, because I observe that there are a quartette of them which this Motion proposes to suspend? The next is Standing Order 214. What does that Standing Order say? It says—

> "Every Private Bill, as amended in Committee, shall be printed at the expense of the parties applying for the same; and delivered to the Vote Office for the use of the Members, three clear days at least before the consideration of such Bill."

That is a most important provision, and in this case it does not appear to have been complied with. Standing Order Number 215 provides that—

> "In the case of Private Bills ordered to lie upon the Table, three clear days shall intervene between the Report and the consideration of the Bill, and no consideration of any such Bill shall take place, unless the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means shall have informed the House or signified in writing to Mr. Speaker, whether the Bill contain the several provisions required by the Standing Orders."

This Standing Order provides that the Chairman of Ways and Means shall certify certain things to the Speaker and his counsel. The promoters, in this case, have not done so, and yet, forsooth, we are asked to occupy the time of the House by considering the advisability of suspending our Standing Orders when we have plenty of other work before us, and have certainly no desire to occupy ourselves with the consideration of Private Bill Legislation. The Postmaster General tells us that the opposition to the Bill has been got up in a suspicious manner at the last moment, when absolutely, as far as I can gather, no copy of the Bill has been printed in the ordinary way for the use of Members. But these voracious Gentlemen want to have another Standing Order suspended. Why not abolish the House of Commons altogether, and get rid of all the precautions which have been taken in reference to Private Bill Legislation. Standing Order 239 says--

> "One clear day's notice, in writing, shall be given by the agent for the Bill, to the clerks in the Private Bills Office, of the day proposed for the consideration of every Private Bill ordered to lie upon the Table."

So that when charged by the Postmaster General with having got up at the last moment a suspicious opposition to the Bill, we find that if the right hon. Gentleman had examined the Standing Orders, and he ought to be acquainted with them, seeing that he occupied for some time, in a useful and dignified manner, the position of Chairman of Ways and Means, he would have known that no opportunity has been given to us to state our opposition to the Bill. I think, under all the circumstances of the case, it would be an act of great folly for capitalists to put their money into this scheme. I know that if we had Home Rule passed for Ireland, one of the first things the Irish Government would be required to do would be to build a bridge over the Liffey in a proper manner. They would not consent to be overruled by three Gentlemen in the House of Commons, who probably never saw Dublin or even Ireland, who care nothing for the country, and who simply support the view originally put forward by the counsel for the promoters of the Bill to the prejudice of the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin. If that had not been done, the Bill would never have been passed. The only valid argument offered to the Committee was that gentleman connected with the Military Service were called, who stated that when soldiers were marched across Dublin from one station to the other, the streets of Dublin were very dirty, and the soldiers found it necessary to have their boots blacked. Can any hon. Member conceive a similar instance in which an attempt could be made to override the opinion of the people whose interests are most at stake, in this extraordinary way? If it had been proposed to build a bridge to the East of the Custom House, we should have been prepared to welcome both the Bill and the bridge. There is no reason why that course should not have been taken, except the opposition of a miserable body —the Dublin Docks Board—a close corporation representing nobody. It was decided to carry the bridge to the west of the Custom House, simply because if it were constructed on the other side, it might interfere with the berthage of a few ships. That was the only argument in favour of building the bridge in the place it is intended to occupy—namely, that it would interfere, if erected elsewhere, with the berthage of one or two ships. Upon this trivial ground it was decided to shut out the citizens of Dublin from a full view of one of the most beautiful structures in the City, and to destroy Beresford Place as a *rendezvous* for the people of Dublin. [*A laugh.*] I see that the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) laughs. I presume he does so because no Orange Lodge has ever been allowed to march in procession there. The Corporation of Dublin gave a vigorous opposition to the Bill; but the opposition was not confined to the Corporation. On the contrary, Baron Dowse, Mr. Justice Harrison, a member of the Conservative Party, and the Provost of Trinity College, whom Lord Carnarvon knighted when he was in Ireland, gave the strongest opposition to the Bill. We do not oppose the Bill itself, but only the proposal to build a bridge in this particular way, and at the present moment the House has not heard a single reason why the bridge should be built east instead of west of the Custom House. I would ask the English Members, in a matter of this kind, to have some regard to the opinion of the citizens of Dublin who, by their Corporation, oppose, in the strongest manner, the erection of this bridge, which violates every canon of decency and taste, and for the building of which no reason exists except that a larger amount of compensation would have to be given if it were erected elsewhere. Certainly, the construction of this line will not benefit the transmission of the American mails by one hair's breadth. In Dublin popular feeling is strongly against the proposal, and I do not think, to use the words of the hon. Member for North Belfast (Mr. Ewart) that any sane man would put his money into it. If he did, I am satisfied he would never get it back again; and it is quite certain that the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company, who for years have only been paying 1 per cent, can never afford to find the money. I maintain that no reason has been assigned to justify the suspension of the Standing Orders. No doubt the slumbering energies of the Gentlemen who promote the Bill have been awakened, because some other well-considered project of a practical nature is now before the House. They want now to euchre the supporters of this rival project by running their own scheme, and evading the regulations of this House, which require full and adequate notice to be given of their intention. I am glad the hon. Member for Cambridge is with us in opposing the Bill; and I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, as a point of Order, whether it is in Order for any hon. Member to make an omnibus Motion of this kind for the suspension of the Standing Orders *en bloc?*

MR. SPEAKER: A Motion for the suspension of more than one Standing Order has frequently been made. The Motion, however, now before the House is not for the suspension of the Standing Orders, that Motion having been rendered unnecessary by the lapse of time. The Motion now is "that the Bill be now considered."

MR. T. M. HEALY: If the Motion that the Bill be now considered is agreed to, will the Standing Orders be suspended?

MR. SPEAKER: No; there will be no necessity for suspending them.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I was unwilling to interrupt the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), although I was quite aware that a greater part of his speech was based on a misconception, seeing that there is no Motion, at the present moment, before the House for the suspension of the Standing Orders. If the consideration of the Bill had been moved last week, such a Motion would have been necessary; but the three days referred to have now lapsed, and therefore the objection which has been taken to the Motion by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford on Parliamentary grounds entirely fails. I did not interrupt the hon. and learned Member, because I am bound to say that, although the present Motion involves no suspension of the Standing Orders, still if the House approves of it, it will be necessary to move the Suspension, afterwards, of the Standing Orders. I may point out that only this Session, Motions of this kind involving the suspension of the Standing Orders have repeatedly been made and agreed to. It has been found necessary, constantly, towards the end of the Session to suspend the Standing Orders in order to facilitate the passing of a Bill to which there has been no opposition; and, up to this time, there has been no opposition to this Bill. In respect of the measure itself, the hon. and learned Member has said that he has really no objection to the Bill except on the ground of the bridge it is proposed to construct over the Liffey. He adds that if the bridge were built somewhere else the Bill might be allowed to pass. Now, this is a Bill which was brought in and passed in the year 1884, when the whole question of the construction of this railway and its effect upon the City of Dublin were argued before a Committee of this House, and again before a Committee of the House of Lords. In order to meet the objections of the Corporation of Dublin, a clause—Clause 11—was put in for the protection of that city in reference to the mode in which the line was to be carried across Beresford Place.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Still leaving the question of the injury to the Custom House.

MR. COURTNEY: Quite true; but that question was fully considered in 1884, and this clause was put in for the protection of the City of Dublin, as far as the Committee thought it ought to be protected. The present Bill proceeds on the basis of that Act. That Act contains certain financial arrangements for carrying on the works, and the Bill now introduced is simply a modification of the financial arrangements contained in the Act of 1884. It is, then, on all fours with the Manchester Ship Canal Bill of the present year, which simply qualified the financial arrangements which were considered and authorized in a former Bill. It was held upon that Bill that it would be quite irrelevant and improper to re-open the question of the Manchester Ship Canal except in relation to the financial arrangements. In the case of the present Bill, the whole question re-opened is the reconstruction of the financial arrangements sanctioned by Parliament in the Act of 1884. By Clause 3 it is provided that—

> "The guarantees authorised to be granted under the Act of 1884 as amended by this Act and by this Act by the three Companies respectively or any of them may by the said Companies or any of them from time to time granting such guarantee attached to any portion of the share or stock capital specified in such guarantee or guaranteees to the exclusion of any mortgages or of the debenture stock or of any other portion or portions of the said share or stock capital. And the guarantees granted by the said Companies or any of them in respect of any shares or stock shall attach to such specific shares or stock, and the holders thereof shall be entitled to all the benefits of such guarantees to the exclusion of all persons or Corporations whether proprietors in or creditors of the Company or of the separate undertaking of the City of Dublin Junction Railways or otherwise howsoever."

The present Bill is to give the promoters an opportunity of carrying out this new financial scheme, to which no objection is raised by anybody. It is quite true that the Bill has been proceeded with hurriedly. I understand that the Corporation of Dublin applied for copies of the Bill, and that they were supplied with them on the 29th of June, so that they had an ample opportunity for framing their opposition. The Bill itself came before me, and it was after it was disposed of in Committee that this opposition was got up. It has over and over again been permitted by promoters, by the favour of the House, towards the end of the Session, to suspend the Standing Orders, and the whole point which the House can now consider is this, not whether the Act of 1884 was or was not a perfect Bill, nor whether the rival scheme — which I now hear of for the first time—should or should not be sanctioned. It is not a rival scheme, as a matter of fact, because, as I understand, it is a scheme for connecting the Great Southern and Western Railway with Westland Row, whereas the present scheme is to connect the Great Northern Railway with Westland Row. The whole matter is whether the House will alter the financial arrangements which actually concern the right of the guarantors in a way that will not affect the character of the former undertaking. I think the House will be acting strictly in accordance with every precedent if it consents to consider the Bill, and orders it to be read a third time.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. T. D. SULLIVAN) (Dublin, College Green): In reply to some of the observations which have been made by the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means, who has just sat down, I wish to say that the view which we take of the matter is this, that although this Bill is not a Bill for the construction of a railway line, it is a Bill to enable the promoters to construct a line. Now the Corporation of Dublin and a large number of the influential and the respectable citizens of that city have given from the outset a steady and persistent opposition to this scheme. When this loop-line was before Parliament some years ago it was advocated mainly on the allegation that it would greatly facilitate the transfer of the mails between Holyhead and Queenstown. That argument seems now to be dropped by the promoters of the scheme, and, as a matter of fact, this loop-line would not expedite the transmission of the mails by more than a very few minutes, because the route is most circuitous and complicated. Between that time and this, however, another scheme has been proposed, which, although it has not as yet been passed into law, would really facilitate the transmission of the mails between England and Ireland, by way of Holyhead and Queenstown. That is the junction line between Kingsbridge and a point a little below Westland Row. The adoption of that scheme would entirely supersede all necessity for this loop-line so far as the transfer of the mails is concerned, or, as we heard on a former occasion, the transmission of troops from England to Ireland. That junction line has already passed through Committee, and if we are asked whether any delay is likely to take place in passing it into law, I do not think it lies in the mouth of the supporters of this Bill to complain, seeing that they have delayed the construction of the loop-line they have been authorized to make for at least three or four years. And let me point out that the line of the Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Company will cross on the level no less than 16 streets in the City of Dublin, and will sweep around the finest building in that city on arches or on iron tressels, forming one of the most hideous objects it is possible to conceive. It has been stated that we must put up with this vandalism on account of the facilities the line will afford for the transmission of the American mails. That consideration is now removed, because another and a better means of facilitating the transit of the mails is now being passed into law. It has, I believe, passed Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and what I would say to English Members in reference to the matter is that as it is the English Parliament which has made Dublin poor, let this Parliament leave the citizens of Dublin, at any rate, what little remains of the beauty of our city. Some day or other we believe that Dublin may be made a great and prosperous city; in the meantime, in this stage of the relations between England and Ireland, I ask the House not to destroy the finest prospect we have in Dublin. In every civilized city in the world respect has been paid and value attached to objects of architectural beauty. The Corporation of Dublin have opposed this Bill from the beginning. A meeting was recently held in the Mansion House by the citizens of Dublin in opposition to the measure, and at that meeting speeches were delivered of a strong and highly persuasive character by some of the leading and most eminent men in Dublin. What has been represented to be the great reason for making this line is now removed, and I venture to say that the scheme should not be pushed forward against the will of the Representatives of the people of Dublin. A vast majority of the people of that city are opposed to the scheme, and I appeal to the House of Commons not to endorse it. The difficulty, in regard to the conveyance of the mails, which has been referred to by the Postmaster General, will be otherwise provided for, and the Bill, which has already passed through most of its stages, in both Houses of Parliament can be passed into law in a very brief interval. I think it would be a most unnecessary act of vandalism and barbarism to do anything to sanction the construction of this most objectionable line.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I do not know whether the House fully understands what the question is that is now before it. A number of hon. Gentlemen have addressed the House in favour of the Bill, but not one of them has made any reference, in detail, to the provisions of the measure. Therefore, I will tell the House, shortly, what that Bill is. As far as I can gather from the Act which was passed in 1884, the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company obtained power to make this wretched loop-line which passes over 16 streets in Dublin, and disfigures the Custom House, not only did the House give that power, but although this loop-line will naturally form part of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway system, it will give power to the Company to treat the undertaking as a separate undertaking, with a separate capital. That is to say, that the Company was so doubtful of the success of the undertaking that they induced the House to make it a separate undertaking, so as not to inflict upon the general system the consequences of any failure of the project. I believe it is a fact that the shareholders of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Line only get a dividend of 1 per cent. It is now complained that in spite of all the exceptional facilities which Parliament gave, no fraction of the capital has been raised—not a single individual has been found who has been foolish enough to put one penny into the undertaking. In addition, certain guarantees are given by the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway Company, the Great Northern of Ireland Railway Company, and the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, and power was given to pay interest preferentially, and to grant guarantees and enter into agreements. It may be asked what this Company will do if the Bill passes? The Company will proceed to cross the City of Dublin in order to bring the American mails, not only to Dublin, but through Dublin to the north of the city, and then along the north side of Dublin by a circuit of nine or ten miles, to the Kingsbridge terminus; the line extending along nearly three sides of a triangle. Now the city of Belfast is alone interested in this question, and I ask the House to consider this point; that so far as Belfast is concerned she does not at the present moment send her North of England and Scotch mail traffic to Dublin at all; she sends it in another direction; but, nevertheless, the people of Belfast ask for these exceptional powers for their own benefit. It is from the South of Ireland that the American mails are most satisfactorily carried, and this Bill will prevent the American mails from being carried direct to Queenstown. The Bill is altogether for the benefit of Belfast; and those who send the Scotch mails through Belfast send them without their touching Dublin at all. A very few passengers indeed will be sent over this route, and it is for the benefit of those few passengers that this new route is to be devised to the absolute disfigurement of Dublin, and the injury of the city of Cork. I trust the House will pause before it assents to the Bill. It is a Bill which gives extraordinary and exceptional powers to a Railway Company to create a new Company in which they have no actual interest themselves. I hope that the House will decline to deal with the matter in its present shape.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I wish to submit to you, Mr. Speaker, a point of Order in regard to this matter. You will observe, Sir, that the Motion stands on the Paper as an adjourned debate, and as an adjourned debate on a proposal to suspend certain Standing Orders, after which it is proposed to move "that the Bill be now taken into consideration." The Motion on the Paper was that which hon. Members have come down to this House to discuss; but, subsequently, I understood you to rule from the Chair that that Motion had been withdrawn—that is to say, that the debate on the Question upon which the debate was adjourned last week would not be taken, and that the Motion for resuming the adjourned debate was withdrawn. That being so, a new question has been started, and started, as I submit, without Notice. What I wish to put to you, Sir, is this—Whether, in regard to a Bill which hon. Gentlemen could have had no previous opportunity of discussing a new question without Notice, ought to be raised by an hon. Member simply taking off his hat at the Table when the Motion is one of which we have had no Notice whatever? What I submit is that the greatest inconvenience will arise if promoters are allowed to start in this House fresh questions without Notice, and to withdraw without Notice a Motion for the adjournment of the debate, thus taking the original question out of the purview of Members of this House. Having regard to the period of the Session at which this Motion is made, I respectfully submit that the Rules of the House, instead of being relaxed, ought to be maintained with the greatest stringency; and, therefore, I think the Motion ought now to drop as if it had never been made, and that the promoters should be left to their own devices hereafter. I maintain that a new precedent is now being made with regard to Private Bills, which will be keenly watched by learned counsel and by promoters generally with regard to the pushing forward, at late periods of the Session, Bills against which objection may be taken. I think, Sir, that your ruling, in a case of this kind, will be of great importance, and that some result in one way or another will necessarily follow your decision.

Mr. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. and learned Gentleman, I may say that I do not think there has been any deviation from the ordinary practice. I hold in my hand the Notice deposited in the Private Bill Office, which states that the Bill would be taken into consideration on Friday July 22nd, and a Motion was accordingly placed on the Paper for the suspension of certain Standing Orders. But when the Motion was called on in the usual course, objection was taken to it, and the debate was adjourned. Part of the Notice given was that the Bill be now taken into consideration, which means "that the Bill be now considered." That was sufficient Notice. The reason why the suspension of the Standing Orders is not pressed was that the suspension of the Standing Orders has been rendered unnecessary by the mere lapse of time. If the Motion had been taken before the three days had expired, the Standing Orders would necessarily have been applicable, but owing to the lapse of time the necessity of suspension no longer exists. I think there has been ample Notice of the Question "that the Bill be now taken into consideration."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I speak both as a Northern Representative and as a citizen of Dublin. I quite agree that the construction of this bridge may cause some disfigurement to the city; but, on the other hand, there can be no doubt that the North of Ireland would benefit very greatly, inasmuch as it would mean the continuance of the American Mail Service *viâ* Dublin and Queenstown. There ought to have been a central station in Dublin years ago, and it cannot be denied that in consequence of the absence of proper facilities for through communication, a great fear now exists lest the American Mail Service may be lost. I waited, as one of the deputation, upon the Postmaster General last year upon that subject, and we were distinctly warned that unless a connection were made between Kingsbridge and Westland Row, it would be impossible to continue the existing service of the American mails. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford says that this Bill has nothing to do with the American mails, but the hon. and learned Member knows perfectly well that when the mails are now run to Westland Row, they have to be transferred and driven across the city to Kingsbridge, whereas if this line were constructed, they would be taken by rail to Kingsbridge, and time would be saved.

MR. CHANCE: How many miles would they have to be taken round the city?

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I know that there is a danger of disfiguring the city if the line is constructed as proposed; and if hon. Members could assure me that the rival line has any chance of being made, and that the capital for its construction is guaranteed, I might be induced to alter my vote; but, seeing the absolute certainty of the American Mail Service being lost to Ireland, unless something is done speedily, I prefer to pay regard to the prosperity of the country, and I shall vote for the Motion.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) has said that he will vote for this Bill because there is a danger that, if it does not pass, Dublin may lose the American mails. He further believes that if the Bill were passed to enable the American mails to be conveyed direct to Kingsbridge, and then on to Queenstown, he should prefer that route; but he thinks there is no probabilty of that line being made now. Although we must remember that that Bill has not yet been passed into law, and will not come into operation for, perhaps, a month or two, the line which the present Bill relates to was passed some years ago. I therefore cannot agree that the House has anything before it to induce it to arrive at the conclusion that the line in connection with which the present Bill has been introduced has had a better chance of being more speedily made than the line which is dealt with by the Bill now before the House. One great objection we take to the Motion has reference to the question of Notice. We say that it comes before the House by surprise. We say that hon. Members generally have not had a full and adequate opportunity of considering the important questions which are dealt with by the Bill. We say that the Bill has been sprung upon this House, and sprung upon the public of Ireland, in a manner for which we were altogether unprepared. I do not allege that there has been any wilful attempt to mislead the House and the public; but I say that the proceedings of the promoters of the Bill have been of a character to produce that impression. Therefore, I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Seeing that the question has been discussed now for an hour and a half, I think a decision may be taken without a further adjournment.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I rise to support the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, and I do so for this reason—because I think some further time should be given to Members of this House to consider the question, and look more fully into it. In my opinion, it is a question which ought really to be left to the decision of the Irish people. Probably there may be a few Irish

Members who are in favour of the scheme; but there is not the slightest doubt that the majority of the Irish Members against the scheme is at least five to one. There is no division among the Irish Party as to the merits of the Bill; and their opinion is not shared by one Party alone, for one of the first hon. Members to speak against the Bill was a Member of the Conservative Party opposite—the hon. Member for Cambridge. The chief ground on which I oppose the Bill is that not a single reason has yet been given in favour of the scheme.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that the question before the House is the adjournment of the debate.

MR. DILLON: I do not propose to go into the merits of the Bill; but I rose to support the Motion for Adjournment, in order to afford the English Members an opportunity of considering the question, and talking it over privately with the Irish Members before they come to a final decision. The question to us who live in the City of Dublin, and who take an interest in everything which concerns the welfare of that city, is a very important question. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the construction of this line will disfigure the City of Dublin; and as that is a matter of the highest importance to Dublin, I think it is a desirable thing that the debate should be adjourned, in order that the English Members should have an opportunity of considering the matter, instead of prolonging the discussion, as it must be prolonged if a final decision is to be taken now.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I hope the Government will consent to the adjournment of the debate. The Motion has now assumed an entirely different aspect from that which it had upon the Notice Paper, in which it is stated that it was a Motion for the suspension of the Standing Orders. A very strong feeling has been expressed upon the question by three of the Irish Judges—including Mr. Justice Harrison and Baron Dowse. I therefore submit that the Government ought to accept the proposal now made, taking into consideration the manner in which the Bill has been dealt with, and attempted to be smuggled through the House. I should certainly like to hear what the Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland has to say in regard to the matter.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): In the first place, I would ask the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. M. Healy), who has moved the adjournment of the debate, to withdraw the Motion. The question has been very fully discussed already, and I believe that if the House goes to a Division on the Main Question the measure will in all probability be thrown out. It has been opposed strongly by my hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge, and objections have been urged against the disfigurement of the city. I may say that although I supported the Motion on a previous occasion, I only did so because I was of opinion that some communication should be made between Westland Row and Kingsbridge. If any other scheme could be proposed by which the same object could be carried out in a less objectionable manner, I should have been prepared to support it.

MR. COURTNEY: Upon the question which has been raised by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, that this is a new Motion, I must point out that I have already explained that the Motion, as it stands on the Paper, consists of three things—First, that certain Standing Orders should be suspended; secondly, that the Bill be now taken into consideration; and, thirdly, there is a provision that amended prints should have been previously deposited. The time has now elapsed for the suspension of the Standing Orders, and copies of the Bill have been actually deposited, so that the only remaining Motion is, "That the Bill be now considered." The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) says that further time is required for the discussion of the matter; but I may remind him that the real point under discussion now is not the construction of the bridge across the Liffey, or the making of this railway. Those points were settled by the Act of 1884, and the question now before the House is simply the propriety of altering the financial arrangements as they were originally made. The only question to be considered is the financial question, and I submit that no sufficient reason has been given why the Bill should not be considered.

Mr. CHANCE: I trust the House ill pause before they allow the Bill to considered now. I do not believe ere are a dozen English Members in e House who have taken the trouble to ok at the Bill, and I think that if ere was an adjournment, and they did ok at the Bill, they would assuredly ote against it. I think it is a monstrous ing that English Members, who are ry imperfectly acquainted with the ture of the question raised by the easure, should be prepared to go into e Lobby against the unanimous wish of e Irish Members, without taking the ouble of studying the provisions of the ll.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Under the rcumstances I will not press the Motion r Ajournment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed.

Mr. DILLON: I now rise for the urpose of asking hon. Members on the her side of the House to declare themlves on this question. The reason why supported the adjournment of the bate was that, while we had had an erwhelming declaration from the Memrs who represent Ireland, we had ard no declaration from hon. Members pposite as to what their view is. We e, therefore, in darkness as to the course out to be adopted by the Government by hon. Members opposite. The ly person who gave us any indication the views of the Government was the ostmaster General, and his statement, far as we could understand it, was at the Government were strongly in vour of the Bill. So far as he was ncerned, he was in favour of it for one ason, and one reason only—namely, at it would facilitate the transmission the American mails. But that arguent has been shown to be altogether roneous, because there is a better heme already before the House. The esent scheme, in relation to the transission of the American mails, is an tremely bad one, and makes a most effectual provision for the conveyance the mails. It is not questioned that this line were constructed it would ly accelerate the transmission of the ails by about 10 minutes. The point ally before the House is whether this e should be constructed or not, beuse, as I understand, the promoters cannot construct it without the passing of this Bill. That is the reason they have brought the Bill forward. We all know that it is an expensive matter to bring in a Private Bill, and I want to know why the line has not been constructed long ago? I think we ought to have some slight indication of what the opinion of the Government is before we consent to go to a Division. I was stopped just now by you, Sir, in discussing the merits of the Bill, because the question before the House was simply a Motion for the adjournment of the debate. I do not profess to understand the whole merits of the question; but what I do say is this—it is a proposal which is intensely obnoxious to the citizens of Dublin, a proposal deliberately to destroy one of the finest views in the whole City of Dublin, and utterly to destroy the appearance of the most beautiful building in it. Anybody who will cross the O'Connell Bridge, and look down towards the Custom House, will agree with what I say. It must further be borne in mind that no single reason has been given to the House in favour of the Bill. I am at a loss to know on what grounds the persons who are interested in the measure propose to invest their money in it, because I am convinced that they will never see a single shilling of it back. Not a single ton of goods will pass over the line in the course of a day, and there will be very few passengers, except those who prefer to rush through Dublin without putting up at some hotel for a single half-hour. The line, when constructed, may pay its expenses; but I am satisfied it can never pay interest on the capital invested in it. I am, therefore, at a loss to know what reason has actuated the persons who propose to find the money. I think I am entitled to ask, before such a Bill is passed, that the promoters and others who are interested in it should stand up and give us some special reason in favour of the scheme. No reason whatever has, as yet, been given, and until I hear some satisfactory reason I shall strongly oppose the Bill. In point of fact, what will this Bill do if the line is constructed? It will simply relieve some 20 or 30 passengers in the City of Dublin, for it will enable them to dispense with the necessity of hiring a cab. Surely it cannot be contended seriously that it is worth while to disfigure the City of Dublin, and spend £300,000, in order to relieve some 20 people daily from the expense of hiring a cab. No goods will go by the line, and no passengers, except those who are in a violent hurry, and the only saving of time will be about 10 minutes. It certainly seems, on the face of it, preposterous that such a Bill should be thrust down the throats of the House of Commons. Therefore, I challenge the promoters of the Bill to stand up and declare what their ideas are in making this proposal.

Mr. H. S. WRIGHT (Nottingham, S.): As a Member of the Committee which sat on the Bill promoted by the Great Western and Southern Railway Company I may say that we were strongly impressed by the fact that although the promoters of the present Bill had had three or four years for making their line they had neglected to do so; and there was a great risk of the American mail traffic being lost to Ireland altogether if something was not done without further delay. I believe that in making this statement I am expressing the opinion of the Members of the Committee.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has asked me to express my opinion on the matter. All I have to say is that four years ago I was examined before the Committee which passed the present Bill, and, to the best of my recollection, the evidence I gave was to the effect that the bridge proposed to be constructed would certainly disfigure the city, and I think I was supported in that view by almost every gentleman whose opinion was worth having. At the same time, there was a certain extent of feeling in favour of the line being made, because there appeared to be no prospect of any alternative scheme being carried out. There seems now to be every chance of an alternative line being made, by means of which not only will the financial difficulty be got over, but a shorter line will be constructed. I think that will get rid of the difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of effecting a satisfactory communication between Westland Row and Kingsbridge.

Question put, and *negatived.*

QUESTIONS.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE OFFICE OF HIGH SHERIFF—MR. H. C. LEVINGE.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the present difficulties of Irish landlords, the Government can do anything to relieve them from the hardship of being compelled to serve as high sheriffs against their will, at a large expense; whether, as a matter of fact, owing to general unwillingness to serve, the duty falls very hard on those loyal men who resist less than others; why Mr. H. C. Levinge, of Knockdrin Castle, County Westmeath, within a few months of two successive devolutions of the property, was, against his will, compelled to serve as high sheriff; why that gentleman was, in spite of his many protests, retained in office beyond the year, and obliged to pay the expenses for a year and a-half; and, whether the Lord Lieutenant will consider the equity and propriety of reimbursing him for at least the extra half-year?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: I quite agree, and the Government are also aware of the great hardship which exists in compelling persons to serve in the office of High Sheriff, which, though now practically an honorary one, entails considerable personal expense upon them personally. It is, however, probable that legislation dealing with the subject generally will be introduced at an early date. The duty does, at the present time, fall very hard on those who finally undertake to serve, and who do not press their refusal. I am not aware as to the devolution of property in Mr. Levinge's case, which, however, is, I understand, of considerable value; but he was, against his will, compelled to serve, and, owing to a difficulty in obtaining a successor to him, it was necessary for him to remain in office beyond the year. The Government, while fully sympathizing with Mr. Levinge in regard to the extra expense involved thereby, regret that there are no funds at their disposal out of which he could be reimbursed.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Is it not contrary to custom to require any gentleman to serve more than one year?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: Fortunately, such a case very seldom occurs; but, within my own knowledge, cases have occurred two or three times within the last two years.

RAILWAYS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—STATION ACCOMMODATION AT DARTMOUTH (GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY).

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton) asked the Secretary to the Board of Trade, Whether, in consequence of a memorial to the Board of Trade from the principal inhabitants and tradesmen of Dartmouth and the neighbourhood, complaining, amongst other things, that the only railway station accommodation, being a small pontoon, "was wholly insufficient for the traffic, and extremely dangerous in use, especially upon public occasions, such as regattas, &c.," Colonel Rich, having inspected the said station or pontoon as instructed by the Board of Trade, reported on the 20th of November 1884 "that the complaints enumerated in the memorial are substantially correct," and recommended "that the Great Western Railway Company be urged to build proper and safe station accommodation at Dartmouth;" whether, in accordance with this Report, the Board of Trade has urged that Company to provide the accommodation necessary for the safety and convenience of the public; whether the said Company has been for many years in possession of a site acquired for the purpose of such station; whether, although two years and eight months have elapsed since the date of Colonel Rich's Report, the said station or pontoon remains without alteration or improvement in the same dangerous state at the present time; and, whether, as the said station or pontoon was not inspected previously to the opening of the railway for public traffic, and no mention is made thereof in the Board of Trade Report of August 1864 authorising such opening, the Board of Trade will now take steps for the purpose of securing the safety and accommodation of the public during the present excursion season and approaching regatta, in accordance with the recommendation of their inspector, Colonel Rich?

THE SECRETARY (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The facts are correctly set out in the first two paragraphs of the hon. Member's Question. The Board of Trade have no authority to give any directions to the Company with reference to the accommodation to be provided. They have, however, communicated again with the Company, who are anxious to arrive at a settlement of the matter, and who state that it is hoped that at a meeting of all parties interested, which is arranged for the 9th or 12th August, all questions at issue may be disposed of.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—RETURN OF EXPENSES.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the sum spent in extra pay and travelling expenses on eviction duty, expenses of protection posts on evicted farms, &c., and of escorts and special guards by the Royal Irish Constabulary during April, May, and June 1887?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, that the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary reported that, to furnish this information, it would be necessary for the District-Inspectors—125 in number—to search through those items for all the months named. It would not be practicable to give the Return in less than a month, and the Inspector General also stated that, in the more disturbed districts, the preparation of the Returns would probably interfere with the ordinary police duties. Under those circumstances, the Government would not feel themselves justified in calling for the information.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): In consequence of the answer of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, I shall call attention to this matter on the Vote for the Irish Police, and move that the Government in future furnish proper Returns monthly.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked, could the right hon. and gallant Gentleman say when a Return of the expenses of the Military and Constabulary Expeditions to Bodyke would be furnished?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the hon. Gentleman should put the Question on the Paper.

EXCISE—NUMBER OF SPIRIT GROCERS IN THE METROPOLITAN POLICE DISTRICT, DUBLIN.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) (for Sir THOMAS ESMONDE) (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many spirit grocers are there in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District, and what is the gross amount they pay for licences annually; and, how many inspectors and police are employed specially to watch this class of licences, and what is the annual cost of this police supervision?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, there were 229 spirit grocers in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District. The Irish Government had no knowledge of the amount they paid for licences; there were no police or other constables specially employed to look after them.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): May I ask whether spirit grocers require any more looking after than the publicans?

[No reply.]

LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—ASSAULT ON C. ROBERTSON, KINREACHIE, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he has received any report regarding a serious attack made, on the 14th May last, upon Charles Robertson, in Kinreachie, of Aviemore, Inverness-shire, aged 78 years, by a neighbouring farmer, who felled him to the ground, and otherwise maltreated the old man; and, whether he will cause an impartial inquiry into the circumstances?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities), in reply, said, he had sent for information on the matter; but it had not yet reached him. He should be obliged to the hon. Member if he would repeat his Question on Friday.

OFFICE OF COLLECTOR GENERAL OF RATES, DUBLIN.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) (for Sir THOMAS ESMONDE) (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many clerks are employed in Dublin in the office of the Collector General of Rates; if the head clerk received last year, in addition to his salary of £400, £100 as acting collector general, and over £200 for extra work done; if the other clerks were paid for extra work in the same proportion; what was the nature of the extra work, and whether it could not have been easily performed in the ordinary office hours; what is the amount paid to the clerks in the Collector General of Rates Office, in salaries, allowances, and extras respectively, in 1885 and 1886; and, if there is any work being performed in the office now?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The staff of clerks in the Collector General of Rates Office is a chief clerk and nine other clerks. The chief clerk received in 1886, in addition to his salary a sum of £100, which was awarded to him by the late Government for the extra trouble and responsibility thrown upon him during the serious illness of the Collector General. He also received a sum of £77, not over £200 as alleged, for extra work outside office hours. The other clerks who took extra work, received also sums in proportion to their salaries. The extra work done is the preparation of the rate books, ledgers, and collecting book for the new year, the making out of lists of arrears, vacancies, and insolvencies. The Collector General reports that those are duties which must be performed in a limited time, when the office work is most pressing; and that they could not be performed during office hours, if for no other reason than that the books are in full use throughout those hours. The work was never done in any other way. The payments referred to have been as follows:—In 1885, salaries £2,819, scrivenry £302; in 1886, salaries £2,861, scrivenry £320. There is no extra work being performed in the office now; but a temporary extra clerk has been employed for two months at

£2 a-week in preparation for the annual audit.

WAR OFFICE CONTRACTS—SUPPLY OF MEAT TO LYDD, KENT.

Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that the supply of mutton for the soldiers stationed at Lydd, in Kent, comes entirely from abroad; that the contract price is *5d.* per pound; that this is the price now obtainable by the home producers of the district; and, whether the contract has been offered to and refused by them?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter) (who replied) said, the contract was put up to public competition by advertisement, and was secured by a butcher in the neighbourhood. He could not say how much was paid for mutton; but the price paid for meat for the barracks was nearly *6d.* per pound all round.

WAR OFFICE — THE MARTELLO TOWERS AT BLACKROCK, COUNTY DUBLIN.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE (Dublin Co., S.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Who are the tenants of the Martello towers at Monkstown and Blackrock, County Dublin; what the condition of the tenancies are; and, when they cease?

The SURVEYOR GENERAL of ORDNANCE (Mr. Northcote) (Exeter) (who replied) said, the towers were let to Mr. T. W. Robinson, of Dublin, at £7 each. They were held under a repairing agreement, which was terminable upon three months notice on either side; but, by the War Department, the agreement might be terminated summarily subject to a small penalty.

INDIA—DESTITUTE ENGLISHMEN IN INDIA, AND NATIVES IN ENGLAND.

Mr. J. W. LOWTHER (Cumberland, Penrith) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Indian Government pays the passage back to England of destitute Englishmen found in India who are desirous of returning home; and, whether the India Office will take any steps towards defraying the cost of sending home three Natives of the Punjaub, who, being quite destitute, are at present confined in the workhouse of St. George's (Hanover Square) Union, and are chargeable upon the ratepayers of the said parish?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir John Gorst) (Chatham): It is not the general practice of the Government of India to defray, out of the Revenues of India the passages of destitute Englishmen. The Secretary of State does not consider that the relief of the three Natives of the Punjaub now in Marylebone Workhouse, or of destitute Indians in England generally, would be a proper application of the Revenues of India.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND) — MAIL ACCOMMODATION IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND.

Mr. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the large and influential meeting of magistrates and representative men from different parts of the County of Down, held in Downpatrick on Saturday the 16th July, for the purpose of impressing on the Government the necessity for increased mail accommodation between Belfast and Newtownards, Downpatrick and other towns, in the county; and, whether he has yet made final arrangements for providing the additional service required?

The POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. Raikes) (Cambridge University): My attention has previously been called to the meeting held at Downpatrick on the 16th July, in reference to the mail service between Belfast and Newtownards, Downpatrick, &c.; and I can assure the hon. Member that I am quite as anxious as the meeting was to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the question. As regards the second part of the question of the hon. Member, I can only say I have not yet received a final answer from the Treasury upon the subject referred to; but that no time shall be lost in informing the persons interested of the decision when arrived at.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): May I ask can the right hon. Gentleman guarantee, considering all the time that has been spent over the matter, that the decision will be obtained before the Appropriation Bill comes on?

Mr. RAIKES: Yes; I hope to announce it long before then.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE POLICE FORCE AT MAGHERAFELT.

Mr. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the district inspector, head constable, sergeant, and acting-sergeant of the Royal Irish Constabulary stationed at Magherafelt, in the County of Derry, are all of them Protestants; whether a Catholic sergeant and three Catholic constables were recently removed from Magherafelt, and a Protestant sergeant and Protestant constables sent there instead; whether he can state the reason for removing the Catholic policemen from Magherafelt, and in having none but Protestant officers in that station; and whether it is the intention of the Government to adopt this practice generally, or only in counties where evictions have taken place or are likely to take place?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, that at Magherafelt the District Inspector was a Protestant, the head constable was a Presbyterian, but the sergeant was a Roman Catholic, acting as such in the absence of one who was on temporary duty elsewhere. A Catholic sergeant was recently transferred upon his marriage in accordance with the Regulations, and he was replaced by a man of the same religious persuasion. In the removals rendered necessary by the exigencies of the Public Service, a Roman Catholic sergeant had been temporarily replaced by a Protestant; but the former would return when his present term of duty expired.

IRISH LAND COMMISSIONERS—THE COURT VALUER'S VALUATION—"ADAMS v. DUNSEATH."

Mr. MAHONY (Meath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath," being the first appeal heard by the Land Commissioners, the Court valuer's valuation was not made known to the litigants until after evidence of value had been given by both sides; whether for some time subsequent to the hearing of that case it was the practice to make known the amount of the Court valuer's valuation during the sitting of the Court; and, whether subsequently it became the practice to make known the amount of the Court valuer's valuation by sending a statement thereof to the litigants by post before the case came on for hearing, and, in some instances, before the cases were even listed for hearing; if so, whether he is still prepared to state that the Court valuer's valuation was from the commencement made known to the litigants before the case came on for hearing, and that there was no change in practice regarding these valuations until December 1884?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners state that in the case of "Adams *v.* Dunseath" it was decided that the report of the Court valuer should be communicated to the parties after the hearing of the evidence, and not before. A short time afterwards — the precise date is not recorded — the Commissioners determined to give the amount of the valuation to the parties when asked for, but no other portion of the document, and this was frequently done during the sitting in Court. It subsequently became the practice to communicate the valuation by post, or otherwise, to litigants. The reply to the previous Question on the subject was in substance correct. There was, however, a misunderstanding on the part of the Commissioners, when preparing the answer, as to the point raised, they being under the impression that it related to the former practice of having free valuations and the subsequent practice of having valuations paid for by the appellants, and as to the reasons of the next change to valuations at the discretion of the Court, and to the effect of these changes.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—ALLEGED ASSAULT BY AN EMERGENCY MAN AT NEWTON HYLAND, CO. DUBLIN.

Mr. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) (for Mr. Clancy) (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a man named Moss, employed by the Landlords' Emergency Association to act as caretaker of an evicted farm at Newton Hyland, St. Margaret's, county Dublin, engaged a Dublin carman to convey him to that place on the 28th May last; whether, when he was asked for his fare, Moss attacked the carman with a long knife, and then threatened to shoot him with a revolver; whether, on the carman reporting the occurrence at the Finglas Police Station, and the police, in consequence, interfering, Moss paid the fare and induced the carman to withdraw the charge made against him; whether the police reported the case to their superior; if so, whether any and what steps have been taken to bring Moss to justice; and, whether it is true that the police in no less than three stations—namely, Finglas, Hollywood, and the Ward, have been for weeks employed protecting this "emergency man," to the neglect of other and more important duties?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, it appeared that Moss did employ a Dublin carman, but the carman made no complaint to the police of having been attacked with a knife or threatened with a revolver. Moss had paid the fare, which was accepted by the carman, though it appeared after some altercation, before the case was reported to the police of Moss having admitted that he had a revolver, and that he fired shots with it, and the police having discovered that he had no Excise licence he was to be prosecuted. The police had been looking after two evicted farms in the neighbourhood, and so had incidentally afforded Moss, who was caretaker, protection, but had not done so by any means exclusively.

THE METROPLITAN BOARD OF WORKS —REPRESENTATION IN THIS HOUSE.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the impression created by his replying for the Metropolitan Board of Works that the Government are in some way responsible for the action of that Board, and whereas three Members of that Board have seats in the House, he will revert to the custom of allowing the Board to reply by their senior Member in the House?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I think it would be undesirable that the Government should be supposed to interfere with the responsibility and discretion of the Metropolitan Board of Works, by answering Questions in which that Board is alone interested, in cases where we have no power by law to interfere, and I propose to communicate with the Chairman on the subject of questions relating to the action of the Board, and affecting their interests, that they should be answered by the senior member of the Board, who has a seat in this House.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — REMOVAL OF PLACARDS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any regulations exist respecting the tearing down of placards announcing public meetings by the Royal Irish Constabulary; and, if so, whether he will lay a Copy of such Regulations upon the Table; and, with whom rests the decision as to the presumed illegality of such placards?

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said, it was the duty of the police to remove all placards which might have a tendency to cause a breach of the public peace. Their action, in all such cases, must, to a great extent, depend upon the local circumstances, or the necessity of the time; and for those matters, the officer under whose orders they were was responsible.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Are there any written instructions to the police on the subject; or am I to understand that, in the opinion of the Government, each individual policeman acts on his own discretion?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: The constables act under written instructions, one of which is, that any placards calculated to promote a breach of the peace are to be removed, and they may remove them.

MR. J. E. ELLIS: Will the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, on behalf of the Government, lay these written instructions on the Table of the House?

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman if, in any case, the constable tears down a placard which is proved to be legal, how is the responsibility of the constable or other officer to be made liable?

Colonel KING-HARMAN: In the same manner as if he exceeded his duty in any other respect.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA—REPORTED DEATH OF MR. STANLEY.

Mr. PULESTON (Devonport) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether in view of the public interest in the mission of Mr. Stanley, the Government will cause inquiries to be made, so far as possible, of the present position of the Expedition, and particularly as to the reports now made of the death of the gallant explorer?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): There are no means of communicating with Mr. Stanley's Expedition. Reports are sent by Mr. Stanley to the Committee by whom the Expedition was despatched. The report of Mr. Stanley's death is disbelieved by the Committee and by the authorities of the Congo Free State, and Her Majesty's Government see no reason to believe it. I may say that before coming to the House, I received a copy of a letter from the Minister of the Congo Free State at Brussels to Her Majesty's Minister there, giving reasons for entirely disbelieving the report. As I think that letter, or the substance of it, has already appeared in the newspapers, I need not trouble the House with it.

BRITISH GUIANA AND VENEZUELA—THE BOUNDARY QUESTION.

Mr. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he is now in a position to give the House any information with reference to the Boundary Question between British Guiana and Venezuela?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): The Government of Venezuela having broken off diplomatic relations with Her Majesty's Government, negotiations for the settlement of the Boundary Question are at present interrupted. Pending a settlement of the question, the territory within the boundary line proposed by Sir R. Schomberg will be treated by the Government of British Guiana as belonging to the Colony. The claim of the Colony to a more extended frontier is not withdrawn; but, for the present, remains in abeyance.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—ARREST OF MISS CASS.

Mr. O. V. MORGAN (Battersea) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is a fact that, at the inquiry into the Regent Street arrest case at Scotland Yard on Friday last, a woman named Fernande Pietre tendered her evidence, and asked that her name and address might not be made public; and, whether the Chief Commissioner, addressing the representatives of the Press, said—"If you give the name I will turn you all out;" and, if so, whether the inquiry, being an open one, anything transpiring in the Court is to be suppressed upon the order of the Chief Commissioner?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by Sir Charles Warren that when the witness in question gave her reasons previously to giving her evidence for not wishing her name and address to be published, Mr. Horace Smith, the legal assessor, said he hoped that those reasons were not at present being taken down by the reporters, as he did not know yet whether the witness would choose to be examined. Sir Charles Warren saw a reporter apparently, in spite of Mr. Smith's remarks, putting down the reasons, and he warned him that unless he desisted he should turn him out. Sir Charles Warren is assisted by very competent legal advice, and I am unwilling to interfere with his discretion so far as the conduct of the inquiry is concerned.

LICENSING LAWS — EXTENSION OF HOURS OF OPENING, KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

Mr. CAINE (Barrow-in-Furness) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he is aware that at the weekly petty sessions at Kingston on Thames, on the 14th instant, Sergeant Crook, of the Surrey Constabulary, applied for an extension of time for the sale of liquor on behalf of the "Bear" public house, and the "White Lion," at Cobham, and that the magistrates granted both the applications at the request of the sergeant, without either of the holders of the licences being present; and, if he will take steps to prevent such applications in future?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have obtained a report from the clerk to the justices pointing out that the law does not compel publicans to apply personally for an extension of hours; and that being so, it does not appear that there has been any infraction of the licensing law. I have no authority to lay down the law in the matter; but I certainly think it would be better if these applications were not made by the police.

PUBLIC BUSINESS — THE TECHNICAL EDUCATION BILL FOR SCOTLAND.

MR. BRYCE (Aberdeen, S.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, When it is proposed to introduce the Technical Education Bill for Scotland; and, whether it is intended to carry it on *pari passu* with the English Bill?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, that the proposals of the Government with regard to technical education in Scotland would be shortly announced, and the same facilities would be afforded for Scotch as for English legislation on this subject. He hoped the Scotch Bill would be introduced within one or two days.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Does that also apply to Ireland?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: Yes, Sir; Ireland is included.

CENTRAL ASIA—THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONVENTION — THE FRONTIER OF AFGHANISTAN.

MR. LEGH (Lancashire, S.W., Newton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is the case that a final settlement of the Afghan Frontier Question has been arrived at with the Russian Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The terms of a settlement of the Afghan Northern Frontier have been signed by the British and Russian Commissioners, and only require the acceptance of the Governments concerned.

EGYPT—MOUKHTAR PASHA.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he is now in a position to inform the House when Moukhtar Pasha will leave Egypt?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): No, Sir, I cannot give any information on the subject.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON asked, whether Her Majesty's Government had taken any steps to induce the Porte to procure the speedy withdrawal of Moukhtar Pasha from Egypt?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I think the House will see that it would be a very grave matter to put pressure on the Porte to withdraw its officer from a part of its own territory.

WAR OFFICE (SMALL ARMS) — THE MAGAZINE RIFLE.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can now state a probable date at which the War Office will decide as to the adoption of a magazine rifle; and, whether he can state how long it would probably take thereafter to have a supply of 100,000 rifles available for service?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The Military Authorities are unanimous in the opinion, in which I concur, that further trials are necessary before a final decision can be arrived at as to the type of magazine rifle to be adopted for our Service. It is, therefore, impossible for me now to name a definite date for this decision. The time that would be occupied in manufacture would also depend to a considerable extent on the type of rifle adopted.

HER MAJESTY'S TITLES — "QUEEN AND EMPRESS."

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the designation of Her Majesty as Queen and Empress by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff in his despatches from Constantinople is in accordance with usage; and, whether the introduction of such designation by Sir Henry Drummond Wolff is to be regarded as a precedent?

The UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Sir James Fergusson) (Manchester, N.E.): The designation in question does not transgress the exclusion of its use in instruments whose operation extends only to the United Kingdom, which is the only exception enjoined by the Royal Proclamation of 28th April, 1876.

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT—CASE OF MR. WILLIAMS.

Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will now state his decision as to the release or otherwise of the four defendants convicted along with Mr. Williams by Mr. De Rutzen, who are still in prison?

The SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. Matthews) (Birmingham, E.): I have carefully examined the evidence before the Court of Quarter Sessions, and the decision of the Court in Williams's case, and I do not find anything bearing on the cases of the other prisoners. But the decision of the Court of Quarter Sessions in Pole's case, by which his sentence was reduced to two months, appears to me to have an important bearing on the cases of the other defendants who have not appealed, and whose cases do not differ in kind from that of Pole. There is, however, an appeal in one of these cases, and of Stafford, which has been heard to-day, and I think it is proper that I should wait until I have considered the result of that appeal before tendering my advice to Her Majesty as to the other defendants.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—IRISH NATIONAL TEACHERS.

Mr. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that successive Governments have acknowledged the justice of the claims of the Irish National Teachers to some beneficicial legislation; whether there is any intention this Session on the part of the Government to ameliorate the very hard lot of the teachers; whether there was a small increase made to the salaries of the teachers in 1879; whether the increase averaged £4 per teacher in the service; whether the total sum allocated to this purpose was £46,000; whether, considering the deductions made from the salaries of teachers for the purposes of the pension fund, and the loss of income consequent on the apathy of non-contributing unions, the average increase of £4 per teacher is practically illusory; and, whether, pending future remedial legislation for this most deserving class, he can see his way to recommend the Government to follow the precedent of 1879, by giving a grant in aid, say, equal to an average increase of salary of £10 per teacher in the service, which would for the present tide over dissatisfaction and difficulty?

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet) (who replied) said: The entire question relating to the position of the Irish National School teachers is most complex, and cannot properly be dealt with within the limits of a Question. The Government are not yet in a position to come to any decision in the matter.

Mr. CONWAY: In consequence of the unsatisfactory answer of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, I wish to give Notice that on the Estimates I will raise the whole question of the status of National School Teachers in Ireland.

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT—ALLEGED PERSONATION IN NORTH HANTS.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the following statement in a letter in the *Daily News* of the 21st instant, signed by the Hon. Secretary of the North Hants Liberal Association:—

> "In the district of Crookham I saw a gentleman come to the poll with his servant, whose name had been struck out by the Revising Barrister, and who had been informed of that fact by my son, to whom he admitted that he had no qualification. Yet his master brought him to the poll to swear that he was another of the same name. Afterwards that other applied to vote, but could only tender a vote which contributed nothing to the issue, like that of the personator and perjurer;"

and, whether the facts are as stated; and, if so, whether he will direct the Public Prosecutor to take action in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. and learned Member, I have to state that I have no means of judging whether the facts are as stated, inasmuch as the newspaper extract contains no names. As the offence suggested is of a most grave character, I certainly should not direct the Public Prosecutor to take proceedings upon the strength of a newspaper paragraph. The hon. and learned Gentlemen, no doubt, knows perfectly well, as well as I do, that if the facts are as stated, they can be brought to the notice of the Public Prosecutor in the usual way, or independent proceedings can be taken.

MR. CONYBEARE asked, whether the Attorney General was not the official representative of the Public Prosecutor in that House; if not, who was; and, whether, as the case had now been brought officially under his notice he would make the inquiries required of him under Section 45 of the Corrupt Practices Act?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: There is no such thing as an official representative of the Public Prosecutor. The Public Prosecutor acts, in many cases, independently. It is only in some few instances that the Law Officers communicate with him with regard to giving him their sanction as to certain proceedings. I say, again, the hon. and learned Member knows perfectly well that if the facts are as stated, there is a ready means of bringing them under the notice of the Public Prosecutor.

LAW OF LIMITED LIABILITY—LEGISLATION.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oxford, Woodstock) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government have a Bill prepared for amending the Law of Limited Liability; and, whether, supposing they have abandoned the intention of passing such a Bill into Law this Session, they will introduce it in the House of Lords, so that its provisions may be fully discussed by the mercantile community during the Recess?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): This subject has engaged the serious attention of the Government, and a Bill has been drafted; but the hon. Member is aware that it is a subject of very great difficulty, and, under all the circumstances, the Government do not think it desirable to legislate upon it in the course of the present Session.

CITY CHARTER FOR BELFAST.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, With regard to the recent announcement of the Secretary to the Treasury, that the requisite particulars touching the application for the grant of a city charter to Belfast had been placed by the municipality in the hands of the Irish Law Officers of the Crown for their consideration and report, whether the Government have yet advised the Crown to grant the charter?

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the Question, may I ask him, if it is not a similar Question to that which I asked him on Tuesday, 14th June; and if, in accordance with an intimation from him, I have not been waiting for an occasion to repeat the Question. The hon. Member for West Belfast seems inclined to make political capital out of this matter by trying to monopolize Belfast Questions entirely.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask, whether it is not a fact that while the hon. Member was away engaged in Orange processions in Ulster, I twice brought the matter before the House?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): While I have no wish to enter into controversy between the hon. Members, it is a fact that my hon. Friend the Member for South Belfast did, in the first instance, ask me, whether Her Majesty's Government thought it well to celebrate the Jubilee of Her Majesty, by conferring a City charter upon the town of Belfast; and I told the hon. Gentleman that the Government were of opinion it was not desirable to connect the Jubilee with an event of such a character. The subject, however, has since had the attention of the Government, and we are informed by the Irish Law Officers that they are of opinion it is competent for the Government to grant a charter for the City of Belfast. The subject is receiving the attention of the Government.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION—LAND OUT OF CULTIVATION.

MR. BEADEL (Essex, Chelmsford) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been drawn to a letter in *The Standard* of Friday last, signed "Arthur Pryor," and headed "A terrible List;" attached to which letter is a record of farms in one district in the county of Essex, showing 3,527 acres to be out of cultivation, and 17,945 acres to be in the hands of landlords who are unable to find tenants for the same; whether he is aware that a similar state of things exists in many other counties; and, whether the Government will take some steps or propound some scheme whereby a practical remedy for the same can be found?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): My attention has been drawn to the letter which the hon. Member quotes, and I am aware that a similar state of things exists, though I hope in a less degree, in other parts of the country. The Government regard this as a very serious matter indeed; and if any hon. Member can make a suggestion of any kind which will enable us to find a practical remedy, we shall receive such suggestion with gratitude, and give it our best consideration.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is disposed to take into consideration the proposals and the schemes laid before the House by the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) when he brought forward this matter?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E): I wish to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman will consider the desirableness of resumption by the Crown of those valuable lands now allowed to go to waste by their owners?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government are now asking for a remedy for the existing condition of things under which it is difficult to cultivate the land with profit. If any hon. Gentleman can give a practical suggestion for a remedy for that state of things, it will receive careful consideration.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. R. PRESTON BRUCE (Fifeshire, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government to proceed with any of the three important Bills which they have announced relating to Scotland—namely, the Secretary for Scotland Bill, the Universities Bill, and the Technical Instruction Bill, but which have not yet been introduced in either House of Parliament; and, whether, having regard to the late period of the Session, he can promise that any of these Bills which the Government still intend to press forward shall be introduced without further delay?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. Gentleman asks me whether the Secretary for Scotland Bill will be shortly introduced. I have every reason to hope that it will be introduced in the House of Lords in the course of the present week. As regards the University Bill, there are some financial details which have caused some difficulty and delay in dealing with; but I trust they may be overcome in the course of the next few days. The Technical Education Bill, as my right hon. Friend the Vice President has said, will also be introduced very shortly.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—THE PROCLAMATIONS.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): I wish to ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland two Questions of which I have given him private Notice. They refer to the Proclamations which have been issued in Ireland. I wish to ask him, Whether anything has happened to explain the extension of these Proclamations over almost the whole of Ireland, since his assurance given to the House that there are parts of Ireland in which the law is at this moment as well obeyed as in any part of the United Kingdom; and, secondly, I wish to ask him, in view of the assurances then given by the late Attorney General for Ireland, that the proceedings of the Privy Council were of a purely formal character, how it was that Mr. Justice Monroe and three other judicial personages attended, or are alleged to have attended, the proceedings on Saturday?

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): I also wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury a Question of which I have given him private Notice. Is it true, as stated in *The Times* of this day, that a meeting of the Irish Privy Council was held in Dublin Castle on Saturday afternoon, at which were present General His Serene Highness the Prince of Saxe Weimar, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Chief Secretary, the Vice Chancellor, the right hon. J. T. Ball, L.L.D., and Mr. Justice Monroe; whether the meeting lasted two hours, during which the Privy Council were chiefly occupied in drawing up the Proclamations necessary for putting the Crimes Act into operation; whether the Vice Chancellor and Mr. Justice Monroe are both members of the Irish Judicial Bench; whether Mr. Justice Monroe was sworn a Member of the Irish Privy Council after his elevation to the Bench; whether the Government stated, through the mouth of the late Attorney General for Ireland, now Mr. Justice Holmes, on the 15th June, 1887, that it was not intended to consult the Members of the Irish Judiciary in reference to the administration of the Crimes Bill; and, finally, whether the right hon. Gentleman has any, and if so, what explanation for this departure from the understanding on which the Crimes Act was passed; and, whether he has any reason, and if so, what reason, for converting the Irish Judiciary into agents of the Executive Government?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have to say that it is true that the Privy Council, as named in the Question by the hon. Member (Mr. Mac Neill), were present on Saturday. It is true that a large portion of the business done related to the Proclamations to be issued under the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act. It is not, I think, true, as far as I recollect, that the Council sat for two hours, but it is true that they sat for a considerable time, not because they were occupied during the time in consultation, for there was no consultation. There was no consultation—as I will explain in one moment. The delay arose out of some clerical errors which had been committed in the Proclamations. Then I am asked, whether Mr. Justice Monroe was sworn a Member of the Privy Council after his elevation to the Judicial Bench? That, I believe, is true, though it does not appear to be very relevant to the remainder of the Question. Then, as to whether it was stated in this House by the late Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes) that it was not intended to consult the Judges with reference to the administration of the Crimes Bill, I may reply that the Judges were not consulted upon that subject. As the House is aware, the assembling of the Privy Council to conduct business of this kind is of a purely formal character. It is intended to give, and it does give, solemnity to the action of the Executive. But neither in Ireland nor in England is it the custom to debate questions when anything is done by the Privy Council gathered in that manner; and, therefore, whether it be right or not right that the Judges should be present on an occasion of that sort, it is strictly true that the Government did not consult the Judges with reference to the administration of the Act. That, I think, deals with the whole of that part of the Question. Then the hon. Member asks my right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he has any explanation for this departure from the understanding arrived at; but, as I have just told the hon. Member, there has been no departure from the understanding.

MR. MAC NEILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of the Question, as to whether there was any, and, if so, what, reason for converting the Irish Judiciary into agents of the Executive Government? They were not there to be consulted.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman refers me to an understanding on the faith of which he says the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act was passed, and which he quotes in the preceding paragraph of his Question. That understanding, as I have already said, has not been broken. Now, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) asks me whether I have any reason to alter my opinion that parts of Ireland are as peaceful as any part of England? No, Sir. I have no reason to alter my opinion on that subject. What we have done with regard to the Proclamations under the Act is to apply Sub-section 3 of Clause 2 to Ireland generally. Sub-section 3 consists of three sub-heads. Sub-head A deals with rioting and unlawful assembly. That has already, by the action of Parliament, been made universal in Ireland, irrespective of any Proclamation; and the original form of the Amendment by which it was made universal irrespective of any Proclamation, moved by some hon. Gentleman from Ireland below the Gangway, was that the whole of Sub-section 3 should be made applicable, irrespective of Proclamations, to the whole of Ireland. I have carried out roughly the intention which the hon. Member appears to have had when he put the Amendment on the Paper. Sub-section B relates to the taking or holding by forcible possession. That is clearly not a sub-head which can, by any circumstances, be abused. It is a specific and definite offence, and if it takes place in any part of Ireland, in my opinion it ought to be dealt with effectively. With regard to Sub head C, that relates to obstructing the police, and it assimilates the law of Ireland to the existing law of England in that respect. Therefore, when I said that there were parts of Ireland which were as quiet as any part of England, by inference it may be understood that it would be a judicious course to assimilate the law in that respect. The House will see that the only part of the Act which has been made general throughout Ireland is that single sub-section of that single clause.

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): As to the provision in Clause 5, that the Lord Lieutenant may, when it appears necessary, by Proclamation declare the provisions of the Act which relate to proclaimed districts, I should like to ask whether the Irish Executive made any classification in their own mind of the counties in which it was necessary to prevent, and those in which it is necessary to punish crime?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In every case in which we have proclaimed under the Act, generally, any county in Ireland, we have done so because we have believed, either from the actual existence of crime or intimidation, the Act was necessary. No counties have been proclaimed generally under the Bill where crime does not exist, if by crime is included, as it certainly ought to be, intimidation.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY: Are we to understand that, by the law of England, a person who commits an offence under Sub-head B of Sub-section 3 is liable to be tried by summary jurisdiction?

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Without appeal?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: It was Sub-section 3 to which I referred.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): As I understand it, the right hon. Gentleman on Saturday, in company with the Judges, proclaimed the whole of Ireland to be subjected to this provision —namely,

> "That any person who, within twelve months after the execution of any writ of possession of any house or land, shall wrongfully take or hold forcible possession of such house or land, or any part thereof, shall be punishable with six months' imprisonment by order of the Resident Magistrate."

Now, I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman can say that in any part of England such a thing can be done, and, if he cannot say that, will he say why he applies a law not applicable in England to any part of Ireland, which is as peaceable as England according to his own statement?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I have treated Sub-section 3 as a whole; and the right hon. Gentleman will notice, as I have before said, that this, which, I believe, is a purely Irish form of crime, is one which certainly ought to be punished wherever it exists.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Let me recall to the right hon. Gentleman's mind the fact that these words are perfectly applicable. [*Ministerial cries of* "Order!"] I strongly advise hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Benches not to object to my asking these questions, or else they may drive us to further extremities. [*Ministerial cries of* "Oh!"] They seem to think that it is a very light matter. [*Renewed cries of* "Order!"] If hon. Gentlemen are silent, I will not make these observations; but if they will endeavour to interrupt me, I must do so. [*Cries of* "Go on!"] I was going to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he thinks that, under this Act, this Sub-section B, which really amounts only to a question of trespass, or resistance to expulsion from a tenement, ought to be applied to portions of Ireland which are perfectly peaceable?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR; I believe the right hon. Gentleman is wrong in his law. It does not apply to trespass.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked whether the County of Kilkenny had been proclaimed, and whether the sole outrage there during the last quarter had been one case of an alleged threatening letter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is the case; Kilkenny is proclaimed; but I cannot, without Notice, give statistics as to offences.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.) asked, whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland, under cover of an Order of the Privy Council, had not done what the House in Committee had refused?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is not true that I have done by an Order in Council what the House has refused.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would state accurately what had been done in reference to the Proclamations?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have already explained what has been done with regard to Ireland generally. [A VOICE: Antrim.] Antrim is included in what has been done with regard to Ireland generally, of course. The counties proclaimed under the whole Act are Clare, Cork, Donegal, Galway, Kerry, Kilkenny, King's County, Leitrim, Limerick, Longford, Mayo, Monaghan, Queen's County, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford. The counties and cities of Dublin, Belfast, Carrickfergus, Cork, Drogheda, Galway, Londonderry, and Waterford have not been proclaimed under the Act generally, but only under Sub-section C.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman could state, in the case of Donegal, which had been proclaimed, what cases of intimidation he had discovered in that county?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think it would be most inconvenient to give statistics of this sort in regard to the different counties in the way of question and answer; but if the hon. Member desires information on any point, he can put a Question on the Paper.

MR. SEXTON asked, whether Donegal and Monaghan, the only Ulster counties proclaimed generally, had been so proclaimed because they returned Nationalist Members?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not the reason. There is no connection between the two circumstances.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked, whether, in some of the counties proclaimed the Judges of the recent Assizes had been presented with white gloves, in consequence of the absence of cases to try?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I must ask for Notice of the Question for Thursday.

MR. T. M. HEALY asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman had any objection to give a statement to the House showing accurately what had been done under the Proclamations, so that the people of Ireland might not have to grope their way through these Proclamations?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that would be convenient, and I will have it done.

THE NAVAL REVIEW AT SPITHEAD—FATAL ACCIDENT.

MR. WOODALL (Hanley): I beg to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he can give the House any information respecting the unfortunate occurrence at Spithead on Saturday?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I can only answer the Question generally, as I did not know before coming down that the hon. Gentleman intended putting it to me. Four men were unfortunately injured, as stated in the newspapers, by the premature explosion of a saluting charge. They were taken to the hospital, and I am sorry to say one of the men died shortly after. The last report I heard of the remaining three was that they were progressing favourably.

MR. WOODALL: Has the noble Lord no information as to the cause of the accident?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: It is, as I stated, a saluting charge which exploded prematurely. Whether all the precautions that should have been taken were taken I cannot state.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

IRISH LAND LAW BILL [*Lords*].

[BILL 308.]

(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

COMMITTEE [*Progress 21st July.*]

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.

Clause 1 (Leaseholders).

MR. PARNELL (Cork): The first Amendment on the Paper stands in my name, and it is one which is preliminary to several Amendments to the same clause, which raise the question of option—that is to say, whether it should be optional to the tenant, holding under a lease, to apply to the Court to have a fair rent fixed. The Bill, as it stands, gives the option either to the tenant or to the landlord of making the application, subject to the terms of his tenancy. Although in the Tenant Relief Bill, last year, for which I was made responsible, the option was not given to the tenant alone, yet the interval which has since elapsed has supplied us with such a large body of information as to the desirability of leaving the option to the tenant alone, and as to the hardship which may result, in many cases, to tenants if it were not so left, and the difficulty of proof by the tenant, that it is out of the question to consent to the conditions contained in the clause as it now stands. In my opinion, the only way of proceeding is to give the option to the tenant, and to the tenant alone, to make application under this clause. I may mention that a considerable variation has been introduced into the Government clause against the tenant as compared with the provisions of the clause in the Relief Bill of last Session. In the Relief Bill it was only necessary for the tenant to prove that he had paid value, but in the present Bill it is provided that a tenant must prove that a valuable consideration has been given to the lessor for the lease. From the statement made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and also at the meeting which was held at the Carlton Club the other day, it would seem that the Government is disposed to concede this point, and therefore I will not labour the matter further, but will proceed to show how the Amendment fits in with the clause, and how the clause, if it be adopted, will read in connection with consequential Amendments. The clause, if altered as I suggest, will read in this way—

> "At any time within three years after the passing of this Act, on application within the prescribed manner to the Court by the lessee of any holding who at the expiration of any lease existing at the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, would be admitted to be a tenant."

Lower down I have an Amendment which is also consequential, to leave out the words—

> "Provided that such lessee shall not be deemed to be a present tenant, where substantial consideration has been given for the said lease to the lessor or with his knowledge, and such lessee objects to being deemed a present tenant."

In fact that Amendment amounts to the omission of the second paragraph of the clause. Now, Sir, I am anxious to say a word on the only question which is likely to introduce any controversy into the matter involved in the Amendment, and that is the period to be allowed to the lessee, after the passing of the Act, for the purpose of making his application. As the clause now stands, it appears to me that that period would be unlimited. I apprehend, at all events, that that must have been the intention of the Government in regard to the clause, because, otherwise, unless the lessee had applied on the very day in which the Act came into operation, he would be shut out altogether from making the application. It must be obvious that time will be necessary to enable the holders of the title to tenancies held under lease to make out their claim, and that that cannot be done in a day, and in many cases, cannot be done even in a year. The hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) apparently thinks that some limitation would only be fair, and that the tenants should not be restricted to the very day upon which the Act is passed into law. He has, therefore, placed upon the Paper an Amendment which provides that the application may be made within two years after the passing of the Act. I have taken a later period, having regard to the steps which may have to be taken by the lessees in order that they may be in a position to qualify themselves to make an application under the technical wording of the clause. The Government clause, I submit, provides no limitation whatever, and if there is to be any alteration in the wording of the clause, then I think it would be better to give to those who are interested a period of three years instead of two. I think it would be most unfair that a leaseholder should be compelled to become a yearly tenant when he prefers to continue under the terms of his lease. A period of three years will, I think, satisfy all the necessities of the case; it would not be an extensive period, and it would enable substantial justice to be done in the matter. Without further preface, I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, before the word "on," insert the words "at any time within three years after the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): This Amendment raises the question whether the breaking of leases shall be unilateral or bilateral—in other words, whether the lease shall be broken in favour of the tenant and landlord, or only broken in favour of the tenant. While, as a matter of argument, I can see no justification for the proposal before the Committee of breaking the leases in favour of the tenant only, I recognize the fact that the landlords themselves, as far as I can gather, are by no means desirous of maintaining the bilateral arrangement; and as the only cases in which a landlord can take advantage of this sub-section are cases which everyone would regret, and which everyone would admit to be cases of hardship, I am prepared, under the circumstances, on behalf of the Government to accept the general proposition which has been so powerfully supported by Peers of all shades of political opinion in the other House, and to consent to the unilateral principle. At the same time, I confess that I would prefer, as the form for carrying out that principle, an Amendment which stands in the name of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) to that which stands in the name of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell), which provides that the time should run, not from the passing of the Act, but from the date of the application. The hon. Member for Cork has, I think, properly stated the effect of the clause as it stands. He appears to think that if we carry the clause in its present shape an unlimited time might elapse before a lease was broken. That is not the case. It is certainly not our intention, and I do not think it is the effect of the clause. If the clause were carried in its present shape, the moment it is passed all leases would be broken, whether in favour of the landlord or of the tenant.

MR. PARNELL: What I said was that the application to fix a fair rent, as the Government proposal stands, could be made either by the landlord or the tenant at any time before the passing of the Act. There would certainly be no limit; but the Amendments proposed by myself and by the hon. Member for South Tyrone respectively limit the period within which such application shall be made by the tenant to three years after the passing of the Act in the one case, and two years in the other.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Then I appear to have mistaken the purport of the Amendment. The hon. Member now proposes that an unlimited time should elapse, and that is also the purport of the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The lease, under the form proposed by the hon. Member for Cork, would have to be broken in the course of three years; but after it was broken it would not be imperative to apply for a lease at once. We are of opinion that a limit of two years is quite sufficient for the landlords to be left in doubt as to whether the tenant chooses to take advantage of the Act or not. A further objection to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Cork, as compared with that of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, is that the retrospective form of the Amendment might lead to serious legal complications in the future, and, therefore, I greatly prefer the form of the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. For that reason the Government prefer to accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I do not think the hon. Member for Cork will feel inclined to quarrel as to whether the period shall be two years or three years.

In my opinion, two years are quite sufficient, and as the Government now consent to narrow the question as between two and three years, I hope the hon. Member will accept the Amendment and enable us to go on with the Bill.

MR. PARNELL: In my opinion, as to the questions being retrospective, the two Amendments are precisely the same.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not so. The hon. Member will see that his Amendment reads thus—

"At any time within three years after the passing of this Act, on application in the prescribed manner to the Court, the lessee of any holding who, at the expiration of any lease existing at the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, if *bonâ fide* in occupation of his holding, shall be deemed to be a tenant of his present tenancy in like manner and subject to like conditions and subject to the right of resumption, as if his lease expired at the passing of this Act."

MR. PARNELL: I understand that there is another Amendment on the Paper to strike out the words after "resumption," "and if his lease expired at the passing of this Act." That Amendment is proposed to be moved by the hon. Member for North Donegal (Mr. O'Doherty). If the objection which has been stated by the right hon. Gentleman is the only objection as compared with that of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, I will only say that I am ready to accept the substitution of the word "two" for "three" years, and I therefore beg to move the insertion of "two years" instead of three.

Amendment proposed in the said proposed Amendments, to leave out the word "three," and insert the word "two."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'three' stand part of the said proposed Amendment."

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I will accept that Amendment.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I trust that the hon. Member for Cork will now allow the Government to proceed with the Amendment in the form which they prefer, as the object is identical.

MR. PARNELL: I do not think it is fair for the Government to ask me to give up the place I have obtained for my Amendment. I am anxious to see whether the Government had any real and substantial reason for rejecting the first Amendment I had placed upon the Paper. There are two points raised in the first Amendment; first, that three years should be the period within which the application should be made; secondly, that the Amendment should have a retrospective effect. I have shown, as regards the second point, that the objection which has been urged against it has no effect, because the Amendment placed upon the Paper by the hon. Member for South Tyrone is precisely the same as mine in that respect, and it is not until Amendment 20 is reached that the hon. Member proposes to guard against the retrospective action of the Amendment. If that is a fault, it is one which the Amendment of the hon. Member has in common with mine, and the hon. Member is forestalled by an Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for North Donegal (Mr. O'Doherty.) Therefore, the first objection taken by the Government to my Amendment has no validity whatever. Their second objection I have met by substituting two years instead of three. What is the fact in regard to the Amendments which raise the question of option? On the 14th July, the first day on which it was possible, I placed this Amendment upon the Paper. The hon. Member for South Tyrone also, on the same night, placed his Amendment upon the Paper dealing with the same question. But the Amendment on which the hon. Member now elects to go, and which deals with the question of option, was not placed upon the Paper until the 21st July, a week later than mine. The hon. Member took off the Amendments which he had originally placed on the Paper, dealing with the option of the tenant, on the first night on which it was possible to give Notice of them, and placed other Amendments on the Paper which are substantially the same as mine. One of the hon. Member's Amendments proposes to leave out the words "shall at the date of the passing of this Act," in order to insert "applied in the prescribed manner to the Court, he shall if *bonâ fide* in occupation of his holding," &c. I have also an Amendment to leave out the words "at the date of the passing of this Act," which is a similar Amendment to that of the hon. Gentleman, so that his Amendments governing local option are Amendments substantially copied from mine, although he brings them in in a different part of the clause. I would ask, then, whether it is fair, as I have obtained precedence for my Amendment on the Paper, that, in consequence of some arrangement between the Government and the hon. Member for South Tyrone, I should be ousted from the honour of carrying these Amendments.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: As a matter of fact, the Bill I introduced at the commencement of the Session was the first measure that gave the option to the tenant.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): Not at all.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order! I hope the Committee will not waste time in discussing matters of this kind, which are altogether irrelevant to the issue. I understand that an agreement has been arrived at in regard to the substance of the Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: It is really unimportant whether we take the Amendment before the Committee or the one which stands in the name of the Member for South Tyrone.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Question, "That the word 'two' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

MR. PARNELL: I now beg to move a consequential Amendment—namely, to insert, after "on," the words "the application in the prescribed manner to the Court."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Before we come to that Amendment I think it will be necessary to leave out the word "on."

MR. PARNELL: No; the word "on" must remain.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, after "on," insert "the application in the prescribed manner to the Court."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. PARNELL: I have now to move to leave out, in the same line, the words "the passing of this Act," and to insert the word "by." The clause will then run—

> "At any time within two years after the passing of this Act, on the application in the prescribed manner to the Court by the lessee of any holding," &c.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, leave out "the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, after "Act," insert "by."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question, "That 'by' be there inserted," put, and *agreed to.*

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): The next two Amendments are in my name; but as the object I had in view has already been attained by the Amendments of the hon. Member for Cork, I do not propose to move them.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): The Amendment I have to move is to omit the words—

> "Who at the expiration of any lease existing at the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, would be deemed to be a tenant on a present ordinary tenancy from year to year within the meaning of the said Act at the rent and subject to the conditions of the lease."

The object of this Amendment is to admit a certain class of persons who would otherwise be excluded from the benefit of the clause. It will be seen by the Committee that these words extend the application of the clause to leaseholders who, at the expiration of any lease existing at the time of the passing of the Act of 1881, would be deemed to be a tenant from year to year. That provision would place two separate and distinct limitations upon the class of leaseholders. In the first place, it would confine the clause to the leaseholders whose leases expired at the passing of the Act of 1881; and, secondly, it would confine it to those leaseholders who on the expiration of their leases under that Act would be deemed to be ordinary present tenants. I propose, by leaving out those words, to remove that limitation, and to extend the benefit of the Act to leaseholders holding under a term of over 60 years, and also to remove the other restrictions of the Act of 1881. The Amendment would have the effect of extending the benefits of the Act to a certain class of leaseholders who, by an extraordinary oversight in the Act of 1881, were deprived of the benefits of that Act owing to leases having fallen in just at the period when the Act came into operation.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 6, leave out from "who" to "lease," in line 10, inclusive.—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: As I understand the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, he proposes to make a most violent breach of the arrangements which were made under the Act of 1881. A fundamental principle of that Act was that every holding which became untenanted after the date of the passing of the Act, or in which there occurred a break in the tenancy, should be subject again to the ordinary principle of freedom of contract which applies in all other countries. That principle would be altogether destroyed by the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, so far as leases are concerned. The Government object to the Amendment on that ground; but they also object to it because it draws a distinction between future tenancies under a lease and future tenancies which are not under a lease. If any proposition of this kind, which I should certainly strongly deprecate, were introduced into the Bill, it would be absolutely necessary to introduce some further provisions which would altogether destroy the existence of future tenancies, which is an essential part of the arrangements of 1881. Let me remind the hon. Gentleman that the existence of judicial leases was distinctly contemplated in the Act of 1881. Under that Act it is competent for the landlord and tenant to go into Court, and have the terms of the lease fixed by the Court, and I think it would be a serious thing for the House to step in now and say that leases formed under that arrangement should be set aside.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): There is a definition of the word "lease" in an Amendment which is to be proposed subsequently.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman may know that to be the fact, but I rather doubt it.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: I refer to Amendment No. 40, in which I propose to add at the end of the Clause the following words:—

> "In this Act the word 'lease' includes an agreement for a lease and any contract of tenancy other than a yearly tenancy or a tenancy less than a yearly tenancy, but does not include a judicial lease or a fixed tenancy. Notwithstanding anything in the said Act contained, 'contract of tenancy' in the said Act and in this Act includes a letting for ever or an agreement for such letting."

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: That is not a consequential Amendment, nor did the hon. Member for Cork, in his speech, regard it as a consequential Amendment. I think I have sufficiently shown to the Committee that it is quite impossible for the Government to accept the Amendment. We do not propose to interfere with leases entered into after the year 1881, nor do we propose to deal with the perpetuity of leases; and for these reasons the Government cannot accept the Amendment.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I hope the right hon. Gentleman will reconsider the position he seems inclined to take up upon this Amendment. The Bill, as it stands, will limit the leaseholders who will get the advantage of the Act to holders of leases which expired within 60 years after the passing of the Act of 1881. Now I do not see that there is any charm in 60 years; nor why, when we are going to do a great act of justice to the leaseholders, we should be tied to that particular number of 60. On that ground, I hope the Chief Secretary for Ireland will feel inclined to reconsider his position, and admit leaseholders up to a reasonable period. I have an Amendment later on which is consequent upon my first Amendment, and includes every lease granted before the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, for any terms of years. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will be induced to compound the matter, and not to lay down a hard-and-fast line of 60 years.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I think the right hon. Gentleman misconceives the purport of the Amendment, which provides for two things. The sentence which my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo proposes to leave out provides that any lease not expiring 60 years after the passing of the Act shall not be broken, and also that no lease shall be broken except leases made before 1881. With regard to the first of these points, that no lease which has not expired in 60 years after the passing of the Act shall not be broken, it is absurd to draw the line at 60 years. I presume that the Government do not intend to maintain that restriction. It has been pointed out, over and over again, that it is very doubtful whether under the Act of 1881 this 60 years' limit really exists. Let me point out that if a man takes a 99 years' lease, which is a very common thing, although you propose to break leases you do not propose to break that. Why is the lease of a man which expires to-day to be broken, while that of a man whose lease expires to-morrow is not to be broken, supposing that both are iniquitous? Why should the difference between 60 years, and 20 years, or 40 years, make this distinction in the minds of the Government? We have been told that the Government are now proceeding on the lines of the Act passed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone); but had he dared to introduce into that measure a proposition of this kind, the entire Tory Party would have been up in arms against him. When the right hon. Gentleman proposed to give the tenants tenant right in consideration of their leases, he was denounced in every form of language by the then Attorney General for Ireland, who is the very gentleman who has made himself responsible for this measure. In 1879, a Bill was brought in to give leases to the tenants; but the Government of that day refused to accept it, although it was proposed at that time by an hon. Member who was a supporter of the Government of Mr. Disraeli. With regard to the second branch of the proposal of my hon. Friend, I have somewhat less hopes. When he made his proposition he had in his mind the fact that scores of tenants have been deprived of the benefit of the Act of 1881 by the action of the landlords, in evicting them and then compelling them to take leases. Being placed practically at the mercy of the landlords, they were obliged to take leases during the time of the passing of the Land Act of 1881. The landlords continually sold out the tenants' interests, and hundreds and thousands of the tenants had leases imposed upon them by the fact that their interests had been sold out, and that they had no title to the redemption. The only title given to them for redemption was when they were evicted for non-payment of rent. All the landlords of Ireland took notice of the fact that the tenants had no time for redemption, and therefore they forced iniquitous leases upon them. What the landlords did in order to divert the proposal of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian was to keep the tenants in as present tenants up to 1883, because no future tenants could exist afterwards. They then imposed leases on them, and it is with that grievance that the Amendment of my hon. Friend deals. I would suggest to the Government that it would be a reasonable compromise if provision were made that leases created during the time that a future tenancy could not have existed may not be broken. That, I think, is a reasonable compromise, which recommends itself on the ground of its equity. If the landlord had not sold out the tenant's interest he would have had six months to redeem the land. The Land Act of 1881 would then have come in for his relief, and he would have been before the wind.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: There are several points raised in the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman, and I think that some of them have hardly been fairly met by the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down. The last point he referred to was the leases which were created between 1881 and 1883. With regard to those leases, I can give no assurance to the Committee at this moment. There is another point, in regard to the breaking of the leases. I think the whole question would be more conveniently dealt with when the Committee reaches a later Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). I would therefore suggest that the hon. Member for East Mayo should withdraw his Amendment for the present until we reach the Amendment which deals directly with leases.

MR. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.): I would suggest that the question of what leases should be included within the 1st section of the Bill would be dealt with more conveniently on the present Amendment, rather than wait until we come to the section which commences at line 22. The clause says—

> "The lessee of any holding at the expiration of any lease existing at the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881, who would be deemed to be a tenant of the present ordinary tenancy from year to year within the meaning of the said Act."

If those words remain in the clause, there could be no difficulty in amplifying it, and therefore I would suggest to the Government, without prejudicing future Amendments, that if they would accept the present Amendment, their doing so would greatly facilitate the consideration of the matter hereafter as a matter of drafting, and the point could be more fully discussed at a later stage.

MR. DILLON: The view which the hon. and learned Member takes is the view which is taken by hon. Members on these Benches. I propose to remove from the section this restriction on the action of the clause, and then later on we might mention what classes of tenancies we wish to be excluded. I think that for many reasons that course would be the most advantageous course to pursue. It seems to me that a class of leases which it is desirable to exclude from the clause is very limited in its character, and when we come to discuss what leases are to be excluded, I think there will be very little difference of opinion at all. I think the clause is drafted in an absurd and objectionable way. First of all, we have a wide scheme of exclusion, and then a proviso to include a portion of the classes which have been excluded. One word as to the exception which has been taken by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He objects to my Amendment because it is a proposal to extend the benefits of the clause to certain leaseholders who are excluded in point of time. I know what the case was which I had in my own mind; but, perhaps, I did not explain it with sufficient fulness. The classes of tenants I propose to deal with are tenants whose leases dropped in about the very time the Act of 1881 passed, and the condition of those tenants was that when the Act of 1881 passed they were neither present tenants nor leaseholders. I have been informed that such leaseholders numbered about 1,000, and I maintain that on no principle of equity should they be excluded, because it was simply owing to an accident that their leases expired about 1881. Besides, there are a large number of leases which were forced on tenants after the passing of the Act of 1881, who have not been in a position to avail themselves of the benefit of the law. What I would recommend the Chief Secretary to do is this. If there are tenants who have entered into leases since the Act of 1881, I believe the number is exceedingly few, and such tenants would scarcely be inclined to pay an excessive rent. There are exceptions, however, and it should be provided in the clause that it should not be applied to any tenant who has freely entered into a lease since the Act of 1881, but only to those who accepted leases under compulsion. Those who accepted leases without pressure on the part of the landlords should be exempted from the operation of the Act, and the clause should only be applied to such tenants whose leases dropped in at such a critical period as to debar them from the benefit of the Act of 1881. I think the case of the leaseholders who freely entered into leases since the Act of 1881 might be easily met by a provision leaving it to the discretion of the Court to exempt them from the Act.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I understand that the Government propose to consider the case of tenants whose leases were in existence before the Land Act of 1881 came into operation, and leases which run for 99 years. I presume that the Government are willing to consider these cases. But there is another set of cases which has been referred to by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). I have had some remarkable instances brought under my notice of leases having expired before the passing of the Act of 1881 which landlords refused to renew until the Act was passed. I have an Amendment, No. 37 on the Paper, which deals with that subject. I think the Government would do well to accept the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries, and on the definition of "lessee," deal with the whole matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): In regard to the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo, I understood the hon. Member to say that there were two points which deserve the attention of the Committee. The first is, what should be the duration of the lease, and whether it should be within or without the duration fixed by the old Act as amended by this; and the other is, whether the old Act should not be extended by the provision now before the Committee so as to apply it to future leases. Now the Act of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian was doubtless, for very good reasons, limited in its application to lessees who were in occupation and whose leases dropped in 60 years after the passing of the Act. That was the first restriction, and it was restricted both to yearly tenants and lessees who held tenancies at the date of the passing of the Act, and who, for the purposes of discussion, are always described as present tenants. Future tenants were a class of persons who were not entitled to the right of perpetuity, or to have a fair rent fixed, or to the other benefits conferred by the Act of 1881. The proposal now made by the hon. Member for East Mayo is, that there should be a substantial extension of the term which entitles the lessees to the benefits of the Act of 1881, and that is a matter which ought to be considered on a separate Amendment, and can best be considered on the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), which stands next on the Paper. The other point raised by the hon. Member for East Mayo, and which has been developed by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, was a proposal to include a certain class of future lessees within the Act. That proposal will require very grave consideration when it comes to be dealt with, because the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian made it a vital principle of his Bill that future tenants stand in a wholly different position from the tenants who held present tenancies in 1881. The matter is a very grave one, and is not to be lightly decided by the Committee at the present moment. I will tell the Committee why it seems to me that this Amendment would involve consequences much greater than would follow even from an affirmative decision on both of the points raised by the hon. Member. The hon. Member will observe that, in order to vote for such an Amendment, it is necessary to be agreed upon both points; but it is perfectly possible for hon. Members to agree upon one and not upon both. It therefore occurs to me that the points involved in the Amendments should be moved separately; and the reason why I think the subject should be held over for subsequent discussion is this. The Land Act of 1881, as those who were concerned in passing it know, was subject to many qualifications and exceptions. For instance, one class of exception took out of the operation of the Act pasture farms, town parks, demesne lands, &c.; but if this Amendment be carried in its present form, all that class of exceptions will be swept away. Again, a class of judicial tenancies subject to judicial approbation are excepted; and, further, perpetuity tenancies under Section 11 of the Act, created after the passing of the Act, are expressly excluded from the Act of 1881. Also, in the case of tenancies of a certain value —namely, up to £150—the tenant may contract himself out of the operation of the Act of 1881. If hon. Members think that on these specific points the scope of the Bill should be enlarged, let them put their Amendments on the Paper and discuss each separate point, instead of discussing this general and sweeping Amendment. If both specific points are intended to be discussed together, it may happen that there will be a difference of opinion, some hon. Members being in favour of one only, while others may be in favour of both. On that ground, I would, therefore, suggest that the most convenient course would be to adopt the broad definition of the Act of 1881, to leave the definition now as it stands; and if hon. Members think that definition should be enlarged, subsequent Amendments for that purpose may be proposed, and may be considered, on the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast, the other questions raised by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford being brought forward as substantive and specific Amendments.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL (Hackney, S.): Notwithstanding the argument of my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland, I would submit that the course suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Dumfries (Mr. R. T. Reid) would be the most convenient form of procedure for the Committee to adopt. My right hon. and learned Friend has argued that the acceptance of the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo will commit the Committee to two propositions, as to both of which hon. Members may not be in agreement, but that is not so. Now, the Amendment of the hon. Member is not an

Amendment to add words, but to omit words; and the hon. Member for East Mayo has sought to justify the omission of those words. He has thought it right to explain why he proposes to omit them. There are two points which will become consequential at a later stage, but which do not affect the present Amendment. One is the inclusion of leases subsequent to the passing of the Act of 1881. Now, I do not think that that is at all a large question; but, nevertheless, it is important to a small class. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) has proposed to make the application apply to leases entered into subsequent to the Act of 1881. As regards the question of the length of lease which will be affected by Clause 1, it seems to me that the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Attorney General for Ireland have mistaken the application of Section 21 of the Land Act of 1881. Section 21 was addressed to an entirely different subject. It had nothing to do with the breaking of leases at all. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian did not then see his way, and no hon. Gentleman or right hon. Gentleman who sits on the other side saw his way to give the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian any encouragement to deal with leases under the Act of 1881. Therefore, with a few exceptions, they are altogether out of the purview of the Act of 1881. Section 21 of the Land Act simply provides that the holders of existing leases shall be deemed to be present tenants at the expiry of their lease if such lease has not longer to run than 60 years. But that is not the proposition now. We are now dealing, and, as I venture to think, dealing reasonably, with the question of leases, and we are recognizing the fact that in the case of tenants who hold under a lease in Ireland, there is, in substance and in fact, no difference between their position and that of ordinary agricultural tenants held from year to year. The circumstances of both are the same as to the condition of the tenants and the size of the holdings. Therefore, I contend that the two points raised by the hon. Member for East Mayo are in favour of the view he takes; and, on the ground of convenience, it has been well put by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dumfries that, by omitting the words proposed to be left out, we might then have a general clause of inclusion, upon which we may more easily graft the exceptions which it may be necessary to make.

Lord ERNEST HAMILTON (Tyrone, N.): I shall certainly support the proposal of the hon. Member, so far as I understand it—namely, that leases granted before the passing of the Act of 1881, but which fall in after the passing of that Act, and are then renewed, should be included in the operation of the Bill, while those tenants who entered into leases subsequent to the passing of the Act of 1881 with their own free will should not be included. That I conceive to be a reasonable proposal, and one that will not injure the landlords nor inflict any injustice upon them. If the measure is not accepted, I believe it will leave a feeling of great dissatisfaction and a sense of injustice in Ireland, which I am certain the Government desire to avoid. If the hon. Member insists upon pressing the Amendment, I shall certainly support him.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: We are dealing partly with a question of procedure and partly with a question of substance. It includes the length of leases, which is a point we are anxious to discuss; but it includes, further, that point marked out by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford, and alluded to by my noble Friend behind me—namely, the case of leases renewed in the middle period between 1881 and 1882. That raises a question which we are most anxious favourably to consider; but if we hastily accept the Amendment now, we may subsequently find ourselves involved in legal difficulties of considerable magnitude. Therefore, I hope the hon. Member will not press the Government to put down in a distinct form the method by which they will try to deal with the case, and I would ask the hon. Member not to press the Amendment. If the Amendment before the Committee be carried in its present shape, it would, of course, shatter the definition contained in the Act of 1881, and we should have to set to work to create a new definition of leases. I would earnestly suggest that on the question of form the most convenient method would be to take the definition of the Land Act of 1881, and to make whatever additions to it that may be proper.

MR. GIBSON: As to the question raised by the noble Lord the Member for Tyrone (Lord Ernest Hamilton), the effect of admitting this Amendment would be to strike out every qualification in regard to the word "lessee," and whether it was an exceptional class holding demesne land, or a pasture farm, or a town park, it would come within the section. I think that is a matter which ought to be dealt with by a substantive Amendment, and one which ought to be passed over now. If it is passed over the hon. Member for East Mayo will not be prevented from raising and discussing any question upon it when it is brought forward. I trust that these observations will be satisfactory to the hon. Member.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I venture to think that the argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman is somewhat unfair. If the proposed Amendments were accepted, the effect would be to exclude all holdings under the Act of 1881, and in that case it would be easy to insert other words, specifying the nature of the tenancies that are to be provided for. That, I think, would be a satisfactory mode of dealing with the matter. I think the suggestion made by the hon. and learned Member for Hackney (Sir Charles Russell) is an extremely reasonable and proper one—namely, that the words pointed out in the Amendment of my hon. Friend should be struck out without the slightest reference to any of the points which have been raised. I say that because it appears to me that it would be far more easy and far more simple to deal subsequently with any specific proposal and any particular class which the Government say ought not to have the benefit of the Bill. There is another point which is substantially raised upon these words which has not been adverted to. Perhaps the Committee will allow me to point out what the effect of omitting these words will be if we affirm substantially that no leaseholder shall get the benefit of the clause unless he is a leaseholder who, on the expiration of his lease, would be entitled to become a present tenant under Section 21 of the Act of 1881. Now, as a mere matter of procedure, I say that it would be an error first to affirm a proposition of that kind on the understanding that you are shortly afterwards to limit it in a particular way. What I maintain is that you should first make a general enactment, and then proceed to limit it by specific Amendments, each of which raises a particular point. There are three points to be discussed here. First of all, the case of leases made after the passing of the Act of 1881, then the general consensus of opinion which is held in regard to a particular section of these leases—namely, leases made in the case of tenants who had technically no interest in the holding at the passing of the Land Act of 1881, but who got a renewal of their leases before the 1st of January, 1883. It is agreed that something should be done in that case; but there is also the case of leases which expire at the end of 60 years. They are also excluded by the words which the Government have moved; but I take it that there is a general agreement that something should be done in regard to them. There is a third class of leases, which are also struck out. I refer to leases which are dealt with in the later part of the Act of 1881, which enacts that certain tenants shall not be entitled to become present tenants on the expiry of their lease or the transfer of their lease. Section 21 especially enacts that tenants in that position shall not be entitled to the benefit of the provisions of the Act; and if we pass the clause as it stands we shall be substantially including that class of tenants who were to be excluded. Certainly, that is my view of the position in which the matter stands, and I do not say it lightly. If you pass these words in their present form the effect will be to incur the risk that the Court in Ireland will exclude the classes of leases I have referred to from the benefit of the Act, on the ground that the Land Act of 1881 enacted that such tenants should not become present tenants on the expiry of their leases. I think the natural thing to do is to strike out these words without prejudice to any question which may be subsequently raised. The Government would thus be left to propose the particular limitations they desire, and it will be for the Committee to discuss their proposals in detail. That appears to me to be the regular and proper way of dealing with the subject, and the whole necessity for this discussion, however inconvenient it may have been, has arisen from the improper insertion of words in the Bill, which prejudge a different question which is to be subsequently raised. The best way of getting rid of the mischief is to strike out the words which create it, and then discuss the important points which may be subsequently raised.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 154; Noes 134: Majority 20.—(Div. List, No. 316.) [7.45 P.M.]

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to move as an Amendment, in page 1, line 10, after the word "lease," to insert these words—

"Or would be so deemed had the lease existed at the passing of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"

Now, this proposal covers one of the several questions which have been touched upon in the discussion of the previous Amendment. The object of my Amendment is to secure the benefit of the Act of 1881 for leaseholders whose leases did not exist at the time of the passing of that Act. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for South Hackney (Sir Charles Russell) says this is not a very large question. Well, it is not. It does not affect a very considerable number of leaseholders; and while, on the one hand, that may be the reason why the Government should not be ready to accept it, I would say that, on the other hand, the fact that the people affected are not numerous is not a reason why it should be refused, because the Amendment of the hon. and learned Gentleman is one of supreme importance to those who are concerned, whether their number be large or small. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) has spoken of qualifications and exceptions. I take the liberty of saying that your qualifications and exceptions have been the ruin of your remedial legislation for Ireland. You have never honestly accepted remedial legislation for Ireland. You lay down the principle of benefit, and proceed to apply it; but you always contrive to shut out somebody or other by your qualifications and exceptions. You have never been satisfied to relieve a dozen men in Ireland without trying to find out how you can shut out the thirteenth man. There is no difference in point of equity and expediency between the position of the leaseholder and that of the tenant-at-will; and I ask you to admit all leaseholders upon an equal footing, on the presumption that there is no freedom of contract in the case of the leaseholder any more than in the case of the tenant-at-will. It has been said that great hardships were suffered at the passing of the Act of 1881 by a number of people who were deprived of their tenancy before the passing of the Act, and who then, not being in a position to avail themselves of the status of present tenants, were obliged to accept leases at rents as oppressive as any imposed upon any tenants. They are leaseholders by virtue of the duress exercised on them by the landlords. I do not think the hon. and learned Gentleman will himself deny that there is a considerable body of men who are in this position, and in point of equity and fair play they are as fully entitled as any other tenants to this benefit. Besides these, there are a second class of tenants who, because of the existence of arrears, or of some other cause, have not free will, but are under the compulsion of the landlords, and who, though not evicted before or since the passing of the Act of 1881, were obliged, by the superior force of the landlords, to accept leases. I contend that, though their leases were excluded, they have a right in equity to be admitted to the benefits of the Act. What is the use of talking of freedom of contract at all, if, at the present moment, no freedom of contract exists between the owner and the occupier in Ireland? The real question is, not when a lease began or will end, but, admitting its existence, whether the rent under it is oppressive. You ought to get rid of this question. It is no longer a question as between the leaseholder and any other tenant; it is a question of expediency. You want, as I understand it, to settle the question of rent in Ireland for a time by this Bill—for the time that must elapse before you can bring a purchase scheme into operation. You want to have no further trouble about rent. Your qualifications and exceptions—if you say that one leaseholder may come into Court because his lease does not expire at a certain date, and another leaseholder must keep out because his lease does expire in a certain year, and so on—if you say that, then I say that these distinctions, exceptions, qualifications, and vexatious provisoes will prevent the settlement of the rent question for many a long day, and the man whom you leave out will continue to agitate, and will feel a smarting sense of wrong, and will raise excitement and trouble in Ireland, and will go on appealing to this House, and in the end you will have to yield, if not to fear, at all events to a sense of inconvenience, that which in the beginning you refused to yield to reason. That is not statesmanship. I have shown that, in the case of two classes of tenants, they have no power to resist the will of the landlord; and, therefore, I move the Amendment which I have placed upon the Paper with much confidence.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 10, after the word "lease," to insert—

"Or would be so deemed had the lease existed at the passing of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): I may remind the Committee that the theory of the legislation of 1881 was that the tenants who were then on the land, under existing contracts, required a certain amount of legislative protection, but that in the case of land which was to be let in future the contract with the landlord as to such land was to be entirely free. In many cases within my own experience landlords have let land which never had a tenant on it before, and made, on the faith of that legislative guarantee, new tenancies, assuming that the terms of their leases ended when the leases expired, and that when the leases were at an end they would get back their land. The hon. Member's Amendment states that, with regard to every single lease in Ireland made after the year 1881, those future leases without exception, whether the tenants have been on the land before or not, shall come within the operation of the Act of 1881, in the same way and to the same extent as if they existed before 1881. Now, the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) has presented his view of an Amendment which goes very much on the lines of the argument of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton); but his Amendment would be much narrower on the whole. What I understand his Amendment to be, as suggested by him, would be supported by most of the arguments of the hon. Member for West Belfast. The difficulty has always been present to the mind of Parliament as to what might happen, assuming that the landlord were to adopt a harsh and inequitable course so as to bring tenants—present tenants—into the category of future tenants, and exclude them unfairly from the Act of 1881. That was present to the mind of Parliament, because it was provided in Section 57 of the Act that if a tenancy subsisted in the holding when the Act passed, and if the landlord evicted the tenant and chose to make a new letting before the 1st of January, 1883, whether by lease or not—whether for a term of years, or from year to year—it would be a present tenancy, so that the Committee will see that in the case of land which was in the occupation of the tenant when the Act passed, but which afterwards formed the subject of a new letting at any time before the 1st of January, 1883, that should be the subject of a present tenancy, though actually future in point of time. That was the provision which the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) thought it necessary to introduce, and it is upon the lines of that provision that I understand the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Ruseell) has framed an Amendment which is worthy of consideration. But the Amendment now proposed by the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) might be put very much on the lines of the Definition Clause to which I have referred, substituting for tenancies existing in 1881 the question of occupation existing in 1881, and that occupation continuing in the same persons from 1881 to 1883, subject to the very important factor suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast, that some element of duress or influence should exist on the part of the landlord. I do not know whether the Committee has seen the Amendment of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, dealing with perpetuity leases; but the same consideration would apply there. I do not know whether the Committee will deal with it in some such way as I have suggested. Of course, in any discussion in Committee it is necessary that there should be a certain amount of compromise on both sides. Some hon. Members would like to see every future lease involved; but we cannot put future leases in a better position than future yearly tenancies, and there are many future yearly tenants who do not come within the provisions of fair rent. It would be monstrous that the future leaseholder should be put in a better position than the yearly tenant. A distinction was adopted by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, after great consideration, between present tenants and future tenants, and in the case of future tenants the parties were to be at liberty to make their own contracts. It would be a very dangerous thing to break down that distinction, and the most convenient arrangement would be to defer the consideration of this matter till we come to the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who raises the question in terms. That would be the most convenient place to raise the question. But the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast is a sweeping Amendment, not limited to cases of hardship, but necessarily applying to every single future tenant in Ireland; and, as it involves a wholesale revision of the essential provisions of the Act of 1881, I should like to hear the views of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian upon it.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) has drawn quite an eloquent moral from the Act of 1881, which he and his Party have never ceased to denounce and malign. I am sure the right hon. and learned Gentleman knows perfectly well that every Act of Parliament interferes to a certain extent with the rights of individuals, and the Act of 1881 is not peculiar in that respect. But he pushes his argument to an extreme, because if the Act of 1881 did anything it said that leaseholders should not be within the main benefit of the Act—it does not lie in the mouth of the right hon. and learned Gentleman to use a supposed moral in that respect. The Bill we are now discussing is the first leaseholders' Land Bill; and it would only be a parallel case if the Act of 1881 was the first yearly tenants' Land Bill. It would obviously be a monstrous and ridiculous principle to say that the Act of 1881 applied to all the persons now in possession of these leases, who now, for the first time, have got the opportunity of obtaining substantial redress. The right hon. and learned Gentleman says the Amendment would put future leases in a better position than yearly tenancies. That is easily answered. I can answer that question in true Irish fashion by asking another—Why are you making present leaseholders better off than present yearly tenants? Present yearly tenants are not relieved from a permanent liability to pay excessive rents; but, in respect to leaseholders, you do relieve them, and you give the leaseholder a certain substantial relief in that respect. But there is one argument which will appeal to the Government, and that is that as many of these men as you leave out of this Bill, so many Nationalists will you create. We desire to do these men a benefit. If the Government insist on leaving them out they will suffer. The general body of the Irish tenantry will be benefited; but the representation of some Northern counties will be changed. Even in the last Division several Members of the Government Party voted in the "No" Lobby, because, if they had not done so, they would lose their seats at the next Election; and I shall again expect to see them on this occasion voting with the Parnellite Members, whom they are so ready to despise and malign. I hope the Government will take warning while there is yet time, and will include all tenants. The number of those who would be affected is not very great.

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): I should like to call attention to the distinction imposed by the wording of the definition of "present tenant" in the Act of 1881. It includes not merely those whose position has been determined, but those whose tenancy had been determined in 1879 and 1880, immediately before the agitation had reached its climax—the agitation which forced the Legislature to pass the Act. The notices to quit in order to raise rents were falling like snowflakes, and tenancies innumerable had been determined in principle in November, 1880.

But the tenants were still in possession; and as soon as the Act passed it was plainly seen that the tenant need not be removed. The result was that there was no necessity for the landlord to shove him out, and he remained in possession after the passing of the Act, but without the slightest benefit derived from the Act. In the case of the man previously sitting as a tenant from year to year, he is out of all protection; but the case of the man intended to be met by the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) is even harder. I have in my mind the case of a tenant whose interest amounted to £4,000; and if the Irish Society had not given him, by grace, what he had lost technically he would have lost his £4,000. I take these two cases, where the tenancies from year to year were determined by notices to quit, or by terms under leases. In the drafting of any Amendment which will still continue the wording of the definition of present tenant under the Act of 1881 not one of these cases will be dealt with. We are all agreed as to the substance of the Amendment. The case of a man having an interest in his possession is lost by a technicality. He has no means of standing up and making a fair bargain with his landlord; but he would have been within the benefit of the Act if you had taken into consideration the fact that his interest was there. I ask the Committee seriously to consider this, because the arguments advanced by the Attorney General for Ireland amount, after all, only to this—"I admit your case; but there have been many landlords who had land on hand and let it to persons who could make a fair bargain." But a Proviso has been offered from these Benches to meet that—a Proviso that in all cases where there was land in hand the provision should not apply. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has said—"Put in a Proviso that all future contracts made with land in hand shall still be valid." We are agreed, then, as to the substance. The only difference is as to the phraseology.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 105; Noes 116: Majority 11.—(Div. List, No. 317.) [8.5 P.M.]

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I beg to move the Amendment which stands next on the Paper in my name—namely, in Clause 1, page 1, line 10, after "lease," to insert the words—

> "Or would be so deemed but for the fact that such lease would expire within sixty years after 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"

I think it would be unnecessary for me to offer any arguments in support of this Amendment. The Government have given up the case, and there is no longer any meaning in the term of years contained in the original Act. The greater the number of years the lease may be for the greater need there is to take measures for securing an equitable rent.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 10, after the word "lease," to insert the words "or would be so deemed but for the fact that such lease would expire within sixty years after the passing of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I hope the Government will consider this Amendment at all events. Here is a copy of a lease taken out in 1858 for 900 years—fine paid £500; yearly rent £405; Government valuation £187. I believe this is a point upon which the Government can fairly give way. There is no charm in 60 years. I can understand stopping short at a perpetuity lease; but 60 years is not the number of perfection any more than 99 years.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down has told us that there is no charm in 60 years; but I am not responsible for the original introduction of that limit. That period appears in the Act of 1881, as the hon. Gentleman is aware, and that is the reason why we have selected it. There is something more in our selection of it than the hon. Member probably sees. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) brought under the operation of the Act leases of under 60 years. He left those leases intact during the tenancy; but he gave to the tenant that which the landlord had previously a right to—namely, full possession of the land after the contract for which he had let the land had expired; therefore, when we interfere with those leases of 60 years we only complete the work of destruction which had been begun in those leases by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. It is not a question of adopting the limit adopted by the right hon. Gentleman; but we think that there is a clear distinction to be drawn — we still think there is a clear distinction to be drawn in the course of this legislation—between leases that terminate at the end of 60 years from the passing of the Act of 1881 and leases of longer duration. The hon. Gentleman who has moved this Amendment asks to break all leases in Ireland of whatever kind, and to allow no limit of duration whatever. But does he not see that by doing so you will be practically upsetting a case that is undistinguishable, either in law or in fact, from a true case of purchase?

Mr. SEXTON: No, no!

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Well, I will go into the question of fact presently; but as a question of law, although I am not myself competent to form an opinion upon the matter, still I am given to understand that when a tenant has under the Act of Parliament converted a lease into a fee farm grant he becomes the owner of the fee simple.

An hon. Member: He pays a rent.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): The word "lease" in this section would not include a lease for ever, having regard to one of the definitions contained in the Land Act of 1881.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Is the hon. Gentleman going to draw a distinction between a fee farm grant and other leases?

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Leases for ever are provided for.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In this Amendment?

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I did not intend to argue the question of perpetuity leases.

Mr. SEXTON: Nor I.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: I think the right hon. Gentleman is mistaken as to what we want.

Mr. SEXTON: My Amendment is that 60 years shall not be the utmost term. It will be for the Government to exclude perpetuity leases.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: This Amendment, if carried, will not include perpetuity leases. The reason is that there is a definition in the Land Act of 1881 which excludes from its provisions any contract of tenancy lasting for ever.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I understand the point. This Amendment would cover the case of leases for 999 years, but would not cover the case of fee farm grants or perpetuity leases. That does, undoubtedly, make a distinction. But I cannot admit the difference in substance between a lease for 999 years and a perpetuity lease; and I think the Committee will bear me out in saying that in England, and I should think in Ireland, too, and in every other country, a 999 years lease is not distinguishable for any purpose from eternity. It is equal to a case of purchase, and ought to be exempt as a case of purchase. I gather that the hon. Gentleman opposite intends to argue the case of perpetuity leases at a later stage. [Mr. Sexton: Yes.] I have given the reason why we have chosen 60 years as the limit for this Bill. I do not wish to resist the introduction of a term of years which may be proposed, so long as we still leave it a lease in substance, and not a freehold in substance. I apprehend that 99 years really covers that distinction. A 99 years' lease is a very common length of lease in England and elsewhere; but no one who has a 99 years' lease is supposed to be the absolute owner. But anyone who holds land for 999 years practically considers himself to be the freeholder. I consent, with reluctance, to a modification of the clause in the direction moved by the hon. Member. I will not resist such a modification, and shall be prepared to accept an Amendment extending the period to 99 years.

The CHAIRMAN: Does the right hon. Gentleman move that Amendment?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; I move to amend the Amendment.

Amendment proposed to the proposed Amendment, to omit the word "sixty," in order to insert the words "ninety-nine."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'sixty' stand part of the proposed Amendment."

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: I do not know that I quite understand the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment. The Amendment reads—

"Or would be so deemed but for the fact that such lease would expire within ninety-nine years after the passing of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881.'"

But the term 99 years does not occur in the Act of 1881, and, therefore, is not a bar to its being "so deemed."

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I see what the hon. Gentleman means—a fresh Amendment will be required.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: As the Government see that a fresh Amendment is necessary, I would ask them to amend the clause by a fresh Proviso at the end. I say that not with the intention of obtaining an opportunity for the discussion of a contentious point, but in order that we may have the clause framed with some degree of intelligibility.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Would not the right course be for the hon. Gentleman opposite to drop this Amendment altogether, in order to introduce a Proviso at the end of the clause?

MR. SEXTON: No, no!

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): I would point out that the Act of 1881 excluded from its benefits leaseholders whose leases would not expire at the end of 60 years. The object of this Amendment is to get rid of that limitation. Well, if you get rid of that limitation, it will be competent for the Committee to substitute any other restriction on which it may decide. The first thing to do, I submit, is to wipe out the limitation contained in the Act of 1881, which is 60 years. If you do not do that, you cannot put in the Proviso.

MR. SEXTON: I would point out to the Government that if they accept my Amendment they clear the ground. They get rid of a Proviso of the Act of 1881, and leave it open to the Government to introduce later on any limitation they think proper.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have no objection to the course proposed. But it must be understood that all we do is this—we prefer the period of 60 years; but we concede 99 years to hon. Members opposite, and are prepared to amend the clause to that effect. I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment to the proposed Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Amendment put, and *agreed to.*

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I desire, Sir, to add, at the end of the words the Committee have just decided upon inserting, these words—

"Or in the case of a lessee under a lease made prior to the 1st of January, 1883, would be so deemed if such lease had existed at the passing of the said Act."

That would be a qualification of the Proviso of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton). It is a proposal intended to carry out the declaration of the Government upon the subject. The effect of the Amendment will be this—that it will admit to the benefits of the section any leaseholder whose lease was made prior to the 1st of January, 1883, that being the date fixed on for the commencement of future tenancies under the Land Act of 1881. May I be permitted to say what I propose without the necessity of waiting for the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) has given Notice of moving? I move this with great respect to the hon. Member, and I say this with great respect to him, that his Amendment is unworkable. His Amendment is unworkable for the reason that he requires that before any tenant can get the benefit of his Amendment that tenant should have been in the occupation of his holding between the time of the expiration of his holding and the time his lease was made. The hon. Gentleman will find that in practice it is impossible to make any limitation of that kind, for the reason that it would exclude the case of a man who was in occupation of his holding as caretaker from the time his old lease expired until his new lease was made. A man who is in occupation as a caretaker is simply the landlord's servant. He is not legally in occupation of the land. He is there as the servant of the landlord, and is no more in occupation of the land than a gentleman's butler is in occupation of his house. Well, we know that, although in point of law the caretaker is in that position, he has in point of fact all the privileges of a tenant. We know that he grazes his cattle on the land, that he works the farm, and that he performs all manner of agricultural operations on it. We know that for all purposes and in reality, except from a technical legal point of view, he is in occupation. That being so, I am sure that no right hon. Gentleman on the other side of the House will contend for a moment that a man who has been in occupation of his land as a caretaker should be excluded from the benefit of my hon. Friend's Amendment. I think the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) will admit that the point I make is a perfectly good one. In point of law, though the caretaker is practically in possession of the land, and working it, the landlord is always technically in occupation. He is liable for the rates and taxes, and he can call on the tenant to account for any dealing he makes in regard to the farm. If the tenant digs up or takes away any part of the crop on the farm the landlord can call him to account for it, just as he can call his servant to account. As that is the case, I think the hon. Member for South Tyrone will admit that an Amendment which brings about such an unjust state of things as the exclusion of such a man from the benefit of the Act does not carry out his own intention. It is impossible to take into consideration this question of occupation at all; and I would, therefore, ask the Government to deal with this question in a broad spirit. It may be that out of 500,000 there may be one solitary case where my Amendment may work injustice; but I submit that it is better that that should be so than that the interests of a large number of people should be injuriously affected. It may be that the Government wish to exclude only the case of the landlords in occupation of their lands at the time of the passing of the Land Act, and who let it for the first time between that date and the 1st of January, 1886. But it is impossible to provide for a few cases of that kind, and I would ask the Committee to deal with this matter without regarding these trivial points. I would ask them to deal with it in a broad spirit, permitting no qualification on any account. I, therefore, move the insertion of these words. I may say that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland desires to except any class of cases, it will be open for him to do so by way of Proviso at the end of the clause, or by way of some other Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 10, to add, after the words last inserted, the words "or in the case of a lessee under a lease made prior to the 1st of January, 1883, would be so deemed if such lease had existed at the passing of the said Act."—(*Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

The CHAIRMAN: It should not be "or in the case of a lessee."

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: Let it run "or a lessee under a lease, &c."

Amendment *amended.*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The Amendment of the hon. Member covers a much wider ground than that which I myself have put upon the Paper, or than I intended to cover. My Amendment, I would remind the hon. Member, was drawn in order to meet a special class of cases where a lease expired immediately before the passing of the Land Act, and where the landlord granted a renewal after the Land Act was passed, and the tenant was never out of occupation. As the Amendment now moved will cover that, I shall be happy to withdraw my proposal in favour of that of the hon. Member for Cork, and I see no reason why the Government should not accept it.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton): This Amendment which is now moved is an Amendment which purports to be on the same lines as the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), which comes on later. It is, however, an Amendment wholly different in scope. This Amendment leaves out entirely all the qualifications and conditions contained in the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. The hon. Member for South Tyrone contemplated in his Amendment those conditions which were referred to by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), and those conditions were these—that a person who had taken a lease after the 1st of January, 1883, should have been in occupation at the time the Land Act was passed, though not necessarily as tenant. The theory of the hon. Gentleman was that if there was a continuance of the occupation between the granting of the lease and the Act of 1881, that was to be treated as though there was a continuance of the tenancy, and as though there was a wish on the part of the landlord to evade the provisions of the Act of 1881. This Amendment would actually destroy the lease of a man who may never have seen the land in question before the lease, and is a very different Amendment from that of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, who contemplates the case of a man who having received notice to quit some time before the passing of the Act of 1881, though having had his tenancy terminated, has been allowed to continue in occupation. It seems to me that this proposed Amendment is in no way germane to the Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton); any other Amendment amending the Act of 1881 would be equally relevant. The Amendment of the hon. Member for West Belfast is an Amendment only referring to the duration of the lease, and not to the length of time for which the lease was granted, which was the first Amendment of the hon. Member which was negatived. The first Amendment negatived by the Committee was one extending the Act to leases which were future leases not governed by the Act of 1881. What the hon. Member for West Belfast proposed was that every lease granted after the passing of the Act of 1881 should be deemed to be within its operation. That was negatived, as I say, and a question of a different character must arise when the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone comes up to be discussed. That Amendment appears to be largely supported by hon. Members below the Gangway; but the hon. Member for Cork is not satisfied with that, and has brought forward a new Amendment on the same line, but limiting the period very much during which a lease was to be granted. The Amendment has no relation to the definition of the present tenant to be found in the Act of 1881. I think the hon. Member would be well advised if he did not press his Amendment.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I am sorry the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not heard my speech. No doubt, it was my fault; but I will repeat the reasons which I gave in support of my Amendment, and which he does not appear to have caught. I will tell him why I do not embody in this Amendment the qualification he lays such stress on. I stated it at considerable length, and I will not so repeat it; but I will repeat this—that I do not introduce the element of occupation, because, if I did, it would exclude a certain class of cases which I do not think the hon. Member for South Tyrone intended to exclude—namely, the class of cases in which, though the holding had been taken by the landlord, the tenant had been admitted as caretaker. I put it to the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself. Suppose this happens—supposing a lease expired on the 1st of May, 1881, and that is a very common case—there were dozens of them, some before the Land Act was passed and some after—well, the landlord takes no step for some time, and the tenant is left in occupation of the holding to enter on a new tenancy. The landlord waits until the Land Act of 1881 is passed, or he does not, as the case may be, or, at any rate, in order to enforce his right he serves a writ of ejectment, and regains a free title; but he has no intention of putting the tenant out; all he wants is to have the tenant in his power, so that when making an arrangement he may exact better terms than he would otherwise be able to do. The tenant remains on the holding as caretaker for five or six months, and the landlord, then having him in his power owing to his exclusion from the Land Act, makes what terms he likes. There is no duress or compulsion, as the tenant is absolutely at the landlord's mercy. Well, the right hon. and learned Gentleman contends for this—that if the tenant had been in occupation during the whole interval, and had not been ejected from the tenancy, he ought to get the benefit of the clause, but that he ought not to get it if the landlord did as I say—that is to say, got possession through the Sheriff, and put back the tenant as a caretaker? The right hon. and learned Gentleman has too much good sense to contend for any absurdity of the kind; and if he will give me an undertaking that when he is dealing with this matter on the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Tyrone, or any subsequent Amendment, he will give the same benefit to a man who is admitted as a caretaker as he gives to the man who has not been disturbed, and will put them in the same position, I will not further trouble the Committee upon this point.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL: I think that a very reasonable proposition.

Mr. GIBSON: I cannot give such an undertaking as that. The hon. Gentleman himself will see that it would not be reasonable to do so. The matter, however, is one which should be discussed later on. I will promise, on the part of the Government, that we will carefully consider the question. As the Amendment is not at present upon the Paper, we cannot pledge ourselves with regard to it. Until we see what alteration may be required it will be impossible to give a definite undertaking; but this I can say—that the subject is one well worthy of consideration, and that every attention will be paid to it.

Mr. LEA (Londonderry, S.): I would suggest that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork should withdraw his Amendment in favour of that of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: I think I have served my purpose in ventilating this point which I wished to make. I would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw my Amendment, at the same time giving Notice that I will raise the matter by another Amendment when the subject comes up for discussion again.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. PARNELL: I beg to move, in line 11, to leave out the words "at the date of the passing of this Act."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 11, to leave out the words "at the date of the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Mr. LEA (Londonderry, S.): The Amendment next on the Paper is in my name, to insert after the word "of," in line 12, the words "the substantive portion of." I think the Government will have no difficulty in agreeing to the principle of this proposal. This will meet the case of sub-lettings, with which the Government are very familiar, so familiar, in fact, that they themselves have placed a Notice of an Amendment on the Paper dealing with it in the form of a new clause. I think it is desirable to make this clause perfectly plain, and for that reason this Amendment should be inserted here. It is desirable to explain that "*bonâ fide* in occupation" means in occupation not necessarily of the whole, but of the substantive portion of the holding. The insertion of these words that I propose would prevent the recurrence of such cases as have recently occurred in Ireland, about which Questions have been asked in this House. A very short time ago—some two or three weeks I think—Mr. Justice O'Hagan, in giving a decision in cases where there had been sub-lettings, said that cases of this kind had been frequent of late, and that it was evident that if there is anything that ought not to be allowed under the Land Act of 1881, we ought to do our best to prevent it from taking place. The Amendment simply does what the Government proposed to do in the form of a new clause at the end of the Bill. I think the words I propose will prevent any misunderstanding or mistake when this clause comes before the Court.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 12, after the word "of," insert the words "the substantive portion of."—(*Mr. Lea.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton): I am at a loss to see why a lessee should be in a different or in a better position than a person who merely holds an annual tenancy. The first difficulty we propose to deal with in the Amendment is the case of labourers, and we consider that Amendment to be a very fair, generous amendment of the Act of 1881. The question that is now raised about the substantive part of the holding, I think, will be found dealt with by our Amendment so far as it is desirable to deal with it. My suggestion, referred to the other evening, was that there were lettings of a small and insignificant character which did not vitally interfere with the principle of the Act of 1881, and that the occupying tenants should get the benefit of the Act in spite of them—that the occupying tenants should get the benefit and not the middleman. The suggestion was made by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), and in order to meet that we have put upon the Paper an Amendment we propose to move applicable both to present tenants and leaseholders. Our Amendment provides this—

> "A tenant may also be deemed in occupation notwithstanding that part is sub-let, where the sub-letting is of a trivial character, and the Court believes the tenant to be substantially in occupation of the holding."

It seems to me that that satisfactorily deals with the question now raised by the hon. Gentleman. The Amendment seems to me to be a fair and proper one, and I think it should be taken in that place, and not here. It should be discussed as a whole, and not merely with reference to lessees, but also with regard to present tenancies. Our Amendment is sufficient to meet the justice and requirements of the case, and I would ask the Committee to consider the Amendment in a favourable spirit when the clause comes up. I would invite the hon. Member to withdraw his Amendment at this stage, so as to enable the proposal to be renewed at a later stage.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): To my mind the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Londonderry is wholly inadequate, and, so far as it is of any value, I prefer the Amendment of the Government. But that, also, is wholly inadequate. Since the hon. Member has been elected a Member of this House, which he has attended so regularly, the case of "Flannery *v.* Nolan" has been heard in the Irish Courts and decided. The effect of this decision is that even if a landlord has looked on at a sub-letting and has allowed a tenant to continue his holding with the sub-letting existing on it, years afterwards the tenant can be put out of possession.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is quite irregular to discuss at this stage a future Amendment. An Amendment which will come on at a later stage can only be referred to in connection with the present Amendment.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I perfectly appreciate the character of your observation, Sir; but I am contending that the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea) has been followed by the Government in this word "substantially." I would put this to the right hon. and learned Gentleman. Supposing he was consulted by a tenant who had sub-let part of his holding who wished to know whether he was within this Act or not, how would he be able to answer him? Who is to be judge of this word "substantially?"

MR. GIBSON: The Court.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Well, I submit the Land Act of 1881 was admirably drawn, so far as it went, and what is wanted is an Amendment in the direction of Amendment 57. Section 57 provides that where a tenant sub-lets part of his holding without the consent of his landlord, he shall, notwithstanding such sub-letting, be deemed, for the purposes of the Act, to be still in occupation of the holding. Since the original cases decided against the Irish tenants, I do remember a more important case coming up for decision than those with regard to sub-lettings. It was always held, until the case of "Flannery *v.* Nolan," that the landlord's consent could be taken in an implied manner. Cases of sub-lettings have been brought before the Courts constantly. The question has been repeatedly put—"Have you not sub-let a portion of your holding?" and over and over again the answer has been given—"I have." The landlord may have been looking on when the sub-letting was arranged; still, the Courts have rather overlooked this question until recently. Here, however, we now have two decisions, one of which is the case of "Flannery *v.* Nolan," staring the Irish tenantry in the face. It has been laid down that no amount of implied consent on the part of the landlord can justify a sub-letting, and that if a portion of a holding is sub-let without the consent of the landlord the tenancy is altogether outside the Act. That is the decision given within the last three months. I say to the hon. Member for South Londonderry, whose desire in this matter is exactly the same as our own, that this question of the word "substantive" does not meet the case in any way. The way to meet it is by considering what condition was attached in the section of the Act of 1881. We find there "where the tenant sub-lets a portion of the land without the consent of the landlord," &c. I say there should be a presumption in favour of the tenant, unless the landlord makes a written statement within a certain time of the sub-letting. The action recently taken by the landlords with regard to the matter of sub-letting has been simply infamous. Where you have a landlord who has taken no objection in the Court below, but, on some future occasion in the Court above, raises the point of his tenant having sub-let a portion of his holding, his action is simply infamous. If he comes and says, as was done in the case of a woman that came under my own observation—" Have you not let a pigstye ? " and the woman acknowledges that such is the case, she is hunted out of Court, loses all the benefit of the Act, and has to pay all the costs. The question of sub-letting in this way comes up as gigantic a question as the question of improvements. It has come up not so constantly, but, nevertheless, it is one of considerable gravity and importance, which cannot be understated. In my judgment, if this Act passes with only the Amendment of the Government dealing with this point to which I am now referring, leaseholders will, to a large extent, be deprived of the benefit of the Act. I admit there is some inconvenience in discussing a certain Amendment which we know will not be accepted by the Committee ; but, at all events, while it is inconvenient, it has this great advantage—that it enables us to apply the thin end of the wedge to the Government. The seeds we sow now, though very small, may, in the end, germinate into very large trees. In that view I advise the hon. Member for South Londonderry to withdraw his Amendment, provided he gets from the Government something in the nature of a promise that they will do something to enlarge the scope of their own Amendment. Only that you, Sir, have ruled that I am unable to discuss the Amendment of the Government, I should have said some very hard things with regard to it.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Sir HENRY HOLLAND) (Hampstead): I may say on behalf of the Government that the seed has been sown, and that when the proper time comes, and the Government clause is brought forward, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. T. M. Healy) will himself admit that that proposal is preferable to the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Londonderry. The Government clause goes farther than the Amendment of the hon. Member. I would submit that the proper time to consider the case to which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred, and to consider the question whether new words should be inserted in the measure providing that unless a landlord has raised at the time a specific objection he should have no ground for subsequent objection, would be when the clause of the Government is introduced.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): The real point to consider here is this. The decision to which reference has been made has spread consternation throughout the whole of Ireland, and what I want to press upon the Government is the necessity not of having an Amendment, but of having an Amendment which will meet the case. The real point is that the Government Amendment, when it comes up to be discussed, shall be one that shall meet the case, and put an end to the difficulty.

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): There is a difficulty met in part by the hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea). No care has been taken to provide for the case of a sub-divided farm. It is a very common thing, when a father becomes incapacitated or a mother becomes incapacitated, that an arrangement is made for them to get a certain portion of the land. By the proposal you are making you would destroy the rights of certain tenants, and would be giving a premium to a son to kick out his father, or else giving a premium to a man who is not capable of managing his holding. There are some cases of sub-division which go by ordinary custom and consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's observation cannot possibly be relevant to this matter.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Having called the attention of the Government to this most numerous and important class, I do not wish to trouble the Committee further on the point.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): I quite agree that the Amendment before the Committee does not meet the grievance the tenants of Ireland are suffering in connection with this sub-letting. It does not do so, for a reason pointed out by the hon. Gentleman opposite—because it is restricted to the case of leaseholders, and it does not do so in the second case, because it seeks to avoid giving in a plain phrase a definition of what Parliament means in the Act it passes. That being so, in order to enforce the appeal made to the Government, I would ask them to consider in a liberal spirit this whole question of sub-letting in the interval which must elapse before the question comes up to be discussed on their new clause. Let me, for the purpose of strengthening my argument on this matter, mention a case upon which I have myself been consulted within the last three months. It is a case directly relevant to the Amendment, because it is a case in which a leaseholder was concerned—and let me say in the beginning that the leaseholders are far more interested in this matter of sub-letting than any other class of tenants, for the reason that where a man has a lease that does not contain a clause against sub-letting, he is free to sub-let as much as he likes, and the consequence is that during the last 50 years persons who have had a right of sub-letting have generally exercised it to a considerable extent, giving small portions of land to their labourers. Well, when a leaseholder comes before the Land Court on a question of sub-letting, no consent can ever be shown to the sub-letting, because no consent of the landlords was ever required. In the case of leaseholders before this new decision of "Flannery *v.* Nolan," it got rid of the doctrine of sub-letting by showing that the sub-letting had existed for a long time, and that the landlord had taken no step in the interval. The ground of the decision in the case of "Flannery *v.* Nolan" was that inasmuch as in the case of an annual tenant who had been sub-letting for some time, the landlord's consent would be assumed if he had permitted the sub-letting to continue in the case of a leaseholder you could never make an assumption of that kind, because all leaseholders were entitled to sub-let if they liked, and that, therefore, nothing could be assumed from the fact that the landlord had taken no steps to put an end to the sub-letting. I know a case on the Bandon estate where a tenant, on the expiration of his lease, applied to have his rent fixed, some of his neighbours having obtained a reduction of 30 per cent. It was to be assumed that as he had been situated just in the same way as his fellow-tenants he would be put on the same terms as they had been. The lease was 60 years old; but a portion of this man's holding happened to be sub-let at 5d. a-week. That sub-letting was within the knowledge of everyone, and had been made over 60 years before; but because this sub-letting was without the landlord's consent the Sub-Commission dismissed the case. It is quite impossible that anyone could have stated substantially what was the state of things 60 years before, so as to say whether or not the landlord was consulted. I state that as a literal fact, that because the unfortunate tenant was not in the occupation of the whole of the land, but got the land from his grandfather with this sub-letting upon it, he was deprived of the benefits of the Act of 1881.

THE CHAIRMAN: This argument would be quite pertinent in the discussion on the Government clauses, which will come on later; but it does not appear to me to be pertinent here.

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I submit, Sir, that it is perfectly pertinent to this point. I gave the case of a leaseholder excluded from the Act of 1881 because his land was sub-let. A leaseholder in this condition would be equally excluded from the benefits of this clause; and, that being so, I would contend that a consideration of that kind is perfectly relevant to this clause. However, Sir, I do not desire to dwell upon the matter. What I have mentioned is a monstrous hardship which may occur under the present condition of the law, and it is a hardship which will not be dealt with by the Amendment the Government propose to move. I hope that in time we may be able to deal with this subject definitely, and that the Government will take the matter into their consideration. The real object to be aimed at is to confer a benefit on the unfortunate tenants who are exposed to this very grave and serious grievance.

SIR CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.): I apprehend that the only question that this Amendment raises is this—whether it is necessary, in order to preserve open for discussion every one of the four different clauses dealing with the matter of sub-letting, it is necessary to put in such words as "the substantive portion of his holding" in order not to foreclose the other questions? I take it that the hon. Member will not be without an opportunity and means of raising this question at a future stage. Four clauses have been given Notice of—one stands in the name of the Government, another in the name of the hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea), another in my own name, and a fourth in the name of the hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor of

Dublin (Mr. T. D. Sullivan). They will be found on pages 31, 42, 50, and 52. It appears to me that the hon. Member for South Londonderry and myself have the same object in view. We have been discussing matters that would be pertinent to those clauses, when they come on; and hon. Members will believe me when I say that I do not think the clause, as it stands, will at all prejudice the due consideration of the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Londonderry, or my own Amendment, when they come on. Those clauses would interpret certain given facts as not prejudicing a person in *bonâ fide* occupation. So far as the Amendments of the hon. Member for South Londonderry and myself are concerned, it is not necessary to insert any particular word or words in this clause for the purpose of keeping open a certain question. Ours are Interpretation Clauses, which, if they were passed, would prevent sub-letting operating so as to interpret the case as a non-occupation.

Mr. LEA: My desire was to make the Act as clear as possible. The hardship complained of is of a recent date; but it is one which may lead to great trouble in Ireland. My great desire was that we should make this matter clear, so far as it affects the leaseholder. In view of what has been said, however, I am perfectly willing to leave the matter to be dealt with at the end of the Bill.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. HARRIS (Galway, E.): I beg to move the Amendment which stands in my name; in page 1, line 13, after "conditions," insert —

"Save and except such conditions as may be contained therein in restraint of tillage."

I trust the Government will see their way to grant me their support in this Amendment. On many occasions in this House I have heard expressions of sympathy towards farmers on account of the fall which has taken place in the value of produce. I have also heard expressions of sympathy used towards labourers and other classes of the community. I trust that hon. Gentlemen who speak so sympathetically as regards these people will support this Amendment. The object of the Amendment is to exempt from the conditions applying to leasehold property so as to prevent existing conditions in restraint of tillage. Everyone acquainted with the statistics of agriculture in Ireland must know that 80 out of every 100 acres are under grazing. There are about 3,000,000 of acres in cultivation in that country. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of the Government to remove the barriers in the way of farming. In the Land Act of 1881 there were clauses providing for the reclamation of waste land, and other Acts have been passed for the erection of labourers' cottages. Now that waste land is to be reclaimed at the public expense, I do not see why the good land should be prevented from being utilized for the use of the farmers and the community generally. I shall not detain the Committee any longer, but conclude by expressing the hope that the Government and the Committee will see their way to support this Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 13, after the word "conditions," insert the words "save and except such conditions as may be contained therein in restraint of tillage."—(*Mr. Harris.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton): The Act of 1881 in regard to yearly tenancies did not affect the contract of letting, save as to the question of the amount of rent and that of sale. If the contract of tenancy contains terms and provisions as to tillage, grazing, or otherwise, all those terms and provisions remain in full force, and the only matters which the Court can revise in regard to any yearly tenancy at present are those of rent, and any conditions as regards sale. With regard to the entire category of present tenancies in Ireland, the Act of 1881 recognizes and does not vary the contract of tenancy, save so far as relates to the questions of rent and resale, all the other provisions remain intact. When, in the Act of 1881, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) destroyed the covenants for surrender which existed in all leases, and turned them into present tenancies, he necessarily and very properly provided that all the terms of the old lease should be received into the new tenancy. The question the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Galway (Mr. Harris) has brought forward has reference to the present tenancies which were substituted for leases; and he proposes that the present tenant should be at liberty to tear up his lease altogether and alter his farm, it may be, from a pasture farm—which he received as such, perhaps—into a tillage farm. It may be of vital importance to the landlord to have the land kept in the character in which he has let it; and there are covenants in leases regulating the manner in which a farm is to be used. It would be a serious matter if the Committee had to open up such a sea of litigation and controversy as is proposed, no doubt with the best intentions, by the hon. Member. I do not in the least question the hon. Gentleman's wish to afford employment to increased numbers in Ireland; but what he suggests would be a tremendous operation for this Committee to embark upon, because, no doubt, a certain number of farmers would think it desirable that rich pasture farms in Tipperary or Meath should be turned into tillage. This alteration might bring ruin upon the owners of the estates, and it certainly would alter contracts in a manner which has never been contemplated. I think that, upon further reflection, the hon. Member will see that it is impossible for the Government to accept this Amendment.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I am exceedingly glad we have had, at the outset of this discussion, the law so clearly laid down as it has been by the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson). His views of the law will be of the greatest possible use to us; but his views upon cultivation and tillage are by no means so valuable. He says that destruction may be brought to owners of land—that is to say, upon men who used to be the owners of land, but who are no longer—namely, the landlords, by giving permission to the tenants to till the land which has been prevented from being tilled by the covenants of the leases. But where is the farmer who would be fool enough, having, as he will have under this Act, a substantial interest in the land, to destroy his own interest; and you must recollect that he would directly ruin his own interest before he would his landlord's. What does this provision mean? It means the paving the way for the abolition of dual ownership, and the doing away with a set of covenants which have been proved to be of a most prejudicial and injurious character, not only to the farmers, but to the welfare of the country at large. We know that where a man is in possession of rich grazing land in Tipperary, Meath, or Kildare, he is not going to be lunatic enough to turn it into tillage except on such conditions as would pay him well. But there are in Ireland large tracts which have been maintained in grazing to the detriment of the whole country and to the injury of the land itself; and the question now is whether, when we are preparing the way by this Bill to make the occupier directly the owner subject to the quit rent of the landlord, we ought to make him bound by antiquated and played-out covenants which cannot be of the smallest use to the landlord. What is the whole supposition which underlies this Bill? The supposition is that for the future, in the case of leaseholders as well as present tenants, the landlord is not to reckon upon ever being in possession of the land, except when he chooses to buy the tenant's interest; all he has to look for is his rent; and, therefore, you must suppose that the tenant will use the land to his own advantage. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland seems to think he will carry the Committee with him by the contemplation of the frightful precedent which may be set up by doing away with these covenants. As a matter of fact, I think his speech really amounted to an argument in favour of sweeping away these covenants. The covenants against the change to tillage and concerning the rotation of crops which are necessary to protect the English lands, and which may be necessary to prevent a tenant returning the land to his landlord in a bad condition, are utterly out of place in Ireland, where the tenant is the owner of the land in a more real sense than the landlord is. These covenants are utterly out of place in regard to Irish land; and, therefore, it is the business of this Committee, so far from seeking to maintain them, to accept this Amendment, and very properly to accept other Amendments in the same direction. I strongly advise my hon. Friend (Mr. Harris) to press this Amendment to a

Division, in case the Government cannot see their way to accept it. I may say, in conclusion, that this Amendment raises a question which will be of a great deal more interest in Ireland than, perhaps, a great many people in this House imagine. The question of tillage *versus* pasture has been a burning question in Ireland ever since the days of the Irish Parliament; one of the greatest evils has been the spread of pasture at the expense of tillage; and this is not the time to maintain any antiquated covenants which may stand in the way of bringing and keeping land under tillage, which is so exceedingly necessary for the labouring classes of Ireland.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): Purely grazing farms are not within the Act at all; and, therefore, the observations of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland as to the rich grazing farms of Tipperary, Meath, and other counties are utterly beside the question. Now, there is a precedent for the course we ask the Committee to adopt. The right hon. and learned Gentleman will recollect that where, under the Renewable Leaseholds Conversion Act leases are converted into fee simples, the restrictions as to tillage and other injurious covenants wholly disappear. The case of the Government is that they are really giving to the leaseholders under this clause a perpetuity. If that be so, I ask them to follow the example of the Renewable Leaseholds Conversion Act, and abolish these restrictions altogether.

Mr. R. T. REID (Dumfries, &c.): I suppose the Government will desire, when there is no question of principle involved, to prevent any irritating restrictions remaining to interfere in the due relations between landlord and tenant. This Amendment only deals with conditions in leases in respect to tillage. The hon. Member for East Galway (Mr. Harris) is more acquainted with the matter than I am; but I should have thought that when you are conferring a tenure, not a lease for a limited number of years—indeed, what is, in fact, a lease in perpetuity—you ought to have abolished altogether all restrictions and conditions in the lease, and to have substituted for that position the position of an ordinary tenant under the ordinary law contained in the Act of 1881. I am well aware that hon. Gentlemen who are familiar with affairs in Ireland see reasons against it. There are certain conditions attendant upon agricultural leases; these conditions may be applicable to the present methods of cultivation, to the present existing state of things; but when you are converting the tenure of a lessee into that of a perpetuity tenant, it is absurd to continue the terms of a lease intended to apply for a particular time only. The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) said that these conditions would be of no use to the landlord. The conditions in leases in England, especially in leases respecting tillage land, are very often made use of by the landlord for the purpose of extortion. I can quite understand that when you have a set of irritating anachronisms existing in the tenure, the landlord may make gross use of them for the purpose of putting the screw on the tenant. I do not think the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland desires that any such unfair use should be made of any of these conditions. I cannot conceive what other reason there can be for denying reform.

The CHIEF SECRETARY for IRELAND (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.): I think the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dumfries (Mr. R. T. Reid) has misrepresented certain important points in connection with this matter. This question has been argued, not as a restriction to ordinary tillage, but simply and solely as to conversion of pasture. In other words, what has been contended is that, although the land may have been let as pasture land, the tenant shall have the power to turn what is held in pasture into tillage. Now, the first observation I have to make upon that proposal is that it puts the tenant under the lease which has been broken in quite a different position from that of the tenant from year to year under the Land Act of 1881. [Mr. T. M. Healy: No, no!] I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon; I am quite correct. Under the Land Act of 1881 the conditions under which the tenancy was let from year to year subsist; and those conditions may, and very often are, similar and analogous to the conditions which limit the tenancy under lease. Therefore, if you introduce this provision into this clause you will be bound, in common fairness towards the tenants from year to year under the Act of 1881, to introduce a further provision at a subsequent stage of the Bill giving them the same liberty to break the terms of their tenancies as you have given to the tenants under lease to break the terms of their lease. That is not the only point. It has been argued as if we were creating a series of perpetual tenancies in Ireland, and as if the Land Act of 1881 had done that. In other words, as if under the Land Act of 1881 every present tenant was in the position of a perpetual leaseholder, subject to the revision of the terms of his lease and the amount of his rent every 15 years; but that is not the case. Under the Land Act of 1881, in regard to tenancies from year to year, and under this Bill, tenants holding under lease will have the power to give up their tenancies at six months' notice. They are not perpetual tenants. No doubt they have fixity of tenure in one sense, that the landlord cannot turn them out; but they have not perpetual tenure, because they can leave themselves if they choose, and throw the land on the landlord's hands. Hon. Gentlemen are sufficiently aware that it may pay the tenant enormously to turn a pasture farm into tillage for a few years, and then, when tillage ceases to pay, if the tenant is at liberty, on six months' notice, to throw the farm on the hands of the landlord, he may give up the land, and thus rob the landlord in a most effectual manner. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dumfries really talked as if Irish tenants had invariably, in the past, cultivated their farms, so as not only to bring about the best results for the moment, but for all time. As a matter of fact, if the Irish agriculturist has been distinguished by one characteristic, it has been by the characteristic that he has often, for some short and immediate advantage, sacrificed the permanent utility and fertility of the soil. I conceive that a clause which would put in the power of any tenant for the immediate advantage to turn his farm into uses the landlord never intended is one which it is quite impossible for the Government to accept, and I believe also it would be impossible for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) to accept it, for it is entirely contrary to the whole provisions of the Act of 1881.

DR. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.): I think I know quite as much as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland about farming in Ireland; but I have never known instances of tenants in Ireland exhausting their farms, and then throwing the land on the landlord's hands. It would appear that the right hon. Gentleman is merely legislating in the air. If he will legislate upon actual facts, and not upon mere imaginary suggestions, the Bill may be made a proper and valuable one.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 130; Noes 175: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 318.) [10.10 P.M.]

MR. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): The Amendment which I propose is one which I think the Government, on the slightest consideration, will accept. If the lease has gone its full course, and if the time contemplated by both parties for its surrender has arrived, there may be some ground then for allowing the landlord to exercise the right of resumption, which he gets by the 21st section of the Land Act of 1881. The Committee will understand that this right of resuming possession on the termination of a lease is a most annoying and vexatious proceeding. It is only on the pretence that the place is necessary for the use of the landlord or his family that the landlord is allowed to resume at all, and that plea has frequently been set up to the great annoyance of tenants. What I want to impress upon the Committee is, that if the tenant does not want the landlord to resume possession, he will not give up his holding but will remain under a rack-rent, and the landlord, by taking advantage of what he ought not to take advantage of, will continue his tenant under a rack-rent. Seeing that there are powers preserved in every statutory term giving the right of resumption where the right of resumption is for the good of the estate, I strongly urge upon the Government to omit the perfectly useless and irritating limitation contained in the clause as drawn. To do so will in no way conflict with the general principle of the clause. Besides, it must be remembered that when the Land Act of 1881 was passed, it was never contemplated that the landlord would resume until the termination of the lease.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 13, to leave out the words "and subject to the same," and insert the words "except the landlords."—(*Mr. O'Doherty.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'and subject to the same' stand part of the Clause."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The hon. Gentleman has said it was never contemplated by the Act of 1881 that the landlord should have power of resumption before the end of the lease. I entirely accept that view of the hon. Gentleman, but he must remember that the reason was that under the Act of 1881 it was never contemplated for a moment that leases should be broken. Had it been so contemplated, I cannot doubt the same power of resumption would have been given to the landlords at the time of the breaking of the lease as was reserved to him at the natural termination of the lease. The hon. Gentleman is not content with compelling the landlords to break the leases, but he is determined to deprive them of any advantage secured by the Act of 1881. The owners of leasehold property in Ireland are surely hit sufficiently hard by this clause without asking them to make any further sacrifices contemplated by the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman. I think the hon. Gentleman would have had a good case had we preserved the clause in its original form, under which it would have been bilateral in its operation. Had the clause remained in its original shape, I confess I should have hesitated before advising the Committee not to accept the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman. But when the lease cannot be broken, except on the direct demand of the tenant, it surely is hard to deprive the landlord of the right which was reserved to him by the Act of 1881. There are two limitations which exist in this power of resumption which, probably, hon. Members of the Committee, who are not familiar with the Act of 1881, may not have present to their minds. The first is, that the landlord should have no power of resumption unless the Court assents. If the right of resumption is so unreasonable, the Court may stop it; the second limitation is, that the landlord has to pay for his power of resumption. I think Gentlemen who are not acquainted with the details of the Act of 1881 may suppose, from the speech of the hon. Gentleman, that the landlord, at the end of the lease or at the time his lease is broken, has power to take without compensation the land which is under lease. As a matter of fact, the landlord has to pay full price for the privilege of resumption, and as it will never be to his pecuniary advantage to exercise his power of resumption, and he would only exercise it in the last resort and under strong necessity. I am of opinion we should be unduly injuring a class who are hit sufficiently hard by the clause as it at present stands if we were to accept the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland forgot to tell the Committee that the words complained of were inserted in the House of Lords. These words are of the landlords insertion, and did not belong to the Bill as originally drafted, and presented to the House of Lords. I wish the Committee to understand that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, as usual, has entirely missed the point. I do not say he has missed it because his mind's-eye is not open, but simply because he does not understand the matter—because, and and I say it with great respect, he does not understand the ways of the Irish landlords. Where the power of resumption will be exercised will be that, when the Irish leaseholder says—"I will go into Court, and get a fair rent fixed against you," the landlord will retort by saying—"Yes, and if you do, I will apply for leave to resume the holding." The insertion of these words is simply the work of experts in the House of Lords, in what Lord Clarendon called felonious landlordism. While the House of Lords put in the power of breaking a lease with one hand, they with the other hand put a blunderbuss to the leaseholder's head, and threaten that if he dare to apply to have his lease broken, the power of resumption will be used. Let me tell the Committee what has recently been done by Mrs. Cane Otway, successor in title to one of the best landlords Ireland ever saw, Admiral Otway, a British sailor, who never had the slightest misunderstanding with any of his tenants. The farms form a kind of network round this lady's domain, and she has asked each tenant to give her a field out of his holding. I suppose that if they do not comply with her request she will apply for a resumption of their holdings. Observe the dilemma this puts the tenants in. If the tenants, in order to accommodate this estimable lady, surrender a field to her a new holding will be created, and that will be no longer under the Act of 1881. If they do comply with the request they will be future tenants, and if they do not give up the fields the landlady will apply for leave to resume the old holdings for the purpose of a home farm, or for the benefit of the estate, or for residences for the family, and so on. And let the Irish leaseholders remember that they will be dealt with by Commissioners appointed by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Colonel King-Harman), a gentleman who, in his evidence before a Committee, stated that formerly he was on good relations with his tenants; but now there was no landlord in Ireland who was on worse relations with his tenants. I read his evidence the other day; I steeped myself in it. This hon. and gallant Gentleman, who is on the worst relations with his tenants, will be the chief adviser of the Irish Government. This will be the person who will have the appointment of the Sub-Commissioners.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I must ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to give me the reference to my evidence.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I will. If you will allow me five minutes' time, Mr. Chairman, I will bring the book in. Perhaps I may now give way to an hon. Friend, who will continue the argument, and I will bring the book in.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): While my hon. and learned Friend the Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) is conducting his researches, I beg to say that this Amendment is one of the most vital importance to the Irish leaseholders. I am astonished that the Government, while professing to be anxious to settle the Irish Land Question, should take up the extraordinary attitude they have assumed. They have not brought forward a single argument against this Amendment. Now, what I understand is, that if a holding is required for the purpose of a home farm, or to be connected with the landlord's residence, or for the purpose of a residence for some member of the landlord's family, the Court may authorize resumption. The Irish landlords are a prolific race. They generally have half-a-dozen sons, and it is notoriously absurd that any one of these gentlemen may be accommodated with a residence on a farm at the expense of the tenant, simply for the purpose of punishing a tenant who may choose to avail himself of the Act. It has not been the custom of Irish landlords to have home farms, and I assert that this provision will go a considerable way to defeat the usefulness of the clause. I desire to direct the attention of the leaseholders of Ireland to the proceedings of the Government in this matter, and to the method of taking away by this pitiable and contemptible reservation the tenancies they intended to give by this clause. This reservation will make the Act ineffective. If the same policy is pursued throughout the whole of the clauses of the Bill, the Act is bound to be a failure. If the leaseholders' interests are left unguarded in this way, there is no leaseholder who would not go into Court with fear and trembling, and I therefore trust the Government will reconsider their position.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): The hon. Gentleman must remember that this application must be made by the landlord, within three months after the original lease drops, and that a resumption must take place within six months altogether. In all my knowledge of the Land Act, which is very considerable, I have never known the Act used as a means of oppressing the tenant in the way suggested by the advocates of this Amendment. Anyone who is acquainted with the present position of the Irish landlords must know that such a suggestion is of a very imaginative kind. The idea of Irish landlords buying up their tenants wholesale with ready money is absurd. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) has suggested that if this clause is allowed to stand unaltered, the landlord may go to the tenant, and say—"If you exercise your right of breaking the lease I will resume the property." I have some acquaintance with the Irish Land Commission, and I am persuaded that if such a course of dealing came to the knowledge of the Court the landlord would retire double-quick, and be required to pay full costs. If the Court once got an idea that this proceeding of the landlord was *mala fide*, the Court would at once put the landlord out of court.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): Where does the right hon. and learned Gentleman find ready money payments?

Mr. GIBSON: The only way you can sell is by cash. Now, the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), before he left the House, referred to the estate of Mrs. Otway. He thought the tenants of that estate were being very hardly treated. I do not assent to the view of the law which the hon. and learned Gentleman laid down. I entirely dispute and deny his proposition. In the presence of many eminent lawyers, I declare that if a tenant surrenders a field, he is not thereby converted into a future tenant.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Certainly.

Mr. GIBSON: The suggestion that this power will be used for the purpose of oppressing the tenants, will be used *mala fide*, is completely got rid of by the intervention of the Court.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I have been challenged by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Colonel King-Harman) with reference to my statement as to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman's relations with his tenants. If the right hon. and gallant Gentleman will refer to Question 7,521, he will see——

Colonel KING-HARMAN: What is the date?

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I am quoting from the evidence of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman given before the Committee of the House of Lords in 1882.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: The House of Lords?

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Yes. If the right hon. and gallant Gentleman will refer to Question 7,521, he will see he was asked whether before the agitation he was not on good terms with his tenants, and that he answered—

> "He did not think there was any landlord on better terms with his tenants."

Then, in Question 7,522, he was asked—

> "May I ask you on what sort of terms you are with your tenants at the present time?"

And his answer was—

> "I do not think there is a man on worse terms with them."

But I pass from this incident.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: Perhaps I may be allowed to make an explanation. I acknowledge that in 1882 I had a portmanteau full of threatening letters. I am happy to say that previous to that time, and also since then, I have been on good terms with my tenants.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: I am glad to find that, notwithstanding the intimidatory character of the National League, the proceedings of the League have not had any effect on the two extensive estates of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: None whatever.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Allow me to say, Mr. Courtney, that the words we propose to leave out were inserted by the Government in the House of Lords. The insertion of these words can only have one effect. If these tenants desire a revision of rent, the landlord will threaten to resume possession for the purpose of turning the holding into a home farm. Why did he not turn the holding into a home farm when he was letting it for 99 years, or 999 years? Why did he not think of a residence for his sisters and his cousins and his aunts when he was letting the holding for a considerable time? There is no answer to our argument. Your contention is that the Irish landlord should stand on the same footing as the ordinary tenant, and you say the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was not ready to put them on an equality in 1881. Once you make an Irish leaseholder a present tenant he will be subjected to all these disabilities. There will be an *arrière pensée* on the landlord's part, and anything else used for the purpose of screwing rent out of the tenant. The tenant is subject to the right of resumption on the part of the landlord after the first 15 years, and

I ask the House to put the leaseholder on a parity with him.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.): As the next Amendment in my name is practically identical with this, I ask the Government to accept the principle of the proposal now made. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland has told us that the landlords will not exercise their right of resumption; but then I should like to know why the Government have shown such great anxiety to retain this Amendment which was introduced in the House of Lords. It seems to me that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland made a very good start this evening in announcing that the Government were prepared to deal with the leaseholder in the unilateral, instead of the bilateral principle. I would ask him to carry out the principle in this clause. By refusing this Amendment, the Government are simply insisting upon the back-door system again. It may be possible for the landlords to buy out their tenants, whatever their property may be worth. Under the present process the tenants may be reluctant for this right of resumption to be put in force, yet the object of the insistance upon this right is perfectly clear —namely, that the landlords may hold a threat over the leaseholders to prevent their getting the benefit of this Act. If the Government are sincere in their desire to give the benefit of the Act to the most deserving tenants in Ireland, I ask them to accept this Amendment.

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I wish to ask the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland whether he agrees with the law laid down by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford as to the right of resumption in the case of an ordinary tenant? If the ordinary tenant is safe for 15 years, then the whole object we have is to put the leaseholder in the same position as the ordinary tenant. I do not quite agree with the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway, that the landlords of Ireland will be able to show the Court that they wish to have these lands for *bonâ fide* purposes, and I am not quite sure that they will be able to get money on the large scale which will be necessary to pay the tenants to go out; but my object is to put the leaseholder in the same position as the ordinary tenant. If the hon. and learned Member for North Longford is right in his contention as to the 5th section of the Act of 1881, that there is no right of resumption at the creation of a tenancy, but that it would begin at the close of the tenancy, then I shall feel bound to support the hon. Gentleman.

MR. GIBSON: The right of resumption given to the landlord on the expiration of the lease is the right of resumption found in another part of the Act. One reason for it is that the landlord may be provided with a residence for himself; another reason is that a home farm may be established; and a third reason is that he may be able to provide a residence for members of his family—a residence for which he makes a specific proposition before the Court. That resumption must be within three months after the lease drops.

MR. T. M. HEALY: That is according to the rules of the Court, and not according to the Act.

MR. GIBSON: It is equally binding. The position of the ordinary tenancy is that the tenant is not subject to having his holding taken away from him for any single one of the objects mentioned in Section 21. I want to make this quite clear. He cannot have his holding taken away from him to provide a residence for the landlord, he cannot have it taken away from him to provide a home farm, and he cannot have it taken away from him to provide a residence for any member of the landlord's family; but the Court may direct that the holding, or part of the holding, may be sold for full value for certain purposes connected with the good of the estate. [*Interruption.*] Hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway may rest assured that I am not going to forget what the law is.

MR. T. M. HEALY: We are speaking amongst ourselves, and not to the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

MR. GIBSON: I do not think the hon. and learned Gentleman will have to complain of my statement of the law. In the section that deals with the matter of resumption as regards present tenancies, these provisions are to be found. The landlord, during the continuance of any statutory term, may apply to the Court, and the Court may, if it is satisfied that the landlord is desirous of resuming the holding, or part of it, for some useful purpose relating to the good of the estate or holding, including the use of the ground as building ground, or for the benefit of labourers in the way of cottage gardens or allotments, or for the purpose of building churches, schools, dispensaries, schoolmasters' residences, and so on, may authorize the resumption of the land for such purpose, on full compensation being paid. In Section 8 there is a provision that the landlord may resume, for some purposes mentioned in the previous section, but not for all of them, for the good of the estate. This power is not to be exercised—the power of resumption for the good of the estate or of the holding —for the first statutory term in certain cases. The law, therefore, is that, as regards some purposes for which resumption is authorized under Section 5, it is not to be exercised during the first statutory term, but after the expiration of the judicial lease.

Mr. CHANCE: Where an ordinary tenant from year to year has had a judicial rent fixed, then for the first 15 years of the judicial term, for no purpose whatever under the sun, be it for the good of the holding, or for the formation of a home farm, or for anything else, can the landlord touch one inch of the man's land. That is a plain statement. In the case of leaseholders under this Act, the very day after the judicial rent has been fixed, if he likes, the landlord can resume possession of the holding, or part of the holding, for at least three purposes.

Mr. GIBSON: The difficulty now pointed out by the hon. Member for South Kilkenny does not apply at all, because Section 8 only applies to the action of the landlord during the judicial term. The judicial term in respect of present tenants created under the 1st section may not be, and probably will not be, created until many months hence—probably not until six or eight months hence—because there are already many cases to be provided for. This provision as to the judicial term could not come into operation, because during that period of six months the tenants would not be judicial tenants, but present tenants. During that period of six months, of course, they will be entirely unprotected as regards this protection in every view of the case. The application for resumption must be made within three months, and I do not see how any extension of the principle referred to can get rid of that difficulty.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Read the rule relating to the three months.

Mr. GIBSON: I will do so with pleasure.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: When this discussion started, I was rather prejudiced against the view of the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway. My desire is to place leaseholders in the position of ordinary tenants, so as to make certain that they cannot be interfered with during the statutory period. Under the circumstances, I shall be bound to support the hon. Member for North Donegal.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): I should like to ask whether a leaseholder, having broken his lease under the 1st clause of this Bill, and having become a present tenant, would not be subject to all the provisions of both the 5th and 8th sections? If that is so, the leaseholder would be subject to all the rights of resumption. But if the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Donegal is rejected, the leaseholder would be subjected to these further differences—he might, in addition to the rights of resumption provided for by Sections 5 and 8, also be subjected to the conditions of resumption of the 21st section. The whole reason and ground and foundation of this section is that the leaseholder is unable to pay the existing rent of his holding under his lease. You are going to give him the benefit of this new Act in order to relieve him of an extravagant rent, and to put him on the same level as other Irish tenants. Why should you put on him the other burden of having his tenancy terminated at the will of the lessor, for the purpose of finding a residence for his family or some other object of that kind?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think I might suggest an arrangement which would meet the equity of the case. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for North Longford has pointed out to the Committee that during the first 15 years, the statutory term, the land should not be resumed for any purpose. In the speech I made on the Amendment, I pointed out, on my side, that it would be exceedingly hard to deprive the landlord of the privilege reserved by the Act now in existence. I think we might make some arrangement of this kind, that if a lease terminated within the statutory term of 15 years—if it naturally so terminated—the landlord should have the right of resumption, but that if the natural termination of the lease was beyond the 15 years, but if the lease be now broken he should have no power of resumption until the 15 years term comes to an end. Until the expiration of the first 15 years there should be no power of resumption of any kind.

MR. T. M. HEALY: I recognize the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman is inclined to approach the subject, but might I venture to point out to him that there is no principle in the suggestion he has made. I believe we are at one upon the main point, and I think, while we are about this, we should act liberally and with a free grace. What you are going to provide is this—that if your lease is timed to expire 15 years from now, that is to say, in 1902, then in that year the landlord is to have the right of resumption. But fancy the grievance which a man living next door to the tenant whose lease was to expire in 1902 might have. You might have a man on the other side of the fence who, because his lease expires in 1903, would not have the privileges extended to the other leaseholder.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Those of us who are acquainted with the Act of 1881 will have seen that there are two distinct classes of ground upon which resumption is possible—one class of ground is contemplated when a lease falls, and one in the case of tenancy continues from year to year. I would propose that there should be no power of resumption of any kind during the first 15 years—namely, the statutory term—but that after that term the landlord of a tenancy under a lease should have power of resumption not only for purposes mentioned in the 21st section of the Act, but also for the purposes contemplated by that portion of the Act which deals with a resumption at the end of the lease.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman proposes to provide that, after the statutory term is fixed, and for 15 years afterwards, this power of resumption shall not arise, and shall only arise after the first statutory term?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes, that is so.

MR. T. M. HEALY: Subject, of course, to all other restrictions of the Court and so on.

MR. DILLON: Do we understand that this power of resumption will not come into operation at all until 15 years after the passing of the Act?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes.

MR. DILLON: The leaseholders are to stand in the same position as the ordinary tenant until the expiration of 15 years after they have applied to the Court?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; until 15 years after the passing of the Act there will be no power of resumption. That power will only be exercisable 15 years after the passing of the Act.

MR. O'DOHERTY: Or from the date of the application?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Yes; from the date of the application. The landlord will have power to resume for all the purposes contemplated by that portion of the Act of 1881 dealing with tenancies from year to year, and all those portions dealing with the resumption at the end of the tenancy.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): It is scarcely worth while going over the points that divide us now; but I trust that the Government, in the interval that will elapse, will consider that after the leaseholder has obtained his statutory term, the power of resumption in respect of that leaseholder—namely, the statutory tenant—may not meet the power given to the leaseholders.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I do not rise to put any obstacle in the way of any agreement that has been arrived at; but I think the Government, when considering the Amendment put down, will think it may be desirable to consider a case with which I do not think the hon. Members below the Gangway will have any particular sympathy, but in which some injustice might be done. The class of cases to which I refer are not a numerous class; but still there are cases where demesne lands have been held under certain circumstances for a definite short period—for instance, during a minority. I refer to cases where a demesne has been let on the understanding that it will be resumed on the expiration of the lease. In this case the tenant may have a perfect right to come into Court, and have his rent revised.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: Such a tenant would not come under this provision at all.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I do not profess to be well acquainted with the law on this subject; but it appeared to me that, under the proposal made, a tenant who has taken a lease on a different understanding from that contemplated by hon. Members, would have the benefit of the clause under discussion.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: They will not come under the Act at all.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It appears to me that, under the proposal made, the tenant who has taken a lease on a definite understanding that he will have to resign at the expiration of the fixed period, may find himself in the position of a judicial tenant with an addition of 10 years to the lease which he originally undertook. If hon. Gentlemen are right in their statement that such a tenant will not come under the Act, it will be unnecessary to take this case into consideration; but if that is not the case, it appears to me that the case of such a tenant must be taken into account.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: If the noble Marquess wishes us to support the view that such tenants as he speaks of should have the benefit of the Act, I, for one, shall be very happy to support him.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. O'DOHERTY (Donegal, N.): The next Amendment is consequential. I move to leave out certain words because the clause will not read with another Amendment in the name of the hon. Member for Cork. The clause will read very well without these words in line 14, from "resumption" to "Act" in line 15. I beg to move that these words be struck out.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, to leave out the words from "resumption" to "Act," in line 15.—(*Mr. O'Doherty.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): The next Amendment also is consequential—namely, in line 14, to leave out the words "passing of this Act."

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 14 and 15, leave out "passing of this Act."—(*Mr. T. M. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): I beg to move the next Amendment.

The CHAIRMAN: That point has already been decided.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: With all respect to you, Sir, I wish to call your attention to the fact that there are several points sought to be included in this Amendment which were not referred to in the previous Amendment. The Amendment of my hon. Friend dealt with restrictions as to tillage; but I would point out that in these leases there are also restrictions as to the selling of hay and straw, and the rotation of the crops, and rights of turbary, and other conditions altogether different to the restraints in respect of tillage. With all respect to you, Sir, I would submit that I ought not to be excluded from the right of proposing the residuum of these restrictions simply because the Committee has decided against the Amendment of my hon. Friend with regard to the question of tillage.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member must reconstruct his Amendment then. As it stands it will not be admissible.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should be glad, Sir, if you would point out to me how it ought to be amended in order to make it admissible?

[No reply.]

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I am very sorry, Sir, but I shall be obliged to raise the question again on Report.

A statement was here made to Mr. T. P. O'Connor by an hon. Member sitting near him.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I believe, Sir, we can put it this way, as an hon. Friend of mine suggests—by inserting after my Amendment these words—"Save and except a condition in restraint of tillage." I believe, Sir, the addition of those words would meet your objection. I wish to point out to the Government—and I have hopes that they will accept my Amendment—that a leaseholder becomes practically, to all intents and purposes, the owner of his holding on perpetuity after this clause has passed into law. Well, under these circumstances, I wish to ask the Government if anything can be more unreasonable than to impose upon a man, practically the proprietor of the soil, those conditions which were considered necessary when his occupation of the soil was dependent entirely upon the will of his landlord and upon the conditions of his lease? I do not think the Committee has a full conception of the odious and embarrassing and unnecessary conditions which are imposed in these leases. For instance, I would mention at this point one case in favour of the admissibility of my Amendment. There is a condition in several leases that a leaseholder should not be allowed to sell his hay or straw. [*Interruption.*] Well, my hon. Friend below me tells me that one of the conditions in some of these leases is that a leaseholder should not be allowed to marry a Papist. I do not know whether the hon. Gentleman opposite, whom I see smiling, would be desirous of retaining that condition. I do not suppose he would consider that the faith of his co-religionists would be so imperilled by their having Catholic wives that he would be in favour of the retention of such a condition. But I put it to the Government, whether there is any reason why a man, who is practically the owner of his farm, should continue to be hampered by these obsolete conditions? There are other conditions—for instance, there is a condition in some leases with regard to the rotation of crops. I certainly should say that the wisest course would be to leave to the man who has to make his living on the farm an absolute discretion as to the manner in which he should crop the soil. After all, the farmer is the best judge of how this should be done; and to ask the man, who, under this clause, is merely a rent-charger, to decide for the person who is the real occupier and owner of the soil, what crops should be put in, and how they should be put in, is not only an odious, but an embarrassing condition. Then there are the rights of turbary. Under the Land Act of 1881, the present tenant is allowed to take as large turbary as is required for his own use. I do not know whether or not I am correct in the statement of the law; but I understand that if this Amendment is not accepted, the leaseholder will be deprived of the rights of turbary which belong to every other class of tenant except the leaseholder. I put it strongly to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland whether he thinks the leaseholders should be hampered in the matter of turbary in a way in which other tenants are not? I think the fair principle that the Government should accept in the case of the leaseholder is, so far as is practicable, to put him in the same condition as the present tenant. If this Amendment is not accepted, the leaseholder will be put in a much inferior position to the tenant from year to year. I trust that is not the intention of the Government; and, therefore, I strongly, but respectfully, claim that my Amendment should be accepted.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 17, after the word "year," to insert the words "Freed from any of the conditions or covenants special to the lease and not ordinarily implied in a tenancy from year to year, save and except the condition in restraint of tillage."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The words, as they are put, are not those which appear on the Paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is so—certain words have been added.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I had to put in those words, because the Committee had already decided to retain for the landlords the conditions contained in restraint of tillage.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.): I desire to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool; and, in proof of his statement, I may say that I hold in my hand an agreement between an Irish landlord and his tenant, where the tenant has agreed not to grow a meadow on the land under a penalty of £20 for every acre tilled and meadowed. A large number of such cases exist in certain counties, and it would be a great benefit to many tenants if the Government would agree to accept this Amendment.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As I understand the Amendment, it leaves out of account certain classes of restrictions and deals with another class. I take it we must take our stand on the broad principle laid down in the Act of 1881—namely, that the conditions of leases are to last. The hon. Gentleman opposite appears to think that the Act will put a tenant who has been a leaseholder, and has become a tenant from year to year, in a different position to those persons who are tenants from year to year without having been leaseholders. That is not so. The tenant from year to year remains subject to all the conditions upon which he held his holding before the Act was passed. It is true there may be cases in which the restrictions are useless; but there are also conditions which are vital in retaining the value of the holding. The hon. Gentleman, as I pointed out before, in respect to the previous Amendment, is entirely wrong in alleging that the tenant is a freeholder. If, by bad cultivation of land, the tenant is unable to pay his rent, then the landlord necessarily has to resume the land, and, in common justice, we ought to leave him in such a position as to enable him to resume the land in no worse condition than it was when he let it.

Mr. MAHONY (Meath, N.): May I point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland that a tenant is debarred by Statute from committing persistent waste. All tenants who come under a judicial rent have certain statutory conditions applied to them, by which they are bound; and unless the right hon. Gentleman accepts this Amendment he will do, so far as I can see, what he professes not to be anxious to do—he will put leaseholders under more unfavourable conditions than the ordinary statutory tenants. The right hon. Gentleman made a statement just now as to which I should like to have further elucidation by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. I should like to know whether it is a fact that all ordinary tenants from year to year who become judicial tenants are bound by the terms of their tenancy while they are yearly tenants, because, if that is the case, I do not know whether these statutory conditions are introduced into the Act of 1881?

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In extension of the statutory conditions.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) (Liverpool, Walton): I wish it to be distinctly understood what is the law upon this point. Every contract of tenancy governing a yearly tenancy is in full force save so far as it is necessarily inconsistent with the special statutory terms which are laid down in this Act of Parliament.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman how, in his opinion, a covenant in a lease, not governed by a statutory term, can be enforced when a statutory term has been set up?

Mr. GIBSON: It could be enforced in the ordinary way all contracts are enforced. No doubt, there is greater difficulty in enforcing a covenant in Ireland than elsewhere; but it would be enforced by bringing an action against the tenant, or bringing a suit in Chancery.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: If, in an existing lease, there is a covenant and condition, say, against breaking up more than a certain quantity of land, the landlord can enforce the covenant without bringing an action for ejectment. Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman contend that the same state of things will exist if the lease has been broken, and if a statutory tenancy has been fixed? I think he will not contend that; and I will refer him to the 5th section of the Land Act of 1881, which expressly indicates that a tenant shall not be compelled to quit his holding for any reasons except a breach of the statutory conditions. It is perfectly plain, from that section, that if there is a lease which contains a condition against breaking up more than a certain quantity of land, and after the passing of this Act the lessee got his lease broken, and went into Court and got a fair rent fixed—I say it is perfectly plain that, having regard to Section 5 of the Land Act of 1881, all power of enforcing the condition by ejectment would cease.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): I think the Government are bound to make some concession in this matter. It is notorious that leases contain vexatious covenants, quite inconsistent with the requirements of modern agriculture. When you give a man practical fixity of tenure, it seems perfectly vexatious to maintain all the old restrictions which are contained in leases. I do think that in this case the Government are bound to make some concession.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has just replied to a question with regard to the remedies a landlord will have against a lessee who obtained a statutory tenancy under the Bill now under consideration. He has told us that if such a tenant broke any conditions of the lease which are preserved by this Bill, the landlord would have two remedies. He would have a remedy by ejectment, or he could proceed by action against the tenant for damages. May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General what remedy the landlord would have against a statutory tenant under the Act of 1881 who had a statutory lease, and who broke any of the conditions which were incidental to his previous tenancy, that tenancy being a yearly tenancy?

MR. GIBSON: By action or by suit?

MR. PARNELL: I understand that the landlord has a different and an additional remedy in the case of a leaseholder for breach of condition incidental to the statutory term other than that which he possesses in the case of a statutory tenancy, and our contention is that the tenant who obtains a statutory tenancy under the Act of 1881, and the tenant who becomes a statutory tenant under this Bill, should be in the same position when they have obtained their statutory tenancy. I think that is a very simple proposition, and I think it is capable of an answer from the Government, Yes or No. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has pointed out that there is a vital difference between the right of the landlord as regards his remedy in the case of a leaseholder who becomes a statutory tenant, and in the case of an ordinary tenant who becomes a statutory tenant. We know that an action at law is not an effective right, but that proceeding in ejectment against a tenant is very effective. I should like the two classes of tenants to be put on an equal footing; and I wish to say in reference to this matter that this is the first time we have heard that the landlord is given the right of action against a tenant holding under a present tenancy, who has been a tenant from year to year, in case a breach of conditions other than those contained in the 5th section of the Act of 1881. It is entirely new to my legal Friends amongst whom I sit, and we are inclined to demur to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's opinions. Even if his opinion is correct there still remains a difference between the two classes of tenants. If we refrain from pressing him any further in respect of this, will the Government consider the desirability of bringing up a new clause making the condition of a leaseholder who becomes a statutory tenant under this Bill the same as that of a tenant from year to year who has obtained a statutory term or tenancy under the Act of 1881? This is a very simple proposition, and I think it is one which the Government ought to say Yes or No to.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I had the temerity a moment ago to differ from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, and in spite of his position I maintain my point. The Government propose to put in the Bill a proposition that the landlord may resume, at the end of 15 years, under certain conditions. It is not proposed that the Act shall be precise as to whether the restrictions in the lease are to continue or not, and therefore the landlord will go into Court and argue that Parliament intended these restrictions to be kept alive in full vigour, because at the end of 15 years a landlord has a right to resume. Let us suppose that the landlord is to have the right of proceeding by injunction against the tenant, say, for breaking up a portion of pasture. A tenant may desire to break up land for one reason or another, and if he does so the landlord will fire an injunction at him; he will bring the tenant into the Court of Chancery, will possibly heap up costs to the tune of £100, and will keep in full vigour all the obnoxious provisions of the lease. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) has been taunted that he would not grant the benefits of his Act to leaseholders. I say that you are not prepared to let leaseholders in the Act. You are not prepared to loyally and frankly and openly let leaseholders receive the benefits of the Act of 1881. Under the circumstances, you are not giving a free and frank and generous boon to the Irish leaseholders, as you would do if you put them on a par with present tenants. I trust that in this matter the Government will see their way to allow leaseholders to receive the same benefits ordinary tenants receive.

Mr. Serjeant MADDEN (Dublin University): Mr. Courtney, I wish in a few words to say why I think it is just and fair a leaseholder should be admitted as a present yearly tenant, subject to the conditions of his lease. It seems to be assumed by the hon. Gentleman opposite that all yearly tenants under the Act of 1881 hold under a uniform tenancy. That is not so, and that I think is a fallacy underlying all the arguments addressed from the other side of the House. You may have a yearly tenant, you may have a tenant under a lease, you may have any contract you like; but the general law is that, on the expiry of a lease, if the tenant holds on, he holds on subject to the conditions in his lease, so far as they are not inconsistent with a yearly tenancy. I fail to see, when for certain reasons not connected with the conditions of the lease, but for reasons connected with the readjustment of rent, you come to the conclusion that it is just and fair to put a leaseholder into the position of a yearly tenant, why you should put him into a position of a yearly tenant who had been admitted without any special stipulations. It is asked what is the position of the landlord; what are his remedies? We all know that in Ireland it is a very usual thing to have conditions relating to a breach of covenants in a lease. A landlord is not without his remedy, and he should not be. He will have two remedies. He has the right to bring an action at law, or he will have a remedy by an injunction in the Court of Chancery. It appears to me that it does not follow from the mere fact that you consider it right there should be a readjustment of rent, that you must reduce all present tenancies to one dead level.

Mr. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.): We on this side of the House are perfectly well aware that tenants from year to year, who had no statutory rents fixed, were subject to certain conditions, and that those conditions varied very often; but what we were not aware of is this, that when a tenant went into Court and had a fair rent fixed, not only did he render himself subject to a very complete and drastic set of statutory conditions, but to all the old conditions of his previous tenancy; we were not aware that all these old conditions, be they reasonable or unreasonable, were placed upon his back. Now, Sir, we deny that that has ever been laid down as the law of the land by any competent Court. It is an alarming thing to find the Attorney General for Ireland takes that view of the law. I think the Committee ought to look about themselves, and while there is yet time ought to prevent that double burden being laid on the back of the unfortunate tenants of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland has argued the whole of this question as if the conditions in the Act of 1881 were completely ineffective, and as if none of those conditions dealt with the question of the cultivation of the soil, as if tenants will be likely to break up the land, and as it were scourge the land. That is a complete fallacy. If Members of this Committee will look at the Act of 1881 they will see that a complete and drastic set of conditions are imposed by the 5th section of that Statute, they will see that a tenant shall not be allowed to commit waste of the holding or of the soil, and that if he does commit waste of the soil he can be ejected on the spot without pecuniary compensation; that he shall not sub-let, that he shall not become bankrupt, but that he shall allow the landlord to go in and exercise a number of rights such as opening up mines and quarries and taking timber, and such as hunting, shooting, and fishing. Our allegation is that by that 5th section, or in that 8th section, you have every reasonable power, if not drastic powers. In reality what the Committee is asked to do is to allow the Court of Appeal in Ireland to add to this drastic set of conditions another set of conditions which would be unreasonable and improper. Amendments ought to be introduced in order to prevent this second set of conditions being put upon the backs of the unfortunate tenants of Ireland.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: The hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite are very dogmatic as to the continuance of the conditions in a lease after a fair rent has been fixed, and after a statutory term has been given. Whatever their opinions may be their opinions have not up to the present time received any judicial sanction in Ireland. So far as the decision of the Irish Courts have gone up to the present on this point, they have tended in directly a contrary direction in supporting the views put forward by hon. Gentlemen opposite. I assert that the decisions of the Court as to the status of leaseholders whose leases have expired, and who have had fair rents fixed, have gone directly in the teeth of the doctrines laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. The decisions were made in the cases of yearly tenants; but, I think, when I call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to them he will admit that they are directly analogous to the point before the Committee. One of the decisions was given by Mr. Justice Lawson, and another by Mr. Justice Andrews. They arose in this way. Two yearly tenants had gone into the Court to have fair rents fixed. Those tenants hold their land under somewhat peculiar conditions. They did not hold as ordinary yearly tenants held with regard to county cess, but under special agreements by which they were permitted to deduct half of the county cess from their payments to their landlords. After they had their fair rents fixed the question arose whether the special arrangements as regards the county cess which had existed before they went into Court continued to exist after they went into Court. If the proposition laid down by right hon. Gentlemen is correct—namely, that the fixing of a fair rent is to abolish any conditions of the tenancy which are inconsistent with the statutory term, these yearly tenants ought to have been affected in the case of the county cess. Mr. Justice Lawson, and subsequently Mr. Justice Andrews, decided that, owing to the fact that those tenants had gone into Court, and had a fair rent fixed they were not allowed to deduct half the county cess. Now, Sir, I challenge right hon. Gentlemen opposite to say that those decisions are not directly pertinent to the point before the Committee. How could any Court in Ireland, which has given a decision of this kind in the case of yearly tenants, come to a different decision in the case of leaseholders who went into Court. All the arguments which induced those learned Judges to come to the decision I have mentioned, apply equally in the case of leaseholders. That being so, I think we, on this side of the House, are still entitled, until we receive a more authoritative pronouncement of law to maintain our opinions on the point. Of course, in one sense, this argument is not relative to the point before the Committee; but I say, that if the law is as it has been laid down by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland, cases of the greatest hardship will arise after this Bill passes into law. Anyone who read the celebrated lease-breaking case which came before the Irish Land Commission, must be aware that the habit of landlords, after the passing of the Act of 1881, was to compel their tenants to take leases, and to encumber the leases with a series of annoying and harassing conditions. In one case so remarkable was this, that the Irish Land Commission decided that the very existence of those vexatious and harassing conditions in the lease was sufficient reason for the breaking of the lease. If the leaseholders are to be subject to such unfair conditions as have existed in leases hitherto, they will still be, to a large extent, at the mercy of their landlords. These conditions are introduced in leases, not with any intention of enforcing them, but for the purpose of getting the tenants into the landlords' power; it is quite impossible a tenant could keep such conditions, and if the landlord is still to have power to insist upon them, leaseholders will receive very little benefit from this Act.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 158; Noes 231: Majority 73.—(Div. List, No. 319.) [11.50. P.M.]

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 18, to leave out from the word "provided" to the end of line 21.—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause," put, and *negatived.*

Words *left out* accordingly.

MR. MARUM (Kilkenny, N.) proposed, in page 1, line 22, after "any" to insert "terms of years or any." This Amendment and one which will follow it relate to perpetuity leases, and will extend the operation of the clause. As this portion of the clause stands it only applies to leases for a life or lives. The effect of my Amendment will be to put all leases, whether for lives or for terms of years, on the same footing. We have had a discussion on perpetuity leases, and I think that as to them the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland is under a misconception. Every term of years, whether for 99 years or for 999 years, is not a perpetuity lease. In many incidents such a lease may differ from a perpetuity lease. The expression perpetuity tenure is indeed rather inaccurate. It does not occur in any Statute before 1860. Every Statute before that date uses the proper and legal designation for such terms. However, if we use the term perpetuity leases, there are different classes of these leases. There are first perpetuity leases for lives renewable for ever. These may be converted under the Leases Conversion Act into fee farm leases. Then there are other leases which are divisible into two classes. First, there are leases made anterior to the year 1860. There are non-evictable leases. They are subject to certain rent charges, and may come under the name of purchases. But, then, there are other leases created since the Landlord and Tenant Act 1860, and these are evictable leases. With regard to these, I do not understand the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen). The right hon. Gentleman says that he will not do anything to interfere with purchases. I agree with him so far. I will not do anything to interfere with purchases; but then I cannot understand how an interest which is an evictable interest—say for the non-payment of one year's rent—can be considered a purchase. It seems to me to be nothing of the kind. To all intents and purposes it is a mere letting of land on payment for hire; and that should be an interest brought within the operation of this clause. I say that because the object of this clause is to bring all rents to a proper and fair standard. It does not necessarily follow that because you bring a lease within the Act the rent will be reduced. If there be a low chief rent that rent may be increased. Therefore, it will be for the tenant to see whether he will go into Court and subject himself to 15 years rent as fixed by the Court instead of holding on by his inalienable title, as it does not follow from allowing a tenant to go into Court to get his rent adjusted, that this rent will be lowered. I would, therefore, move this Amendment, and the other of which I have given Notice if it be pleasing to the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, indeed, seems inclined to extend the term of years within which a lease must expire to 99 years. That, however, if done at all, must be done at the close of this part of the clause. In the meantime, I would propose my Amendment dealing with perpetuity leases pure and simple. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has stated that he bases his objection to allow the exclusion of perpetuity leases in the Bill on the ground that they are a form of purchase. But on what principle does he regard as a form of purchase a lease for life or lives renewable for ever, or a fee farm rent created before 1860? These, which are the larger number of such leases, are evictable interests. I do not suppose that there are more than 30,000 leases, which being created since 1860, confer a non-evictable interest. These latter, may as I have already said, be regarded as a form of purchase. But with regard to the former and more numerous portion of these leases, I wish the right hon. Gentleman would point out what element there is in them that makes them fairly regarded as purchases? What is there in them other than a hiring of land—a mere *locatio?* Is there any element of *venditio?* I say there is not. I do not see how the rent of land that may be retained is more than a term of letting as distinguished from purchase. Take a farm worth £100, and suppose that there was only a chief rent of £10 upon it. If the landlord evicted the tenant for non-payment of rent the interest of the latter on the land would be forfeited. And am I to be told that a contract under which this can be done is not a hiring? I would therefore beg leave to move the inclusion in the Bill of perpetuity tenants holding for terms of years; but I will not insist on the first Amendment standing in my name, as I understand the Chief Secretary will enlarge the term of 60 years mentioned in this part of the clause to 99 years. Instead of moving that first Amendment, the terms of which I stated at the commencement of my remarks, I will now move a subsequent one—namely, in Clause 1, page 1, lines 22 and 23, after "lives," to leave out "other than a lease which," and to insert—

"Or for both concurrently or alternatively, or for any life or lives which has been or."

Then there will be another Amendment consequential on this which I shall have to move later on in the clause.

MR. PARNELL (Cork): I would suggest that it will be undesirable to discuss the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend now, because if we do so we shall have to discuss substantially the same point again upon the Amendment of the Government extending the term of years, referred to in the paragraph of the clause under consideration, from 60 to 99 years.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point raised is one of convenience, and not of Order. If the hon. Member for North Kilkenny moves his Amendment it must be considered.

MR. MARUM: I beg leave to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have now to move, in line 3, page 2, to insert the word "ninety-nine," and also in line 3, to add at the end of the paragraph, after 1881, the words—

"The term of 99 years shall be substituted for the term of 60 years in the said Act."

I will read the sub-section as it will then stand. It will be as follows:—

"Every lease limited to continue for any life or lives other than a lease which can be converted into a fee farm grant under the Renewable Leasehold Conversion Act, shall, for the purposes of this section be deemed to be a lease which would expire within ninety-nine years after the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act 1881, and the term of ninety-nine years shall be substituted for the term of 60 years in the said Act."

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork): If the right hon. Gentleman persists in moving his Amendment in that form, it will be necessary for me to move an Amendment before his. The Amendment I propose to insert is, in line 23, after the word "lives," the words—

"Or for a life or lives, and any term of years concurrent with, or for any term of years, or for any life or lives concurrent with or in reversion thereto."

The clause will then run—

"Every lease limited to continue for any life or lives or for a life or lives and any term of years concurrent with or in reversion thereto, or for any term of years or for any life or lives concurrent with or in reversion thereto other than a lease which can be converted into a fee farm grant under the Renewable Leasehold Conversion Act, shall, for the purposes of this section," &c.

That is a necessary Amendment, for this reason; this clause as it stands, of course, preserves the limit of 60 years, and inasmuch as if you preserve the limit of 60 years, you must make some provision for leases for lives, the clause provides that leases for lives shall be within the term of 60 years. But there are a number of other cases to be provided for. It is a common thing in Ireland to have a lease for lives with a term of years in reversion. That is a term which should come within the terms of this section, if a lease for lives is to come within it; but if you have not some express provision in reference to leases of the kind I have mentioned, it would be impossible to construe this section as including them. There are, in fact, four possible cases in which a term for life or lives is combined either concurrently or in reversion with a term of years, and not one of these cases is at present dealt with by this Bill. Some express provision with reference to them is clearly necessary, and I therefore beg leave to move the Amendment which I have read to the House.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): There is the case of leases for lives which might fall under section 21 of the Act of 1881. The provision as to terms for 60 years in that Act would not meet cases of leases for lives, and, therefore, we have inserted the present clause. I gather that the Amendment applies to different cases, and first to leases for terms of years concurrent with lives. I understand the meaning of the Amendment as to these is that the term of years would drop with the lives. Do I understand the hon. Member to mean that when there is a term of years concurrent with lives that the lease for years is to drop when the lives drop?

MR. MAURICE HEALY: I beg pardon. I do not mean that they are to drop together, but that they are to drop concurrently.

MR. GIBSON: Then the proposition is difficult to understand. They are to run on concurrently?

MR. MAURICE HEALY: The difficulty he has pointed out does not exist.

Take a lease for the life of John Smith, or for a term of 30 years, which even lasts the longer. The two run on concurrently, and the lease lasts, for whichever term is the longer.

Mr. GIBSON: The hon. Member has given no duration for the term. Therefore the term is to be unlimited—a perpetuity term. Having now ascertained the meaning of the word "concurrent," we see that what he proposes is this—he takes the first branch of the clause as to leases for lives, and says that if the lease is for an indefinite period, then that part of the clause is to apply. The effect of this Amendment might be to extend the application of the measure to cases where, after the lives dropped, there was a term to which there was no limit, and which might be for 1,000 years. That question of the duration of the term might be conveniently discussed on the Amendment of which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary has given Notice; and I think the proposal he is about to make as to the duration of the term would fairly meet the object which the hon. Member has in view. I may say that we do not propose to deal with leases for lives renewable for ever, and there would be no difficulty in adjusting any matters connected with these. We have no desire to apply the limitation to leases at shorter periods than 99 years. We want to have it clear that all leases shall be limited to the maximum duration of 99 years. It is impossible—wholly impossible—to make the clause apply to cases of leases for lives and years that have no settled term of years for their duration. But I think the proper and most convenient course now will be to withdraw the Amendment, and proceed to consider the broader question.

Mr. MAURICE HEALY: I think the right hon. and learned Gentleman has met me very fairly, and I am quite satisfied with the pledge he has given. I can assure him, and I can assure the Committee, that this is not what might be called a "catching" Amendment, nor was it intended to mislead the Committee, or to induce them to come to a change in their determination to provide a fixed term of years. The reason I did not insert the number of years is that leases of the character with which this Amendment deals, and which are few in number, have no fixed term. The right hon. and learned Gentleman will bear me out when I say that in practice there are no such leases with the alternative of a long term of years, for you could not have a term of 99 years with lives after it; that would be an absurdity which no one, in drawing a lease, would insert. Perhaps I owe an apology for not putting my Amendment on the Paper, for it is a matter not readily apprehended; but the reason I did not put it on the Paper was because we understood, from what passed here and "elsewhere," and from what was published in the newspapers, that the Government intended to put an end altogether to these limitations in leases, and that the only limit they would observe would be the exclusion of perpetuity leases. Of course, if we were right in our impression, no such Amendment as this of mine would be necessary.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: I think the more convenient course will be for me to move the words I have read to the House in the inverse order. Thus, beginning with line 22, the words would run—

> "The term of ninety-nine years shall be substituted for sixty years in the Land Act of 1881, and"—

followed by the words in the clause as they stand.

Amendment proposed,

> In line 21, after the word "tenant," to insert—"The term of ninety-nine years shall be substituted for the term of sixty years in the Land Law (Ireland) Act of 1881, and."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour*).

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. PARNELL (Cork): I respectfully submit there is no necessity to refer to the term mentioned in the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881, because, by an Amendment moved to this clause by my hon. Friend the Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton), you have got rid of the limitation constructively imposed by a reference to the 58th section of that Act; you have got rid of the limitation of 60 years; therefore, any necessity for altering the period from 60 to 99 years ceases. At present, the way the matter stands is this—owing to the Amendment the Committee have adopted, the operation of the clause extends to present tenancies, or those that would be so deemed, but for the fact that such leases would not expire within 60 years after the passing of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881. So you have got rid of the constructive limitation in the Act of 1881, limiting leases to those expiring within 60 years of the passing of that Act; therefore, all necessity for referring to that Act here drops. Would it not be simpler to withdraw all the words inserted under entirely different conditions, upon an entirely different principle, and to state the fact of the limitation. The limitation of 60 years in the case of leaseholders applying under the Act having disappeared, those words are unnecessary. The plain and common-sense way would be to state simply what the limitation is going to be, leaving out the words referring to the Act of 1881. State plainly what the limitation is going to be, so that he who runs may read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I admit that I am responsible for the wording of this Amendment, and I overlooked the fact that the Amendment had been adopted in the 10th line. The view of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) will be carried out, I think, if we insert words providing that the section shall apply to leases expiring within 99 years, and then the clause will run on dealing with the provisions as to leases for lives. That, I take it, is the meaning of the hon. Member.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 22, before the word "every," to insert the words "this section shall apply only to leases expiring within ninety-nine years after the passing of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881),' and."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I did hope that some Member of the Party whose function it is to keep the Government in Office would rise and protest against this proposal. Now, it was stated at the meeting at the Carlton Club that the Government were going to abolish all restrictions on this clause, keeping only to the exclusion of perpetuity leases; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), in his speech the other night, laboured this point of perpetuity leases to an enormous extent. He said the Government could not deal with these, because it would be interfering with purchase. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland took up the burden of the complaint at a subsequent period; he also went on the principle that the Government would not give up perpetuity leases. Now, I respectfully submit that by all this the Committee have been misled. In the debate on going into Committee, and subsequently at the Carlton Club meeting, which represented the coming together of the happy family, that happy family came together upon the understanding that all perpetuity leases were to be omitted from the Bill. But now it turns out that, but for my rising to make a protest, the Liberal Unionist Party were going to allow this proposal to pass *sub silentio.* Against this I do protest. We were told that this Bill was intended to give relief to the poor and loyal tenant farmers of Ulster. Now, I care not whether the relief is for Loyalists or Nationalists in Ulster, Leinster, or Connaught, sufficient for me it is that Irish tenants are to be relieved; but it was pressed upon the Government for the special relief of Ulster tenants. But we have had not a single word from the Government to show us how many tenants will be excluded if this proposal is allowed to pass, as has been usual on like occasions in the past. I remember that in the discussions upon the Land Act we had from Mr. Forster and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) statistics showing that if they did propose limitations, yet they did admit the great bulk of tenants, and only excluded a small portion with respect to whom there were special reasons for the limitation. But here we have a proposal not having at the bottom of it any shred of principle. Further than that, we do not know that from the relief the right hon. Gentleman said he proposed to extend to 130,000 leaseholders, 100,000 might not be excluded by this limitation. We do not know why this principle of 99 years is to be adhered to. We can understand why perpetuity leases should be excluded; we understand why this should be adhered to on the principle that perpetuity is practically purchase. But now we seem to be proceeding on what is known as the "horse-tail" argument—that is, that you may take away a hair from the tail and still leave a horse's tail, and you may take away another and another, and so on, removing hairs, and still leave the tail; the only question is, when do you come to the point where there is no horse's tail? You regard 999 years as practically perpetuity; so you exclude that lease, and so you go on fining down until you come to 99 years. But why the limit there? Why bring in the Rule of Three—these fractions and questions of arithmetic—are we not dealing with equity? If I am suffering under a rack-rent lease, I pore over my lease and exercise my arithmetical powers. I figure the thing out, and I have hope of relief. But I am wrong in my addition or subtraction, and my hope vanishes and I am to be for ever disappointed. On this mode of arithmetical progression redress of grievances has often been based. It used to be debated in connection with the franchise; and the question of the compound householder, the £10 householder, the £5 householder, and all the rest of it was discussed. But I say there is no principle or reason at the bottom of this Amendment. If 60 years is right, stick to it. If you raise it to 99 years, why? How many will it affect, and where is the principle, the right, the equity of it? And yet this is moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland without a word; moved, as he made the Motion for going into Committee, by the lifting of his hat. Metaphorically speaking, he has not even taken off his hat to the Committee on this occasion; he has sprung this proposal on the House without reason or Notice. I ask the Liberal Unionist Party, who have been steadily voting in the Lobby against us, is this an occasion on which they are bound to support the Government? If the Irish tenant, being a Loyalist, is to be relieved from his rack rent, why is it a question of 99 years, or of 999 years, or 9,000 years? I admit there is some principle in perpetuity leases; but why draw the line at 99 years? One thing I must deprecate in connection with this Amendment. It is that Members of the Liberal Unionist Party such as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain) should go into the Lobby with those connected with landlordism to keep up restrictions upon Irish farmers, without one single word of explanation why they do so. I could quite understand their conduct when we were dealing with a criminal measure, for, of course, their view is all Irishmen are criminal, and therefore it is right to punish us; but I say this is an absurd provision, founded on no reason or justice, and based on a mere arithmetical idea.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. Balfour) (Manchester, E.): The speech we have just heard illustrates the inconvenience of discussing details of a measure upon imperfect information. The hon. and learned Gentleman appears to be misled, first, by an unauthorized report upon which he was not justified in placing reliance, and which was incorrect, and then he has not rightly understood the explanation given on Thursday. Then he went on to say that there was some principle in adhering to 60 years, and in the exclusion of perpetuity leases; but he asked what was the principle in 99 years. Well, that is a poor return for making what we deem to be a concession, and which we avowedly made "against the grain." I do not think the hon. and learned Gentleman could have been in the House when we made the concession, and when I gave my reasons for wishing to adhere to the term of 60 years. We gave way on the point with considerable reluctance, and now the result is we are told we have abandoned all principle and have no standing ground for our Amendment at all. The hon. and learned Member said he saw some principle in excluding perpetuity leases; but he saw no difference in principle between 99 years and 9,000 years. But is this a common-sense ground to take up? The hon. and learned Gentleman has applied to our proposal what he calls the "horse-tail" argument, and which is, no doubt, familiar to hon. Gentlemen. If you draw the line at one number of years, why not just above or below that number? But this is an argument always held in contempt by practical legislators. You must draw a line somewhere, and there will always be on either side of that line cases that differ from cases on the other side of the line chosen by very small and almost imperceptible distinctions. But that is no reason for not drawing the line. For the line we have adopted a good practical argument is to be found. The hon. and learned Member is aware that it is a familiar practice to draw leases for 99 years, and in England such are not considered perpetual; the leaseholder is never considered a freeholder, but longer leases are regarded for practical purposes as perpetual. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to draw a distinction between leases practically indefinite and leases avowedly perpetual.

MR. T. M. HEALY: The distinction is that between personal and real property.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The principle is admitted of excluding leases for lives renewable for ever and fee farm grants, and the holders of these long leases are regarded as owners in fee.

MR. MARUM (Kilkenny, N.): Some of them are.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Is the distinction between owners and owners of leases renewable for ever more than a purely legal technical distinction? Are they not substantially and practically the same? Does not every man who is the holder of a 999 years' lease regard himself as to all intents and purposes the owner of the freehold for which he pays an annual rent-charge? If there be any principle, and I think there is—I admit there is in excluding farms held under a perpetuity lease or a fee farm grant—then I say you cannot include leases held for a very long term of years and leases for lives renewable for ever. On this ground I ask the Committee to accept the Amendment.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN (Birmingham, W.): I rise somewhat unwillingly, for I am anxious to say and do nothing that will unnecessarily prolong discussion; but I speak in answer to the appeal of the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), who has taunted the Liberal Unionists, and myself in particular, with following the Government in previous Divisions as he says against the interests of the tenants. Well, I should like to ask the Committee to consider what has been the conduct of the Government and the action of the Commitee during the very practical discussion that has taken place to-night on this clause. First we were called upon to consider an Amendment standing in the name of a Liberal Unionist—the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell)—a very important Amendment, which, however, we did not discuss in his name, because a similar Amendment from the hon. Member for Cork had priority. But in the course of that discussion we found the Government in a most conciliatory temper; they gave us all that was asked for by the hon. Member for Cork and the hon. Member for South Tyrone; and I confess that I do think, whatever opinion we may have, we are bound to recognize the spirit in which our objections have been met by the Government. On other points the Government have shown a similar inclination, and in the one or two matters on which they have resisted I confess my opinion has been that they only resisted Amendments which are in the nature of new proposals attempted to be foisted into the Bill and outside the original scope and intention of the measure. We are dealing now with a clause by which it is intended to give to leaseholders practically the same advantages that are secured to tenants from year to year in relation to the Land Act of 1881, the three F's. When you attempt to foist into that clause proposals to give to leaseholders advantages that it is clear are not enjoyed by tenants from year to year, and which may be well worthy of separate discussion, I say it is not fair to press such a proposal at the present time. On this ground I have followed the Government in resistance to these minor Amendments; they are not Amendments of very great importance, which do not raise any questions upon which I or any of my Friends, belonging to the Liberal Unionist Party, have in previous discussions expressed an opinion. But now we come to a matter of importance on which we have—some of us—expressed a pretty strong opinion. In the discussion upon the second reading of the Bill, I myself ventured, very respectfully, to submit to the Government the importance of not leaving behind any centre of disaffection, and the extreme desirability of dealing with all classes of leaseholders if they could make it possible to do so. To this suggestion objection was taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), that it was most undesirable to interfere with such perpetuity leases as were in the nature of a sale. I admit there is great force in that objection, and I think the Government would be justified in excluding any lease having the nature of an absolute sale. I should very much prefer that the Government should carry out their intention and desire by excluding these perpetuity leases that are in the nature of a sale *eo nomine*, not attempting to deal with them by limitation in the particular way they have. But, even in this respect, I am bound to admit the spirit in which the Government have met the Amendment which has been pressed upon them. My argument was that it was unfair to exclude a large body of leaseholders, and that no distinction should be drawn between leases of 60 years and leases of a longer duration. Now, I am told that a large additional number of leaseholders will be admitted under the Amendment to extend the relief to 99 years leases, and I shall be glad if, in the course of the discussion, the Government can see their way to make a still greater extension; and, speaking for myself, I consider I am pledged to vote for the inclusion of all leaseholders other than those whose leases are in the nature of a fee or a proprietorship. But, at the same time, while I feel myself bound by what I have previously said as regards my own vote, I am also, at the same time, obliged to recognize the spirit in which our objections have been met, and to admit that, even if the concession of the Government does not proceed so far as I would desire them to proceed, they have practically met the grievances of the Irish leaseholders, and leave but an inconsiderable section of leaseholders outside the Bill.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: Perhaps I may be allowed, by way of explanation, to remind the Committee that I had on the Paper a provision to break leases where it was shown to the Court that threats, undue influence, or inequitable means had been used to induce tenants to take these leases.

Mr. T. M. HEALY: No use whatever.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR: In answer to the interjection of the hon. Member, I would remind the Committee that I have framed this clause on much more liberal lines than that in the Act of 1881.

Mr. PARNELL: From reading the reports of discussions in this House, and the declarations made outside this House, I have always understood that the only leases the Government pledged themselves not to include in this Bill were the perpetuity leases; and, therefore, I was very much surprised this evening when I heard the Government say it was their intention to take their stand on the 60 years' agreement contained in the Act of 1881. I admit, with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. Joseph Chamberlain), it is an advantage to have the extension from 60 to 99 years; but in view of what has taken place on this question out-of-doors, in view of what took place at the Carlton Club, and in view of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), I submit we are entitled to press the Government to go a little further; and, while we do not ask them to fly in the face of the statements made by Lord Salisbury and by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer with reference to perpetuity leases, I think we can fairly call on them to extend their limit up to and short of these. If the Government would go so far as all leases except leases for ever, I think they would meet the wishes of their supporters, the Liberal Unionists on this side of the House, who are entitled to speak for them. What has just been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham and by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) clearly indicates that they think the Government ought to extend the limit to the perpetuity line. What I would suggest would be this—that the Government should agree to an amendment of their Amendment to insert these words—to omit all the words after the word "apply," and to insert instead "in the case of all leases except leases for ever." The paragraph would then run—"This section applies in the case of all leases except leases for ever." That would meet the declaration of Lord Salisbury, also the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. That would remove an inequality, and would not trench on the principle of ownership, on which so much force has been laid by the Government supporters in this discussion. It is a fair Amendment. There is no reason why you should have stopped at 60 years or 99 years, and certainly there is no reason why you should stop short of a perpetuity lease, except the reason that has been laid stress upon by the Government, that, in their judgment, the extension of perpetuity leases would trench on the principle of sale. I have every confidence that in moving this Amendment I have moved one the Government can fairly accept without breaking their word—one which will satisfy all of us, and one which I believe and hope would be acceptable to their Liberal Unionist supporters on this sdie. I beg to move, Sir, to omit all the words after the word "apply," and to insert these words instead, "in the case of all leases except leases for ever."

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment,

To leave out all the words after the word "apply" to the end of the Amendment, and insert the words "to all leases except leases for ever."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment."

MR. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I should be very glad if the Government saw their way to accept the proposed Amendment. At the same time I desire to acknowledge the manner in which we have been met by the Government to-night. Let us consider what has already been done in regard to this Bill by the Government. They have conceded the great principle of option; they have accepted 99 years for 60 years; they have promised to amend the clause dealing with the *bonâ fide* occupation of holdings, and there is an Amendment down upon the Paper to be considered by the Government with regard to perpetuity leases forced upon the holders. The reason that I see some virtue in 99 years is this. In all the correspondence that I have had with leaseholders during the last six months—and I have had some hundreds of letters—I find very few leases between 99 years and 900 years. I wish to put this very strongly, that that is the reason why the term of 99 years commends itself to me rather than the term in the Act of 1881. I do not conceal that my proposal has been all along that all leaseholders should be included. I do not attempt to deny that as regards perpetuity leases it is a very large order indeed, and that there is a great deal in what the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said, that if you once tamper with them you run the risk of trenching upon the principle of sale. I quite see that; and, for my part, feeling that what we do to-night does not close this Land Question, as this is only a temporary measure in view of further legislation, I am content to waive the perpetuity leasehold, and also, looking at what the Government have done and propose to do in the future, I stick to the 99 years, which will practically cover the whole thing, and I shall vote with the Government if we go to a Division, though I should be glad if they could see their way to accept the Amendment.

MR. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN: I confess it seems to me the proposal of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) is one which the Government might well accept. I doubt if it would make any very large difference. I admit the concessions which the Government have made to us; but I think that the speech of the hon. Member for Cork is a concession from the other point of view, as he is willing to give up the perpetuity leases, which is a great concession. If there is any large omission it will be found not in the leaseholders of 99 and 999 years, but in the perpetuity leaseholders; and if we could get the consent of all sides to the exclusion of perpetuity leaseholders, and the Government would consent to include all who come between 99 years and perpetuity, it would be satisfactory. I appeal to the Attorney General if I am not right in saying that would not involve a great number of cases? I hope very much that the Government may see their way to accept this proposal. In any case, I shall be bound, in common consistency, to vote for it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I should like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, and also to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork, that there is a principle involved in the term 99 years. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, in his first speech a few moments ago, agreed that if we excluded those leases which might be treated as being on the basis of sale we should recognize a principle, and it is suggested by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork that on the basis of sale you should exclude perpetuity leases only. I wish to point out to the hon. Member that 99 years is a term that is taken by all recognized valuers as the term when the reversion becomes of no value; and I submit to those who have studied this matter that when a landlord and tenant have met together, and bargained for a term of 99 years or longer, they have regarded it as being a term in which the reversion is of no advantage to the landlord, and no loss to the tenant. Many leases of even 80 years in London are regarded as of the same value as a freehold. When you come to deal with this question as a market question, there is a term when the bargain is regarded as of fee simple value. Will the hon. Member consider how that ought to bear on this proposal? I draw no distinction as to the question of legal estate—I think that 500 years is just as valuable as 990 or for ever. What I want to point out is that if the parties have met together and bargained, for better for worse, and have arranged to pay for a term that is equivalent in the market to perpetuity, there does seem to be a principle that under the circumstances the bargain ought to be treated as, from a market point of view, one of perpetuity. The words, "other than leases for ever," would, as a distinction, be too sweeping. This is really not a matter in which the Committee should be occupied, and I ask that the question will be settled away from all declaration and recrimination. The hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) is wholly wrong if he imagines that Lord Salisbury made any such declaration or recrimination as that which has been attributed to him. I want to deal with this question as one of principle; and, having extended the 60 years to 99 years when the reversion vanishes to nothing, I think we have accepted the principle up to that which forms the basis of sale. If the lease is admitted not to have been procured by corrupt means, then it seems to me it is a bargain that falls within the equity of the matter.

Mr. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I am very much surprised, when we have succeeded in procuring the powerful assistance of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham, that the hon. Member for South Tyrone should think it a fitting moment to rise and pronounce a eulogy upon the Government, and say that he should consider it his duty to go with the Government. I thought I saw an inclination on the part of the Government to give way; but when they are told by men like the hon. Member for South Tyrone that they will support them it is hard for us to get any concessions. It must be either one of two things, either there are tenants in Ireland to whom this would bring relief or there are not; if the number is so few as the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone would lead the Committee to suppose, what is the use of wasting the time of the Committee in discussing it? It has not been contended, and is not sought to be contended, that any important principle is at stake; and, therefore, why should you waste the time of the Committee? ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; but we take up a different stand, and say there are a considerable number to whom this would bring relief; and if you say there is no necessity for it, because there is only a small handful of tenants who would be affected by it, why do you not give way and accede to the Amendment? What is it that we ask? We ask that these men should have a fair rent fixed, and what argument was there in the remarks of the hon. and learned Attorney General against their having a fair rent fixed? He talked about men making a bargain in the nature of sale; but if you fall back on that old argument it cuts away the ground for relief of any kind. We say there has been no freedom of contract in Ireland, and that these men who accepted leases such as the landlord chose, whether for 30 years, 60 years, 900 years, 999 years, or 99 years, accepted them very often because they were like a drowning man ready to grasp at any straw, and because they saw their friends going out all round them through the perpetual rising of rent; they grasped at any offer which gave them any hope of a fixed rent, and very often consented to pay an excessive rent in order to get security of tenure at any cost. In Ireland we know from positive facts that these leases have been made to extend over 100 years, and to have been obtained by undue influence; and, under these circumstances, why do you object to the Amendment, against which you cannot bring forward a single valid argument?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I do not understand that we are now discussing the question of admission to this clause of what are called perpetuity leases; the question we are discussing is whether a class between the leaseholders of 99 years and the holders of perpetuity leases are to be admitted. I agree with the hon. Member for East Mayo that the test of the question is what is the number and character of these tenancies. And I have not heard in the course of the discussion that it has been suggested there are any leaseholders who hold the term between 99 years and 900 or 999 years. I must say, in my mind, I find it difficult to draw any distinction between a lease for perpetuity and that for 999 years; but if there are leaseholders between 99 and 990 years, I do not see that the Government should withhold the inclusion of any ordinary agricultural lease. It seems to me that the Government have, as has been said by my hon. Friend the Member for South Tyrone, not only fulfilled—but fulfilled very liberally—every pledge we have received from them; and, under those circumstances, it seems to me, as it cannot be contended there is any considerable class of leaseholders who hold under leases for upwards of 99 years, which practically amounts to perpetuity, that we shall be justified in supporting the Government in resisting the present Amendment.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): The noble Lord has stated there are very few leases in Ireland, not one, I think——

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Of course I have no knowledge of the subject; but in the course of the discussion it has not been suggested.

MR. SEXTON: Well, we not only suggest it now, but we say it, that the number of them is substantial and large enough to require the attention of the House. My hon. Friend beside me, on his own estate, has leases from 99 to 999 years. The reason given by the hon. Member for South Tyrone for not dealing in a practical manner with these leases is a poor one. He says they are few in number; but it occurs to me that is all the more reason why the Committee should come to the relief of these people. I think the Committee would be more satisfied if they heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer an interpretation of his former speech on the question, and an explanation of the view he takes now. We have heard three Members of the Liberal Unionist Party. The hon. Member for South Tyrone and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham are both in favour of the Amendment; but on this occasion the right hon. Gentleman will vote according to his conscience, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Tyrone will vote against his conscience. The third Member of the Unionist Party who has spoken will vote on grounds which I conceive to be erroneous, because he has stated what is notoriously inaccurate. Here we have three Members, one of whom is in a complete state of demoralization—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham; another is in a very bad way because his conscience is in a bad condition; and a third, whose conclusions would be sound if his facts were accurate. I must confess that leaves the question in a very puzzling condition. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) is in his place, and as he was a Member of the Committee of Seven, it would be interesting for him to tell us what he thinks of the question. I would also like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer about his speech the other night. I claim—having listened to his speech very carefully, and having read it two or three times since—that the passage is perfectly clear, and that it was to include all leases in the operation of Section 1, except perpetuity leases, and to exclude them on the point of expediency, because any interference with them would have an embarrassing operation upon the purchase policy of the Government. I am not a lawyer; but, speaking generally, I may say that the owner is the possessor of something he may do as he likes with; but that the holders of leases who have to pay more than the value every year are not in any sense the owners. I cannot conceive how the leaving out of this question will embarrass the Government in regard to their purchase policy; but great embarrassment will arise from leaving out the Amendment, because the necessary preliminary step to purchase would be to fix a fair rent; and therefore if you leave out these men you will, in their case, erect an impassable barrier to the policy of purchase. I would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as there comes a very divided light and conflicting guidance from the moral censors who guide the House on this occasion, to use his own independent judgment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I see the hon. Member in his speech made use of the fallacy that the fixing of rent would have a bearing on the purchase scheme.

MR. SEXTON: It will in the minds of the tenants.

MR. GOSCHEN: The hon. Member says it will in the minds of the tenants. But a very different construction has been put upon the proposal in various quarters of the House, and I repeat again that the fixing of rents will have nothing whatever to do with the purchase afterwards, and the more hon. Members exclude from consideration the idea that this re-fixing of judicial rents will prejudice purchase in any way the better it will be. Now, with regard to the particular question before the Committee, it always seemed to my unsophisticated mind that a lease of 99 years and a perpetuity lease stood very much in the same position. I accept, at any rate, the argument of the Attorney General for England, that after 99 years you approach the point of what is practically a perpetuity lease. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland spoke at the beginning of this debate of the inconvenience of introducing points of detail into a discussion of the principle of a Bill, and I am beginning to appreciate that remark, for I intended my observations as to perpetuity leases to be general. I trust the Committee will think the Government have met the general feeling in several quarters of the House in extending the provisions of the clause to leases of 99 years; and, in answer to the hon. Member for East Mayo, I may remark that the Government had no thought of giving way on this point until the hon. Member for South Tyrone addressed the Committee; we did not think it our duty prior to that to go beyond the point we had announced.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington): I wish to point out one circumstance by way of comment on the speeches of the Attorney General and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In an Act which was passed on the motion of an eminent Tory—Lord Cairns—in the same year as the Land Act of 1881, and which applied to Ireland—the Conveyancing and Law Property Act—a point was fixed at which leases for a long term should become equivalent to leases for ever; and it was provided by Section 56 of the Act that when the term was of the prescribed length it might be converted into a fee simple at the mere will of the tenant. The length of term prescribed for this purpose fixed was 200 years and not 99.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Does the hon. Gentleman suggest that a reversion is worth anything after 99 years?

MR. HALDANE: It is so in cases of London house property, perhaps; but we are now dealing with agricultural property in Ireland. The Attorney General's experience of farms in Ireland is, I venture to say, very limited, although nobody has had greater experience with regard to property in London.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): I beg to move that you report Progress, Sir.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I hope the hon. Gentleman will not press that Motion. We have discussed this Amendment at considerable length and with very good feeling, and I believe the Committee are quite prepared to come to a decision now. I believe no advantage would be gained, but that very great disadvantage would result to the Public Service if the proceedings of this Committee were adjourned at this stage.

MR. ANDERSON: I only suggested we should report Progress, because the Amendments now being discussed were not on the Paper, and I thought that, perhaps, between now and to-morrow the Government would decide to grant what we asked. I will, however, withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I wish to ask the Government to make one concession, and that is to omit the words "the Land Law Ireland Act, 1881."

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not in Order to do that now.

MR. T. M. HEALY: At any rate, I will ask the Government to give this matter their very serious consideration.

Original Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 191; Noes 142: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 320.) [1.40 A.M.]

Question,

"That the words 'this section shall apply only to leases expiring within ninety-nine years after the passing of "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," and' be there inserted,"

—put, and *agreed to.*

DR. CLARK (Caithness): It is now a quarter to 2, and in view of the fact that there is other Business to come before the House, I think we ought now to report Progress.

MR. PARNELL: I hope that meanwhile the Government will consider whether they will not agree to some concession with reference to leases not in existence before the passing of the Land Act of 1881.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: We will consider it; but I am afraid I can give no promise.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, The First Lord of the Treasury.*)

[BILL 334.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): I rise to a point of Order. I understood the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate that he would take the Crofters' Holding (Scotland) Bill to-night.

MR. SPEAKER: We have passed it now, and cannot re-open the matter.

MR. DILLON: I asked early in the evening if the Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill would be taken to-night, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland said distinctly "Yes." Why has it been again adjourned?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As a matter of personal explanation, I may state that had I thought the hon. Member wanted to go on with it I was quite ready to do so.

MR. DILLON: Who, then, put it down for Thursday?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I announced the Bill for Thursday because I was under a misapprehension. I understood it was not to be taken to-night, and was not aware of the arrangement referred to.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.): I hope the House will read this Bill a second time, because there is nothing of a debateable character in it. It is a Bill of considerable importance; and I will ask the House to consider for a moment the position in which we are placed in regard to it. I have been long endeavouring to obtain from the Government its consent to introducing a Bill of this kind—indeed, I have been trying since February last, and at last the Bill is before the House. Its object is to enable the Treasury to make investigations into the condition of certain trustee banks whenever it is necessary to do so. If the House will allow me—and I will detain it but for a few moments—I wish to say I hope the Bill will be allowed to pass through its remaining stages as quickly as possible.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

MUNICIPAL REGULATION (CONSTABULARY, &c.) (BELFAST) BILL.—[BILL 291.]

(*Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): I rise to protest against this important Bill being taken at this hour of the morning. It is a Bill affecting the internal government of the great City of Belfast, and it is a Bill to some of the provisions of which the authorities take very considerable objection. It was understood that it would not be taken to-night; but the hon. Member for West Belfast threatened if the Government would not move it he would. I beg, Sir, to move the adjournment of the debate.

SIR JAMES CORRY (Armagh, Mid): I beg to second that.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Johnston.*)

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): In reply to the hon. Member opposite, who accused me of threatening the House, I would say I never threaten, though I often make strong representations to this House; and I certainly did represent at Question Time that if the Bill were not taken by the Government to-night I should move it. It was then understood that it should be taken, yet the hon. Member protests, and with inconceivable hardihood, on the 25th of July—the very verge of the end of the Session—contends it is improper to proceed with a Bill which intimately concerns the preservation of social order in the town of which he is a Representative. It is a Bill which proposes to put an end to a state of affairs most disastrous. Does the hon. Member forget that in last year's riots 40 lives were lost, 60 houses wrecked, and that for three months 6,000 armed men had to be kept there to preserve order? Yet he has the hardihood to object to this Bill being taken, although, unless we get it through, riots may break out again. I warn the Government that they will incur a fearful responsibility if they do not get this Bill through, for unless they do no legislation of this kind can be got through till next year; and if in the course of the autumn or winter disorder again breaks out in Belfast the responsibility will be on their heads for any loss of life that may ensue.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Colonel KING-HARMAN) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I think the last few words of the hon. Member partake of the nature of a threat, although he says he never uses threats to this House. I rise to ask my hon. Friend the Member for South Belfast not to press his Motion for Adjournment. I think the hon. Member who last spoke is much mistaken as to the attitude of the Government on this Bill. This is the first time we have had a chance of dealing with it; it has always been blocked until to-night. The intention of the Government is to take the Bill whenever possible, and to insist on enforcing obedience to the law. The hon. Member speaks of the authorities of Belfast not being satisfied with the Bill; but then, I think, he speaks somewhat without book. I have been in communication with the Mayor and Town Council, and I can say there are few points upon which we have not arrived at an agreement. On those points upon which we differ the Municipal Authorities have made the best stand they could—they opposed the Bill on Standing Orders, and we were able to resist their attacks, and the Bill has been allowed to proceed to this second reading stage, which now, I hope, the House will allow us to take.

MR. EWART (Belfast, N.): I think it is unreasonable to proceed with a Bill of this importance at this hour. It has been fairly enough stated that, under a misapprehension, we were informed the Bill would not be taken to-night, and it is both inconvenient to ourselves and unfair to the people of Belfast to enter upon a discussion now.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Before the Bill is read a second time, I think we should know what is the intention of the Government with regard to the Motion on the Paper.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): I think it is desirable we should know if the Government seriously intend to proceed with the Bill this Session. The Motion standing in the name of the hon. Gentleman opposite is obviously intended to defeat the Bill by referring it to a Select Committee of five. A Royal Commission sat for three months and examined some 200 witnesses, and the Commissioners issued two Reports, one of which can be bought for 3*d.*, and the other by the dissentient Commissioner, perhaps on consideration of its superior value and importance, is to be had for 13*d.* These documents, together with the evidence of magistrates, clergymen, police, and witnesses from every rank and section of opinion in Belfast, are comprised in a Blue Book of some 600 pages; and yet in the face of this the hon. Gentleman opposite proposes to relegate this Bill, the outcome of this inquiry, to a Select Committee for the collection of more evidence. I ask, will the Bill be allowed to proceed in the ordinary way, and here say that after the second reading is taken it will be my duty to oppose the appointment of the proposed Watch Committee for the discharge of functions which, in my opinion, should lie with the Commissioner of Police.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: For once I find myself in harmony with the hon. Gentleman, and desire to get through the second reading at once, though when we get to the Committee stage we shall probably differ upon the point he has referred to. My hon. Friend behind me is aware that we cannot agree to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, for it would, by loss of time, have the effect simply of destroying the Bill for the Session. Now, after the exhaustive Report of the Royal Commission, is such an inquiry necessary? I will not weary the House with our proposals now; but the gist of them is that the general powers for the preservation of the peace will be vested in the police magistrates, as is the case in almost every large borough in Ireland. The change is rather a recognition of the importance of the town. We also propose the appointment of a Watch Committee, and here we shall meet with opposition from the hon. Member for West Belfast. We think it a matter of importance; but we shall be happy to receive suggestions, for, while adhering to the principle of the Bill, we desire to consult the views and wishes of all who are concerned in the prosperity and welfare of Belfast.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday.*

MR. JOHNSTON: I beg to give Notice that I shall move, on the Motion for going into Committee, that the House go into Committee three months hence.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS BILL.

(*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

[BILL 245.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Secretary Matthews.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): This is legislating in a curious way; the second reading is moved in a whisper. This Bill is to enable the punishment of whipping to be inflicted upon young persons; and I suppose, under it, a child may be reduced to a mass of wounds, as in the case we read of in the papers the other day. After a long series of legislative attempts at the punishment of young criminals, and after we thought we were rid of the subject with the Bill of the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent), we have the Government proposing the second reading of this Bill after 2 o'clock in the morning. Let anyone look at the Bill, and recognize the absurdity of proposing a Bill of this importance at this hour. I know I shall be told that this contemplated punishment by whipping will not be inflicted without the consent of the young persons themselves; but I say that the alternative of being returned for trial, or of getting six strokes with the birch rod, is an alternative that ought not to be put to a child of tender years. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. T. M. Healy,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

MARRIAGES (ATTENDANCE OF REGISTRARS) BILL.—[BILL 164.]

(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In moving the discharge of this Order, I desire to say that I am obliged to adopt that course in face of the persistent opposition with which the Bill has been met by those who are unwilling that any grievance should be removed, which at this period of the Session prevents all chance of the Bill getting into Committee. I hope that early next Session we may be enabled to deal with the subject.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged,"—(*Sir Richard Webster,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

IRISH LAND LAW [REMUNERATION].

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): In deference to the wish of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, I did not press my opposition to this Resolution on a former occasion, and I do not intend to move the adjournment now; but I do want to know, if we allow the Speaker to leave the Chair, shall we be allowed to report Progress immediately? Will the Government insist most unreasonably in taking the two stages now? The proposal is to enable the Government to pay certain charges out of the public funds for the payment of assistants of the County Court Judges in reference to the Bankruptcy Clauses of the Land Act before we know what the scope of the proposed changes in that Bill are to be. Why should we be called upon to make provision for these changes in respect to the administration of the Bankruptcy Clauses when, as we understand, those clauses are to be dropped? Can the Government give us any reason for this? They sometimes have reasons, though they do not always remove our objections, and if they will state them I will not persist in my opposition; but I cannot understand their reason for obtaining power to provide the salaries of officials whom they are not going to appoint.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): It was explained a few days ago by the Leader of the House, and also by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, that unless this Resolution is taken it is quite impossible to deal with any clause in Committee which relates to or affects the expenditure of public money in any degree. It is not only in regard to the salaries to which the hon. and learned Gentleman refers; but no charge could be made under the provisions of the Bill. As a matter of fact, and as the Chairman of Committees would point out, the Committee would be unable to proceed with the consideration of any clause that involved expenditure unless the House had passed this Resolution. It may be remembered that on one occasion proceedings in Committee had to be stopped because the Committee came to a clause involving expenditure for which preparation had not been made by such a Resolution as this.

MR. T. M. HEALY: My point is this. If you are going to drop the Bankruptcy Clauses, why proceed with this, which is to provide for assistance to County Court Judges?

MR. JACKSON: If the clauses are dropped after this Resolution is taken that will not affect the case at all. Except you pass this Resolution you cannot deal with the clauses in Committee, while, if the clauses drop, then the Resolution drops with it. The question of the retention of the clauses in the Bill is not affected in any way, while you cannot deal with the clauses at all, even by omitting them, without such a stage as this. I am sure every hon. Member of experience in these matters will agree that the Resolution is both reasonable and necessary.

Motion *agreed to.*

MATTER—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration to any barristers and valuers that may be appointed to act with and aid the County Court Judges, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' and 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' and of remuneration to certain officers for performing additional duties connected with the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland in pursuance of the said Act."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. T. M. HEALY: The only question I will ask is this. If this clause—this form—I do not know exactly what to call it, is complied with, I hope the Chief Secretary will not turn round upon us and say the House has assented in principle to the Bankruptcy Clauses?

MR. JACKSON: I have no objection whatever to give a pledge of that kind on behalf of my right hon. Friend.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

OPEN SPACES (DUBLIN) BILL.—[BILL 80.]

(*Mr. William Redmond, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Dwyer Gray, Mr. Timothy Healy.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

The PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECRETARY for IRELAND (Colonel King-Harman) (Kent, Isle of Thanet): I am afraid I must object to this. Since the Bill was introduced Amendments were introduced into the Metropolitan Open Spaces Bill, many of which I had the honour of moving myself, with the distinct understanding, as I believed, that those Amendments would take the place of this Bill, which I quite expected would be withdrawn, and am now surprised to find still on the Paper. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Colonel King-Harman.*)

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I think the right hon. and gallant Gentleman might have found a less prejudiced witness. When he was a private Member he opposed a similar Bill to this; but having acquired his present position, on which I congratulate him, he seemed to become a friend to the Bill, at least to the extent of not using his official position to obstruct it. But having again, as I understand, assumed a position of more freedom and less responsibility, and his official Chief being absent, he now figures as an opponent of the Bill. It is true that, to some extent, a series of Amendments introduced into the Bill of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) applied the Metropolitan Open Spaces Bill to Dublin; but there are a number of valuable provisions contained in this Bill, and the proposal I make to the Government is this, and I hope the right hon. and gallant Gentleman will accept it—we desire to reciprocate favours the Government have extended to us. Let us get the Speaker out of the Chair, and we will agree not to proceed further with the Bill unless we come to an arrangement with the Government as to its clauses. But let us get this stage. We admit the power of the Government to stop us to-night; we admit their power to crush us in Committee; besides, they have the House of Lords behind them. But let them allow us to get the Bill into Committee, and after that, unless we can come to an understanding with the Government, I will recommend the hon. Member for Dublin and the Lord Mayor to abandon the Bill, for, of course, we have no hope of carrying a Bill against the Government at this period of the Session. I ask the Government to withdraw opposition now, and we promise not to persevere with the Bill unless we can come to some terms of accommodation with Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL (Tyrone, S.): I never could understand why this Bill was blocked. What is its object? One that we might suppose both sides would facilitate—the conversion of old burying grounds in the City of Dublin into pleasant open spaces.

Colonel KING-HARMAN: This was all done in the other Bill.

Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: Yes; but done in a way that is unworkable for Dublin. Does the right hon. and gallant Gentleman know that the Bill had the approval of the late Chief Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach? ["Order!"] I suppose I may name him now he is unfortunately absent. If that right hon. Gentleman had continued Chief Secretary this Bill would certainly be law now. It is a cruelty to the waifs and strays of Dublin to block the Bill, and I hope the Government will not persist in their opposition.

The PRESIDENT of the LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. Ritchie) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I think the hon. Member cannot be aware that the Amendments to the Bill of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London entirely meet the points he has raised. I was compelled to take some interest in that Bill, and can bear out what my right hon. and gallant Friend says, that it was clearly understood that the other Bill would not be proceeded with, because what was proposed to be done by the one Bill was accomplished by Amendments inserted in the other.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I think that right hon. Gentlemen are labouring under some mistake. What really occurred was this. When the Bill was first of all put upon the Notice Paper, it was blocked by a couple of hon. Members who sit on the Tory side below the Gangway. Then, when the Metropolitan Open Spaces Bill of the hon. Baronet was introduced, I recollect putting down a block to it. It is not often that I find myself in agreement with the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), but I do in regard to this Bill, which, as he says, had the approval of the late Chief Secretary. Well, in deference to remonstrances addressed to me by several hon. Members, I withdrew my opposition to the Metropolitan Open Spaces Bill, and the hon. Member for the University of London said he would try to induce Tory Members to take off the block from this Bill. I merely rise to make this explanation, and to let the Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland know that really the opposition that existed to this Bill was not opposition to its principle or proposals, but a sort of desultory opposition offered by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite who were not altogether pleased with the action we took upon other Bills.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I really hope the Government will accept the offer made by the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy) who, I presume, spoke on behalf of his Friends. They offer not to proceed with the Bill except by arrangement with the Government; their only wish now is to take a formal stage, in order to prevent constant opposition to the Motion. We shall certainly save time by adopting the course suggested.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) (Liverpool, Walton): On the understanding which I understand was offered that the Government shall exercise control over the further progress of the Bill I think we may agree to the proposal.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

MARRIAGES CONFIRMATION (ANTWERP) BILL.—[BILL 326.]

(*Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Picton.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): I will be brief, but it is necessary I should say a few words in moving the second reading of this Bill. Its object is to confirm certain marriages solemnized at Antwerp by a certain Dr. Potts, who was chaplain at a British and American Chapel and Sailors' Bethel there, supported partly by a British and partly by an American Society. He was a minister of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, and officiated at Antwerp from 1880 to May, 1884, and during that time he performed several marriages—I think something like 12 in all—between various parties, and these marriages are all invalid on a technical point. The circumstances are these. In Belgium the only marriage recognized by the State is a civil marriage; and though Dr. Potts performed these marriages in accordance with the law and practice in the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, the parties who were married by him were not aware, and were not informed by him, that the civil ceremony of marriage was necessary. In the depositions made on oath by Dr. Potts it is evident how he was misled in the matter. He had, through a member of his committee, consulted the opinion of a lawyer as to the propriety of his action, and received advice, or wrongly interpreted the advice, which led him to suppose the marriages were legal. I may say that Bills of this character to establish the legality of marriages have been not infrequent during the present century. I have been able to observe more than 50 similar in character to this, some for legalizing marriages at home where informality had occurred, and some for legalizing marriages in which the illegality had taken place abroad. For instance, in 1833 there was a Bill introduced for legalizing marriages at Hamburg, performed there by a clergyman of the Church of England. I merely mention this as indicating the character of the Bill. The principal Act for legalizing a large number of marriages of this kind was the Act of 1849, which lays down the circumstances under which marriages, as a rule, are to be performed in foreign countries for British subjects. In that Act, which legalizes marriages conducted before that date with certain irregularities, there was a clause which stated that the Act should not render valid any marriage which, before the passing of the Act, had been declared invalid by any Court of competent jurisdiction. That Act related to marriages that had taken place during a considerable number of years, and the object of this saving clause was to prevent the illegitimacy of the children born of any marriage which had subsequently taken place in consequence of the declaration of the Court. Passing over a great number of Acts, I might refer to one which is very similar to the present Bill for legalizing marriages performed at Morha Velo, in Brazil, and passed in 1867. I refer to this, as these marriages were not illegal because of any informality connected with the provisions of the Act of 1849. These marriages were not solemnized under the Foreign Marriages Act of 1849, but were informal, in consequence of non-compliance with the form of marriage necessary in the country; and the Act then passed, overriding the *lex loci*, is similar in effect to the Bill now presented to the House. The only point that might be raised is whether the parties concerned in these marriages performed by Dr. Potts considered them to be valid at the time, and whether Dr. Potts did. There can be little doubt of that, for we have the decision of a Court of Law on this matter—namely, that of Mr. Registrar Middleton, in the case of one of the marriages in question, who states that from the evidence it is clear that the belief of all parties was that the ceremony was valid. I refer to the parties to the suit in the Langworthy case, which is one of the marriages to which this Bill refers.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. James Stuart.*)

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston): I had hoped to hear some indication of the course to be taken after this Bill has been read a second time. I feel it my duty now to move the adjournment of the debate. I cannot now go into the facts at length; but what I want particularly to point out is that this Bill is really very different from most of those that have been brought before the House for somewhat similar purposes, and I may remind the House that the course which certainly should be taken in this case, of referring the Bill to a Select Committee, has been adopted in former instances. I wish to point out that these Marriage Confirmation Bills resolve themselves chiefly into two classes; first, where persons had ground for thinking that the ceremony was duly authorized, such as in the Hamburg case, where the chaplain was, up to a certain date, duly authorized, but the authority had ceased because of the expiration from time of the British Factory; and the other is the case in which the ceremony is invalid by reason of the authority not having been made complete. In this case two elements are wanting. Here we have a gentleman who is not an Englishman, but an American subject, possessing no authority, supported by some charitable societies, assuming authority to contract marriages. There was no reason, that I am aware, why parties should have gone to him when there were the proper and recognized means of obtaining the legal sanction of marriage in Antwerp. Under the circumstances, it appears to me that further attention should be given to the matter than is now possible; and, therefore, I move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

MR. PICTON (Leicester): I hope the House will not take this course. Supposing that the Bill were read a second time, it might very fairly be referred to a Select Committee, and the objection of the hon. Member for Preston would be met. On that understanding, perhaps, the hon. Member will withdraw his Motion.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The Motion does not allow of our entering into the principle of the Bill, and I am not desirous of saying anything against the Preamble. But, certainly, having regard to the circumstances of the case, and that we are dealing with a question relating to what took place in a foreign country, I think the House ought not to assent to the second reading unless a clear case for legislation is made out. I submit that at this time, on a question of international importance, we ought not to pass the second reading without full discussion.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): I hope that the advice of the hon. Member for Preston will not be taken. This matter is one of pressing importance, and it is in the interest of the community that these marriages should at once be declared valid. I trust the Bill will be now read a second time, and that the hon. Member will consent to the reference of the Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. JAMES STUART: To prevent any misunderstanding, may I be allowed to say that I am perfectly prepared to accept the proposal to refer the Bill to a Select Committee?

Mr. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): As I understand that meets the only objection of the hon. Member who moved the adjournment, surely now he will not persist in his Motion.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 75; Noes 75.—(Div. List, No. 321.)

Mr. SPEAKER: Under these circumstances, I give my voice with the Ayes.

Mr. SEXTON: May I ask you, Sir, is it not in accordance with usage that the reasons for the Speaker's casting vote should be given, that they may be entered on the Journals of the House?

Mr. SPEAKER: The usual entry will be made in the Votes.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

INCUMBENTS RESIGNATION ACT (1871) AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 323.]

(*Mr. Tomlinson.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 21st July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Construction of Act).

Mr. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.): I beg to move that the Chairman do report Progress. This is a Bill that, it appears to me, should receive very considerable attention, which it is not reasonable to suppose it will receive at 3 o'clock in the morning.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Richard Webster) (Isle of Wight): If the hon. Member wishes to have further time for consideration I will not oppose the Motion; but I think he will find that the Bill deals with a very simple matter.

Mr. TOMLINSON (Preston): The Bill has been down several days on the Notice Paper, and there has been no suggestion of Amendments, so it was fair to assume there was no opposition.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday.*

MARKETS AND FAIRS (WEIGHING OF CATTLE) BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 317.]

(*Sir Richard Paget.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I think we ought to have some indication of what the Bill proposes to do, and to give opportunity for explanation I will move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Conybeare.*)

Sir RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells): I hope the Committee will consent to go forward with this measure. There is no opposition down to it. It comes down to us from "another place," and it is approved generally by all interested in agriculture, and I hope it may be accepted.

Mr. T. M. HEALY (Longford, N.): I believe it is an extremely good Bill, and I hope to see it pass; but I think that, from our point of view, the hon. Baronet should allow us to look into it now that he has arrived at this stage. It is not unreasonable that he should give us, say, until to-morrow, and he need not anticipate any great delay.

Sir RICHARD PAGET: Of course, if there is decided objection to proceeding now, I will not press the point, and will put the Bill down for to-morrow.

Mr. CONYBEARE: I entirely agree with my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. T. M. Healy), and I do not think it will make much difference. I may observe that the fact of the Bill being introduced in "another place" is no recommendation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

BANKRUPTCY COURTS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 124.]

(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. Chance, Mr. O'Hea, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Reynolds.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SEXTON (Belfast, W.): This is a non-contentious measure. On the 5th of February I asked the Chief Secretary if the Government would undertake the Bill. The reply was that the Government had no time, but that they would give any aid in their power to assist the Bill. In pursuance of that assurance I have brought in the Bill, and I presume the pledge given in February is still in force.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Sexton,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday.*

STEAM BOILERS (PASSENGER SHIPS).

Returns *ordered,* "showing the number of Passenger Steamers at present under the supervision of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade:"

"The number that have been under the supervision in each year during the past ten years:"

"And, the number of Accidents that have occurred among the Boilers of those ships in each year, classified according to their character; the explosions to include all accidents similar to those which are now recorded as explosions by the Board of Trade officers under the provisions of 'The Boilers Explosions Act, 1882.'"—(*Mr. Provand.*)

TURNPIKE ROADS (SOUTH WALES).

Ordered, That the Examiners of Petitions for Private Bills do examine the Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill, with respect to compliance with the Standing Orders relative to Private Bills.—(*Mr. Maitland.*)

House adjourned at five minutes after Three o'clock.

[INDEX.

INDEX

TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

VOLUME CCCXVII.

EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1887.

Explanation of the Abbreviations.

Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—1*st. Div.*, 2*nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY — NAVY — INDIA — IRELAND — SCOTLAND — PARLIAMENT — POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS — CHURCH OF ENGLAND — EDUCATION — CRIMINAL LAW — LAW AND JUSTICE — TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

ABINGER, Lord
  Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 39, 20

ACLAND, Mr. C. T. D., *Cornwall, Launceston*
  Vagrant Act Amendment—Street Solicitation, 767

ADDISON, Mr. J. E. W., *Ashton-under-Lyne*
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 261
  Law and Police—"Bayfus *v.* Saville"—Summonses in the Marlborough Street Police Court, 759
    "Boss *v.* Saville"—Attempting to Extort Money, 760
  Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 182, 188; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 197; *cl.* 6, Amendt. 201; *cl.* 8, 202
  Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 369

Admiralty—see *Navy*

ADMIRALTY—First Lord (*see* HAMILTON, Right Hon. Lord G. F.)

ADMIRALTY—A Lord of (*see* BERESFORD, Lord C. W. de la P.)

ADMIRALTY—Secretary to (*see* FORWOOD, Mr. A. B.)

ADVOCATE, The LORD (*see* MACDONALD, Right Hon. J. H. A.)

Afghanistan—see *Central Asia*

Africa (*Central*)
  Expedition for the Relief of Emin Pasha—Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, Question,

Africa (*Central*)—cont.
Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 21, 1629; Questions, Mr. Lawson, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 22, 1772; Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1887

Africa (*South*)
Bechuanaland — Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 8, 212
Zululand, Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 11, 341
The Zulu Chief Usibepu, Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 11, 345

Africa (*West Coast*)
The French Flag at Badiboo, on the River Gambia, Question, Mr. Houldsworth; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 18, 1149

Agg-Gardner, Mr. J. T., *Cheltenham*
Immigration of Foreign Paupers, 520

Agricultural Tenants' Relief Bill
(*Mr. Seale-Hayne, Sir Bernhard Samuelson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 18 [Bill 133]

Agriculture
A Minister for Agriculture, Questions, Lord Henry Bruce, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 11, 354
Agricultural Depression—Land out of Cultivation, Questions, Mr. Beadel, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 25, 1895
Agricultural Returns—Acreage of Woods and Forests, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 15, 939

Ainslie, Mr. W. G., *Lancashire, N. Lonsdale*
Truck, Consid. *cl.* 8, Amendt. 1099

Allotments for Cottagers Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Jersey*)
l. Order for Committee discharged *July* 12, 488 (No. 100)

Anderson, Mr. C. H., *Elgin and Nairn*
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 608; *cl.* 72, 894
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 2000
Local Government, 358

[*cont.*

Anderson, Mr. C. H.—*cont.*
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions, 954, 955
Scotland—Fishery Board—Private Rights in Mussel Beds, 336
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1429
Report, 1732
Treasury, &c. 1031, 1032, 1033, 1037

Argyll, Duke of
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 737, 741; 3R. 1135, 1140

Army (*Questions*)
Chelsea Hospital—Burton's Court, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 18, 1157
Deaths from Sunstroke at the Curragh Camp, Question, Colonel Gunter; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 7, 72
Government Contracts—Officials Interested in Contracting Firms, Questions, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 18, 1147
Supply of Meat to Lydd, Kent, Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 25, 1881
Importation of Canadian Horses, Question, Mr. C. W. Gray; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 19, 1343
Parliamentary Election for the Basingstoke Division of Hants—Passes, Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 21, 1626
Regimental Bands at Political Meetings—The Queen's Regulations, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 18, 1163
Subscriptions to Parochial Schools, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope), *July* 11, 346
The Martello Tower at Brighton View, Co. Dublin — Advertising Placards, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 18, 1152
The Martello Towers at Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 25, 1881

Personnel
Directors of Army Contracts — An Annual Report, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) *July* 15, 948
Garrison Chaplain in Cork, Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 14, 781
Medical Officers in Cork Barracks, Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 14, 780
Medical Staff, Competition for the, Question, Mr. Llewellyn; The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 7, 79

[*cont.*

ARMY—*Personnel—cont.*

Sergeant Instructors of Musketry—The Queen's Regulations, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) *July* 15, 934

The Review of 2nd of July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, Question, Observations, The Earl of Camperdown; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris); short debate thereon *July* 7, 28; Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 7, 67

The Royal Jubilee Review at Aldershot—Exposure to the Heat, Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 7, 71; Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 12, 509

Promotion

Medical Examination of Colonels before Promotion, Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 14, 762

Pioneer Sergeants, Question, Dr. Kenny; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 7, 64

Senior Quartermasters, Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 11, 349

The Royal Artillery, Question, Captain Cotton; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 12, 498

ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT

Army Contracts—Contracts for Collar Hides for the Cavalry, Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 11, 339; Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) *July* 12, 515; Questions, Colonel Hughes-Hallett, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 15, 947

Supply of Leather, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 22, 1753

Defective Weapons, Question, Major Rasch; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 22, 1760

Mules from Egypt for Regimental Transport Purposes, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 22, 1755

Royal Commission on Warlike Stores, Observations, The Earl of Morley, Lord Napier and Ettrick; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) *July* 25, 1843

The "Boxer" Martini-Henry Cartridge, Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 18, 1148

The Magazine Rifle, Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 25, 1890

[*cont.*

ARMY—*cont.*

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)

Arms of the English, Irish, and Scotch Militia, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 14, 777

Officers of the Militia—Army Signalling, Question, Mr. Llewellyn; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 19, 1344

Artillery Volunteers—Practice with Heavy Guns, Questions, Mr. Mallock, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Surveyor General of Ordnance (Mr. Northcote) *July* 22, 1752

Army (Re-organization)

Postponement of Motion, The Earl of Wemyss, *July* 18, 1102

Moved, "That the statement regarding Army organization recently made by Major General Brackenbury by authority of the Secretary of State for War at the Royal United Service Institution be laid upon the Table" (*The Earl of Wemyss*) *July* 22, 1743; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

ASHBOURNE, Lord (Lord Chancellor of Ireland)

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 1R. 325, 326; 2R. 710, 726; Comm. *cl.* 2, 924, 926; *cl.* 6, 929

ASHER, Mr. A., *Elgin, &c.*

Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. 597; *cl.* 39, 606

Supply—Peterhead Harbour, 639, 643

ATKINSON, Mr. H. J., *Boston*

Bahamas—Mr. L. D. Powles, a Magistrate, 1155

Law and Police—Open-Air Services at Grantham—Arrests, 943

ATTORNEY GENERAL (*see* WEBSTER, Sir R. E.)

ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (*see* GIBSON, Right Hon. J. G.)

Australia (Western)—Resignation of Mr. Hensman, Attorney General

Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 21, 1605

AVELAND, Lord

Palace of Westminster—Central Hall—Statue of the late Earl of Iddesleigh, 492

BADEN-POWELL, Mr. G., *Liverpool, Kirkdale*

Dominion of Canada — Canadian Customs Tariff, 210

Bahamas, The—Mr. L. D. Powles, a Magistrate
Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 18, 1155

Bailey, Sir J. R., *Hereford*
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead—Allotment of Tickets, 1622
Supply—House of Lords Offices, 690

Balfour, Lord (A Lord in Waiting)
Church Patronage (Scotland), Motion for Returns, Amendt. 898
Mar Peerage, 1743

Balfour, Right Hon. A. J. (Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), *Manchester, E.*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 90, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 110
Criminal Lunatic Asylums (England and Ireland)—Comparative Pay, 778
Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 161, 162, 163, 164; Comm. 453, 454; Motion for Adjournment, *ib.*
Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salaries, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 447, 450, 451
Ireland—Questions
  Commissioners of National Education—Teachers of Model Schools — Results Fees, 1147
  Crime—Statistics, 1886, 776
  Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887—The Proclamations, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902
  Distressed Unions, 1167
  Drilling in Orange Lodges, 763
  Evictions—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, 522, 797
  Inland Navigation and Drainage—Rivers Shannon and Brosna, 1146;—Government Subvention of £50,000, 1162
  Irish Land Law, 1631;—Glebe Purchasers, 356, 799
  Labourers Acts—The Return, 756
  Law and Justice—Mr. William Tyrrell, of Ballinderry, Co. Kildare, 1150;—Summer Assizes—Charges of the Judges, 84
  Poor Law—Poor Rate Collectors in Wicklow, 757
  Poor Law Guardians—Ennistymon Union, 785
  Post Office—Orange Political Meetings, 788
  Royal Irish Constabulary—Civil Employment of Police for Protection Duty, 761;—Promotion of District Inspector Tilly, 767
  State of Ireland—Orange Procession from Portadown, 783
Irish Land Law, 2R. 372, 373, 375, 378, 379, 381, 383, 384, 386, 387, 572, 821; Comm. 1670, 1672; Motion for Adjournment, 1677, 1679, 1682, 1683, 1684, 1685, 1686, 1691, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1697, 1698, 1700, 1709; *cl.* 1, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1920, 1930, 1931; Amendt. 1932,

[*cont.*

Balfour, Right Hon. A. J.—*cont.*
1933, 1952, 1955, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1970, 1971, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1989, 1991, 2001
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1010, 1011
Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2002

Balfour, Right Hon. J. B., *Clackmannan, &c.*
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 888; *cl.* 56, 890
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1087

Balfour, General Sir G., *Kincardineshire*
Barbadoes—Legislative Council—Railway and Water Companies, 333
Jubilee Naval Review at Portsmouth, 1768
Scotland—Local Taxation Returns, 354
  Secretary for Scotland, 1351
Supply—Civil Service Commission, 1540
  Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 969, 983
  Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886, 1567
  Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 629, 633, 634, 638
  Peterhead Harbour, 638, 641, 642, 643, 644, 648
  Rates on Government Property, 653, 657

Bankruptcy Courts (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Sexton, Mr. Chance, Mr. O'Hea, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Reynolds*)
c. Read 2° *July* 25, 2017 [Bill 124]

Bankruptcy (Discharge and Closure) Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Baron Henry De Worms*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 327]

Bankruptcy Offices (Sites) Bill
(*Lord Henniker*)
l. Committee * *July* 25 (Nos. 76-187)

Bartley, Mr. G. C. T., *Islington, N.*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 833
Post Office—Facilities for the Sale of Consols to the Working Classes, 214

Barttelot, Colonel Sir W. B., *Sussex, N.W.*
Army Estimates, 957
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 253, 254
Navy—Collision between H.M.SS. "Ajax" and "Devastation" off Portsmouth, 1353
Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1397

Basing, Lord
Margarine (Fradulent Sale), 2R. 1577

Bath, Marquess of
  Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1328

Baumann, Mr. A. A., *Camberwell, Peckham*
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead—Newspaper Correspondents, 1622

Beadel, Mr. W. J., *Essex, Chelmsford*
  Agricultural Depression—Land out of Cultivation, 1895

Beauchamp, Earl
  Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 39, 24; 3R. 330, 331; Amendt. 490

Beaumont, Mr. W. B., *Northumberland, Tyneside*
  Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1637, 1659

Belfast Main Drainage Bill (*by Order*)
c. Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [20th June], "That the Lords' Amendts. be now taken into Consideration;" Question again proposed; Debate resumed *July* 7, 31
  Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Dillon*); after debate, Question put; A. 164, N. 178; M. 14 (D. L. 288)
  Original Question again proposed, 43; after debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon Tuesday next" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after further short debate, Question put, and negatived; Words "upon Thursday next" added
  Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
  Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 225
  Debate resumed *July* 12, 494; Question put, and agreed to; Lords' Amendts. considered, and agreed to

Belmore, Earl of
  First Offenders, Comm. 1573, 1574

Bentinck, Right Hon. G. A. C., *Whitehaven*
  Metropolis—Street Improvements—Steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 793
  Supply, Report, 179

Beresford, Lord C. W. De La P. (A Lord of the Admiralty), *Marylebone, E.*
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1277, 1278, 1282

Bethell, Commander G. R., *York, E.R., Holderness*
  Naval Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1230
  Review of 2nd of July—Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, 67

Biggar, Mr. J. G., *Cavan, W.*
  Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 182
  Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1175
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 981, 996, 998
    Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1331

Bigwood, Mr. J., *Middlesex, Brentford*
  Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1634, 1635, 1636, 1658

Birkbeck, Sir E., *Norfolk, E.*
  North Sea Fisheries—Outrage to the Nets, &c. of Yarmouth Fishermen, 1769

Blane, Mr. A., *Armagh, S.*
  Ireland—Post Office—Dromintee, Co. Armagh, 211
    Railways—Station Accommodation, 213

Blundell, Colonel H. B. H., *Lancashire, S.W., Ince*
  Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Forwarding and Receiving Private Telegrams—Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, 220
  Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1089

Board of Trade—Secretary to (*see* De Worms, Baron H.)

Bolton, Mr. J. C., *Stirling*
  Rating of Machinery—Valuation of Municipal Waterworks, 1618
  Scotland—Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities, Motion for a Select Committee, 1569

Bond, Mr. G. H., *Dorset, E.*
  Education Department—Old Nichol Street, Bethnal Green, School—A Starving Pupil, 1154
  Palace of Westminster — An Unventilated Cellar under the House of Commons, 504
  Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1174, 1636

Borthwick, Sir A., *Kensington, S.*
  Burials (Metropolis)—Brompton Cemetery, 1612, 1613

Brabourne, Lord
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Comm. 918
  Tithe Rent-Charge, 3R. Amendt. 4

Bradlaugh, Mr. C., *Northampton*
  Belfast Main Drainage, Lords Amendts. Consid. 56
  Burmah—Revenues from Teak Forests and Monopolies of Earth Oil and Precious Stones, 946
    Sale of Intoxicating Spirits and Opium, 1765

[*cont.*

Bradlaugh, Mr. C.—*cont.*
Burmah (Upper)—Ruby Mines, 68, 69, 70, 524, 525, 791, 792
Education Department — Keighley School Board — Frank Heap, an Unvaccinated Pupil Teacher, 758, 759
High Court of Justice—"Billing *v.* Brogden," 1606
India (Madras)—Military Pay Examiners' Office—Mr. Soefeldt, 1753
Law and Justice—Oaths "without Religious Belief," 208
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Marylebone Police Court—Case of Mr. Williams, 1625
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 456
Parliament—Business of the House—Motions on "London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)," 1350;—Oaths, 953
Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—Hornsey Election, 1490
Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 362, 363, 366, 367
Post Office—Questions
Irregularities at the Vere Street Post Office, 757
Lord Lieutenant's Letters—"Dublin Official Paid," 334, 335
Sunday Service in the Sorting Departments, 345
Supply—Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade, 1434, 1436
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 969
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 676, 677
Friendly Societies Registry, 1553, 1563
House of Commons Offices, 1014
House of Lords Offices, 682
Metropolitan Fire Brigade, 658
Offices of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1409, 1412, 1415
Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1054, 1070
Treasury, &c. 1021, 1025, 1026
Truck, Consid. 611; *add. cl.* 613, 626, 628, 1074, 1076, 1079, 1081, 1085, 1089, 1090, 1092, 1093, 1100
War Office — Ordnance Department — Contracts for Collar Hides for the Cavalry, 948;—Supply of Leather, 1753
Sergeant Instructors of Musketry—Queen's Regulations, 934

Bramwell, Lord
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 5, 1324
Coroners, 2R. 1580
First Offenders, Comm. 1574
Land Transfer, 3R. 331, 491
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1579
Quarries, Comm. *cl.* 3, 12; *cl.* 4, 13

Bright, Mr. J., *Manchester, S.W.*
Law and Police—Prostitutes in Manchester and Liverpool, 756
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 181, 183; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 193; Consid. 476
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1820

Bright, Mr. W. L., *Stoke-upon-Trent*
Metropolitan Police—Alleged Blackmailing at the West End, 74
Charges made by the Hon. Member for Barrow (Mr. Caine), 74

Bristol, Marquess of
International Arbitration, Res. 1830

British Guiana and Venezuela—The Disputed Boundary
Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 14, 765; Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1887

Broadhurst, Mr. H., *Nottingham, W.*
Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 2, Motion for reporting Progress, 2015

Brodrick, Hon. W. St. J. F. (Financial Secretary, War Department), *Surrey, Guildford*
War Office—Directors of Army Contracts—An Annual Report, 948
Sergeant Instructors of Musketry—Queen's Regulations, 935
War Office (Ordnance Department)—Contracts for Hides, 515

Brookfield, Mr. A. M., *Sussex, Rye*
Duchy of Lancaster—Chancellor of the Duchy, 1628
Extraordinary Tithe Act, 1886—The Land Commissioners, 948

Brown, Mr. A. L., *Hawick, &c.*
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions, 954
Scotland—Fishery Board—Scientific Committee—Expenditure, 763, 765

Brownlow, Earl
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Metropolitan Police Force, 205
Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women, 328
Quarries, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 12
Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis), Comm. 1575

Bruce, Lord H., *Wilts, Chippenham*
Minister for Agriculture, 354

Bruce, Hon. R. P., *Fifeshire, W.*
Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1485
Lunacy (Scotland)—Loans Contracted by the District Board of Lunacy, 1613
Parliament—Public Business—Technical Instruction (Scotland), 1896
Truck, Consid. *add cl.* 1079, 1088; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 1098

BRYCE, Mr. J., *Aberdeen, S.*
Anglo-Egyptian Convention, 82; — Ratification, 1346, 1347;—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, 518
Burmah—Sale of Intoxicating Spirits and Opium, 1764, 1765
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. Motion for Adjournment, 151, 228, 242
Egypt—Sir H. Drummond Wolff's Mission, 352, 786, 787, 799, 1167, 1623
Parliament—Public Business—Technical Instruction (Scotland), 1889
Southern Pacific, Islands of—Hawaii—Reported Revolution—1766
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1532
  Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 961, 962, 972
  Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1378
Technical Instruction, 83; Motion for Leave, 1475
Trade and Commerce—British Trade in Spain and the Spanish Colonies, 67
Zanzibar—Recall of Sir John Kirk, Her Majesty's Consul, 944

BUCHANAN, Mr. T. R., *Edinburgh, W.*
Admiralty—H.M.S. "Cherub"—The Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers—The Clyde Brigade, 1156
Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1478
Parliament—Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions, 955
Post Office — Telegraph Department — Telegraph to the Ben Nevis Observatory, 1152
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1056
Technical Instruction, Motion for Leave, 1475

Bulgaria—Election of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg
Question, Mr. Seton-Karr; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 8, 219; Question, Mr. Legh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 19, 1347

Burials Act, 1880—*The Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed*
Question, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 78

Burmah
Revenues from Teak Forests, and Monopolies of Earth, Oil, and Precious Stones, Question, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst); Question, Mr. Bradlaugh [No reply] *July* 15, 945
Sale of Intoxicating Spirits and Opium, Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 22, 1764

Burmah (*Upper*)
The Ruby Mines, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 7, 68; Questions, Mr. Watt, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 14, 790; Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 15, 949; Observation, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst); Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 12, 523

BURT, Mr. T., *Morpeth*
Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 800
Mines Regulation Acts—William Shaw, Fireman at the Park Mine, Tawd Vale Colliery, Skelmersdale, 1334
Truck, Consid. *add cl.* 1091

Butterine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill
(*Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Elton, Mr. Mark Stewart*)
c. Committee (*on re-comm.*) *July* 7, 181
Report (*changed to* "Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill" [Bill 309]
[See title *Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill*]

Butter Substitutes Bill
(*Mr. Mayne, Mr. John O'Connor, Mr. Flynn, Mr. Lane, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Kenny*)
c. Report of Select Comm. *July* 25 [No. 186]

BUXTON, Mr. S. C., *Tower Hamlets, Poplar*
Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 166
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of the Thames, 784
Supply—House of Lords Offices, 685

BYRNE, Mr. G. M., *Wicklow, W.*
Commissioners of Valuation (Ireland)—Baltinglass Union—Mr. B. Douglas, Rate Collector, 1759;—Mr. George Craig, Valuer, 1759

CAINE, Mr. W. S., *Barrow-in-Furness*
Licensing Laws—Extension of Hours of Opening—Kingston-on-Thames, 1888
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1261, 1262, 1263
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1082, 1089

CALDWELL, Mr. J., *Glasgow, St. Rollox*
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add cl.* 597; *cl.* 15, Amendt. 601, 602; *cl.* 17, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 18, Amendt. 603, 604; *cl.* 30, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 33, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 34, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 39, 606; *cl.* 47, 889; *cl.* 56, 890; *cl.* 64, 892
Scotland—Prisons—Salaries of Medical Officers of Glasgow, 513, 514
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1416
Truck, Consid. *add cl.* 1084

Cameron, Dr. C., *Glasgow, College*
- Army—Ordnance Department—Mules from Egypt for Regimental Transport Purposes, 1755
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add cl.* 593, 600, 601; *cl.* 15, 602; *cl.* 39, 607, 610; *cl.* 44, 889; *cl.* 64, 892
- Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), 3R. 322, 523; Comm. *cl.* 4, 1477; Amendt. 1485
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1463
  - Local Government Board, &c. 1812, 1814, 1816, 1817

Cameron, Mr. J. M., *Wick, &c.*
- Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1484

Campbell, Sir A., *Renfrew, W.*
- Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1481

Campbell, Sir G., *Kirkcaldy, &c.*
- Anglo-Egyptian Convention—Ratification, 1346
- Ireland—Magistracy—Office of High Sheriff—Mr. H. C. Levinge, 1876, 1877
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 412, 1491; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1909, 1972
- Mauritius—Sir John Pope Hennessy, 776
- Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 1570
  - Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions, 954
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1501, 1502
  - Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 965
  - Friendly Societies Registry, 1564

Campbell-Bannerman, Right Hon. H., *Stirling, &c.*
- Irish Land Law, 2R. Amendt. 339, 417, 418, 553

Camperdown, Earl of
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 753, 754; 3R. 1102
- Review of 2nd of July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, 28, 36

Canada, Dominion of
- *British Columbia—Disputes with the Natives,* Question, Mr. W. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 11, 348
- *Canadian Customs Tariff,* Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 8, 210

Cape Colony, The—The Colonial Registration Bill
- Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 7, 73

Carew, Mr. J. L., *Kildare, N.*
- Ireland—Board of National Education—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools, 932
  - Law and Justice—Mr. William Tyrrell, of Ballinderry, Co. Kildare, 1149

Carlisle, Bishop of
- Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment, 3R. 206

Carnarvon, Earl of
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 1R. 731; Comm. 915

Central Asia
- *Afghanistan—The Anglo-Russian Convention—The Russo-Afghan Frontier,* Questions, The Earl of Kimberley; Answers, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) *July* 25, 1830; Question, Mr. Legh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1889

Ceylon—Pardon of Martinez Pereira
- Question, Sir John Dorington; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 19, 1339

Chamberlain, Right Hon. J., *Birmingham, W.*
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 423, 425, 440, 445; Comm. 1676, 1704; *cl.* 1, 1989, 1994

Chance, Mr. P. A., *Kilkenny, S.*
- Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 50
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add cl.* 596, 598, 600
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1866, 1869, 1873
- Ireland—Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887—The Proclamations, 1901
  - Landlord and Tenant—The O'Grady Property, Co. Tipperary, 1766
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 428; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1927, 1933, 1951, 1959, 1963, 1975
- Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 463, 464, 467, 468
- Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 190; *cl.* 3, 196
- Mauritius—Sir John Pope Hennessy, 776
- Merchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment, Comm. Postponed *cl.* 4, 321; *add cl. ib.*; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 322
- Sheriffs (Consolidation), 2R. 591
- Supply—House of Commons Offices, 1015
  - Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1408
- Truck, Consid. Motion for Re-comm. 610, 611; *add cl.* 614, 626, 1082, 1090

Chancellor, The Lord (*see* Halsbury, Lord)

Chancellor of Ireland, The Lord (*see* Ashbourne, Lord)

Chancellor of the Exchequer (*see* Goschen, Right Hon. G. J.)

Channing, Mr. F. A., *Northampton, E.*
  Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1961
  Law and Justice—Court Houses—Accommodation for Prisoners awaiting Trial, 770
  Merchant Shipping—Prevention of Collisions at Sea—Regulations—Article 19, 767
  Railways (England and Wales)—The Londonderry Railway — Sunderland and Seaham Harbour, 761
  Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1821
  Vaccination Acts—Imprisonment of Robert Essam, of Kettering, 341

Childers, Right Hon. H. C. E., *Edinburgh, S.*
  Ireland—Law and Justice—Reduction of the Irish Bench, 223
  Irish Land Law, 2R. 579
  Parliament — Privilege — Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1179
  Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 365
  Supply — House of Lords Offices, 688, 689, 692, 693
    Report, 1731
    Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1382, 1389

Churchill, Right Hon. Lord R. H. S., *Paddington, S.*
  Irish Land Law, 2R. 379; Motion for Adjournment, 588, 801, 816, 819, 828, 829, 859, 860, 861, 862
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1189, 1190, 1196, 1210, 1213, 1214, 1215, 1216, 1218, 1268, 1269, 1272
  Parliament — Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 361, 362, 367
  Supply—House of Commons Offices, 700

Civil Service, The—Notice of Examinations—Candidates from Ireland
  Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, Sir Herbert Maxwell (A Lord of the Treasury) *July* 7, 70 [See *Wales*]

Clancy, Mr. J. J., *Dublin Co., N.*
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 108
  Ireland—Labourers' Acts—Labourers' Cottages—South Dublin Union, 1608

Clark, Dr. G. B., *Caithness*
  Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 610
  Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 2001
  Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 463
  Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1184

[*cont.*

Clark, Dr. G. B.—*cont.*
  Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 187; *cl.* 4, 199; *cl.* 6, 201; Consid. 475
  Scotland—Fishery Board—Loans to Fishermen under the Crofters' Act, 497
  Supply—Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1511, 1513, 1514
    Civil Service Commission, 1543
    Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 973
    Friendly Societies Registry, 1551, 1564
    Local Government Board, &c. 1795, 1799, 1802, 1827
    Report, 1297
  Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 627, 1078, 1092
  Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2001

Clarke, Sir E. G. (Solicitor General), *Plymouth*
  Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add. cl.* 600; *cl.* 56, 891; *cl.* 64, 892
  Sheriffs (Consolidation), 2R. 590, 591
  Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1362, 1363

Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill
  Question, Sir John Swinburne; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 84; Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 800; Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 19, 1351

Coal Mines—The Udston Colliery Explosion, Lanarkshire—The Inquiry
  Question, Mr. Mason; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr Matthews) *July* 11, 349 [See *Mines*]

Coghill, Mr. D. H., *Newcastle-under-Lyme*
  Admiralty—Use of Petroleum as Fuel for the Navy, 1602

Coleridge, Hon. B., *Sheffield, Attercliffe*
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 269, 271

Collings, Mr. J., *Birmingham, Bordesley*
  Irish Land Law, 2R. 843
  Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, Amendt. 1438, 1446, 1508, 1516, 1521

Colman, Mr. J. J., *Norwich*
  Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Consid. 479

Colomb, Captain J. C. R., *Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.*
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review at Spithead — Accommodation for Members, 1336;—"Total Complement of the Ships," 1338

Colonial Office, The—The Marquess of Carmarthen
  Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 18, 1163

Colonies—Secretary of State for (*see* Holland, Right Hon. Sir H. T.)

Colonies—Under Secretary of State for (*see* Onslow, Earl of)

Colonies, The—Contagious Diseases Ordinances
  Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 14, 778

Commerell, Admiral Sir J. E., *Southampton*
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1264, 1267

Commins, Dr. A., *Roscommon, S.*
  Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1954

Committee of Council on Education—Vice President (*see* Dyke, Right Hon. Sir W. H.)

Companies Acts Consolidation and Amendment Bill
(*Mr. James Maclean, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Mr. Mowbray, Mr. Lees*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 20 [Bill 218]

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts
  Outbreaks of Pleuro-Pneumonia in England and Scotland, Question, Mr. Halley Stewart; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1164
  Pleuro-Pneumonia in Ireland, Questions, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1761

Conway, Mr. M., *Leitrim, N.*
  Ireland—Law and Justice—Leitrim Assizes—Arrest of John Melley, 499
    National Education — Irish National Teachers, 1891, 1892

Conybeare, Mr. C. A. V., *Cornwall, Camborne*
  Admiralty—Devonport and other Dockyards—Discharge of Workmen, 511
  Agricultural Depression—Land out of Cultivation, 1895
  Corrupt Practices Act—Alleged Personation in North Hants, 1892, 1893
  Ireland, State of—Charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at Clare Assizes, 513
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Pardon of Offenders—Royal Navy, 1628

Conybeare, Mr. C. A. V.—*cont.*
  Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 473
  Magistracy (England and Wales)—List of Nominees for the New Borough Bench, 783
  Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for reporting Progress, 2016
  Metropolitan Police Act — Arrest of Young Women for Alleged Solicitation—Arrest of Miss Cass, 222;—Mr. Newton, Marlborough Street Police Magistrate, 789, 790
    Metropolitan Magistrates, 521
  Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. 2004
  Supply—House of Commons Offices, 708
  Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 627
  War Office—Royal Jubilee Review at Aldershot, 509

Cooke, Mr. C. W. R., *Newington, W.*
  Parliament — House of Commons — Reading Room—Exclusion of "United Ireland," 952

Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Hobhouse*)
l. Committee, after short debate *July* 19, 1311 (No. 129)
  Report *July* 21, 1581 (No. 180)

Copyright (Musical Compositions) Bill
(*Mr. Addison, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Howorth, Mr. Powell*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 195]

Copyright (Musical Compositions) (No. 2) Bill (*Mr. Bartley, Mr. Addison, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Lawson*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 14 [Bill 322]

Corbet, Mr. W. J., *Wicklow, E.*
  Ireland—Questions
    Excise—Number of Spirit Grocers in the Metropolitan Police District, Dublin, 1879
    Labourers Acts—The Return, 756
    Law and Justice — Summer Assizes — Charges of the Judges, 83
    Lunacy Commissioners—Annual Report, 935
    Magistracy—Dr. Harty, Coroner, Kingstown, 501
    Office of Collector General of Rates, Dublin, 1880
    Poor Law—Poor Rate Collectors in Wicklow, 756
  Lunacy Commissioners (England and Wales)—Annual Report, 935
  Metropolitan Commons—Tooting Bec Common, 1151
  Prisons (England and Wales) — Alleged Ill-Treatment of a Lunatic in Stafford County Gaol, 508, 1317
  Truck, Consid. *cl.* 4, 1096, 1098

Cork, Earl of
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Comm. 906

[*cont.*

Coroners Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*)
l. Presented ; read 1ª * *July* 19 (No. 177)
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 21, 1580

Corrupt Practices Act—Alleged Personation in North Hants
Questions, Mr. Conybeare ; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 25, 1892

Corry, Sir J. P., *Armagh, Mid*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 32, 56, 495
Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2), Lords' Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 358
Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. 2003

Cossham, Mr. H., *Bristol, E.*
Parliament — House of Commons — Reading Room — Exclusion of "United Ireland," 953
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 984
Friendly Societies Registry, 1558

Cotton, Capt. E. T. D., *Cheshire, Wirral*
Army — Promotions in the Royal Artillery, 498

Courtney, Mr. L. H. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Cornwall, Bodmin*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 37, 43, 46
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1861, 1862, 1872
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1909, 1932, 1936, 1941, 1944, 1946, 1968, 1970, 1981, 2001
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 190; *cl.* 3, 195
Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2011
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1446, 1492, 1502
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1013
Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 630, 633, 634, 635
Local Government Board, &c. 1795, 1820, 1822, 1825
Peterhead Harbour, 645, 646, 647
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1374, 1376, 1386
Treasury, 1018, 1019, 1022, 1031, 1048, 1050
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1), 3R. 1332

Cox, Mr. J. R., *Clare, E.*
Civil Service—Notice of Examinations, 70
Ireland—Questions
Arms Act—John Henchey, of Bodyke, Co. Clare, 1341, 1342

[*cont.*

Cox, Mr. J. R.—*cont.*
Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts — Pleuro-Pneumonia, 1761, 1762
Evictions—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, 798 ;—Return of Expenses, 1878
Post Office—Postmastership in Six Mile Bridge, Co. Clare, 1754
Royal Irish Constabulary—Promotion of District Inspector Tilly, 766, 767

Cozens-Hardy, Mr. H. H., *Norfolk, N.*
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1497, 1500

Cranborne, Viscount, *Lancashire, N.E., Darwen*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 840

Cranbrook, Viscount (Lord President of the Council)
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1579
Parliament—Business of the House—Titles of Peers, Res. 1751

Crawford, Mr. D., *Lanark, N.E.*
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 607 ; *cl.* 64, 893
Secretary for Scotland, 81
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1076, 1078, 1084, 1086 ; *cl.* 7, 1099

Cremer, Mr. W. R., *Shoreditch, Haggerston*
Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission—Cost of the Ordinary Diplomatic Service in Egypt and Constantinople, 1150
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 627, 1087, 1088 ; Amendt. 1089, 1090, 1091, 1100 ; 3R. 1298
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1448, 1456, 1530

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Secretary Matthews Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*) [Bill 305]
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *July* 7, 85
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. W. E. Gladstone*) ; Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c. ;" after long debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *July* 8, 228 ; after long debate, Question put ; A. 349, N. 262 ; M. 87
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 316
Main Question put, and agreed to ; Bill read 3°
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Ashbourne*) *July* 11 (No. 164)
Read 2ª, after debate *July* 14, 710
Committee ; Report, after debate *July* 15, 899
Read 3ª, after debate *July* 18, 1102
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 20]
Protest against the Third Reading *July* 21, 1595
Protest against the Bill *July* 25, 1846

Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887
The Proclamations, Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. MacNeill, Mr. Sexton, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chance, Mr. O'Doherty, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 25, 1896

Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland*)
c. Considered *July* 12, 593; after debate, Debate adjourned [Bill 197]
Further Proceeding resumed *July* 14, 887
Order for 3R. read, and discharged; Bill recommitted, in respect of Clauses 40, 42, 43, 51, and a new clause
Committee; Report; as amended, considered; read 3° *July* 18, 1297
l. Read 1ª* (*M. Lothian*) *July* 19 (No. 178)

Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill [H.L.] (*The Marquess of Lothian*)
l. Commons Amendts. considered, *July* 8, 207
One disagreed to; Remaining Amendts. agreed to
A Committee appointed to prepare reasons to be offered to the Commons for the Lords disagreeing to the said Amendt.; the Committee to meet forthwith. Report from the Committee of the reasons prepared by them; read, and agreed to; and a message sent to the Commons to return the said Bill with the reasons

Cross, Viscount (Secretary of State for India)
Coroners, 2R. 1581

Crossley, Mr. E., *York, W.R., Sowerby*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 250

Crossman, Major General Sir W., *Portsmouth*
Admiralty—Her Majesty's Jubilee—Non-Combatant Officers, 209

Cyprus—Report on the Locust Campaign, 1885 *and* 1886
Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 7, 75

Dalrymple, Mr. C., *Ipswich*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 831

Dawnay, Colonel Hon. L. P., *York, N.R., Thirsk*
Hares Preservation—"A Close Time," 1627

Deasy, Mr. J., *Mayo, W.*
Inland Revenue Department—"Ride" Officers, 1339
Supply—Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 635

De Cobain, Mr. E. S. W., *Belfast, E.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 40, 54

De Lisle, Mr. E. J. L. M. P., *Leicestershire, Mid*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 118
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1651

Denbigh, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 747

Denman, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Comm. 920
Land Transfer, Report, Amendt. 14, 15; 3R. 330
Palace of Westminster—House of Lords—Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, 487

De Ros, Lord
Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension, Report, *cl*. 2, 1325

De Worms, Baron H. (Secretary to the Board of Trade), *Liverpool, East Toxteth*
Agricultural Returns—Acreage of Woods and Forests, 940
Commissioners of Irish Lights, 210
Fisheries—Home Office and the Board of Conservators, 946
Ireland—Piers and Harbours—Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Commissioners, 1334
  Railways—Station Accommodation, 213
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 342
Merchant Shipping Acts—Pilots' Certificates to Aliens—"The Queen *v*. Trinity House Corporation," 1621
Merchant Shipping—Prevention of Collisions at Sea—Regulations—Article 19, 768
Mersey Dock and Harbour Board—Ferry Communication between Bootle and New Brighton, 1612
Meteorological Office—Invention of Mr. B. A. Collins, 1605
North Sea Fisheries—Outrage to the Nets, &c. of Yarmouth Fishermen, 1769
Railways (England and Wales)—Questions
  Londonderry Railway—Sunderland and Seaham Harbour, 762
  Metropolis—Use of Whistles at Night, 1767
  Station Accommodation at Dartmouth (Great Western Railway), 1878
Sugar Industry—Closing of Refineries, 343
Supply—Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade, 1436
  Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 630, 631

[*cont.*

De Worms, Baron H.—*cont.*
  Lighthouses Abroad, 675
  Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1410, 1414, 1415, 1416, 1420, 1426, 1431, 1434
 Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1), 3R. 1330

Dillon, Mr. J., *Mayo, E.*
 Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Motion for Adjournment, 31, 32
 Contested Elections—Lords Justices as Governors of Ireland, 222
 Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 131, 372
 Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 152, 162, 163, 164; Comm. 453, 1736; Motion for Adjournment, 1738
 Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 448
 Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1870, 1871, 1873
 Ireland—Questions
  Crime and Outrage—Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, 1618
  Distressed Unions, 358
  Evictions—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, 522, 796, 797, 798, 1600;—Return of Expenses, 1878
  Irish Land Law—Glebe Purchasers, 356, 799
 Irish Land Law, 2R. 375, 378, 445; Motion for Adjournment, 446, 525, 526, 541, 544, 803, 816; Comm. 1683, 1684, 1696, 1721; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1910, 1915, 1949, 1957, 1966, 1995
 Parliament—Questions
  Business of the House, 224
  House of Commons—Reading Room—Exclusion of "United Ireland," 952
  Order—Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, 227
 Russia—Arrest of Mr. Dillon, a British Subject, at Odessa, 792
 Supply—Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 668
 Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2001, 2002

Dillwyn, Mr. L. L., *Swansea, Town*
 Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1370

Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill
 Notice, Mr. Dillon; Observation, Mr. Speaker *July* 11, 358; Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 18, 1167

Distressed Unions (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman*)
c. Read 2°, after debate *July* 7, 152 [Bill 307]
 Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 11, 451; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*); after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned
 Debate resumed *July* 21, 1736; after short debate, Debate further adjourned

Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.]
c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 8, 323
 Res. reported *July* 11, 447
 Res. read 2°; Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Maurice Healy*); after further short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned
 Debate resumed *July* 12, 588; after short debate, Res. agreed to

Dixon-Hartland, Mr. F. D., *Middlesex, Uxbridge*
 Metropolitan Board of Works—Representation in this House, 1885
 "Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses," 1165

Donkin, Mr. R. S., *Tynemouth*
 Spain—Detention of the Steamer "Carn Brea," 346

Dorchester, Lord
 Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Royal Review at Aldershot—Volunteers, 2

Dorington, Sir J. E., *Gloucester, Tewkesbury*
 Ceylon—Pardon of Martinez Pereira, 1339

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Bill (by Order)
c. Moved, "That, in the case of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways) Bill, Standing Orders 84, 214, 215, and 239 be suspended, and that the Bill be now taken into consideration, provided amended prints shall have been previously deposited" (*Sir Charles Forster*) *July* 22, 1752; Debate adjourned
 Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate; Question again proposed; Motion withdrawn *July* 25, 1848; Moved, "That the Bill be now considered;" after debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Maurice Healy*); after further short debate, Motion withdrawn
 Original Question again proposed, 1873; after short debate, Question put, and negatived

Duchy of Lancaster—The Chancellor of the Duchy
 Question, Mr. Brookfield; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1628

[*cont.*

DUFF, Mr. R. W., *Banffshire*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1189, 1190, 1210, 1219, 1278

DUNCAN, Colonel F., *Finsbury, Holborn*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 272

DUNRAVEN, Earl of
Allotments for Cottagers, Comm. 489
Navy—H.M.S. "Impérieuse," 205

DYKE, Right Hon. Sir W. H. (Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Kent, Dartford*
Education Department—Questions
Elementary School Teachers—Purchases of School Requisites, 341
Emigration to the Colonies—Technical Education, 940
Keighley School Board—Frank Heap, an Unvaccinated Pupil Teacher, 758, 759
Old Nichol Street, Bethnal Green, School—A Starving Pupil, 1154
Reports of School Inspection, 214
Technical Education—Evening Schools, 220; — Employment of Foreigners in London, 1342
Parliament—Public Business—Technical Instruction (Scotland) Bill, 1889
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1500, 1517, 1531
Technical Instruction, Motion for Leave, 1465, 1474, 1475

Education Department (England and Wales)
Elementary School Teachers—Purchases of School Requisites, Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 11, 340
Keighley School Board—Frank Heap, an Unvaccinated Pupil Teacher, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 14, 758
Old Nichol Street, Bethnal Green, Board School—A Starving Pupil, Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 18, 1154
Reports of School Inspection, Question, Mr. Milvain; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 8, 214

Technical Education
Legislation—Evening Schools, Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 8, 220
Emigration to the Colonies, Question, Mr. Brooke Robinson; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 15, 940

[*cont.*

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (*England and Wales*)—*cont.*
Employment of Foreigners in London—Technical Instruction Bill, Question, Mr. Howard Vincent; Answer, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 19, 1342

Education Department Provisional Order Confirmation (London) Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 12 [Bill 298]
Read 3° * *July* 13
l. Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxx]

EGERTON, Hon. A. de T., *Cheshire, Knutsford*
Jubilee Week—Metropolitan Fire Brigade and Police, 339
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1577
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1), 3R. 1330, 1331

EGYPT (*Questions*)
The Great Depression in the Desert—The Lake Moeris Scheme, Question, Mr. Woodall; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 15, 950

The Anglo-Egyptian Convention
Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 7, 82
Ratification, Questions, Observations, The Earl of Rosebery; Reply, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) *July* 11, 324; Correction, The Earl of Rosebery *July* 14, 710; Questions, Mr. Bryce, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 19, 1346

Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission
Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 11, 335; Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 11, 352; Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson); Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] *July* 12, 518; Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 14, 786; Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 14, 799; Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 18, 1167; *July* 21, 1623

Cost of the Ordinary Diplomatic Service in Egypt and Constantinople, Question, Mr. Cremer; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 18, 1150

[*cont.*

EGYPT—*cont.*
  Departure of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff—Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha, Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson ; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) ; Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] *July* 15, 949 ; Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson ; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1890

Elementary Education Provisional Order Confirmation (Christchurch) Bill [H.L.]
c. Report * *July* 12 [Bill 296]
  Read 3° * *July* 13
l. Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxix.]

ELLIOT, Hon. A. R. D., *Roxburgh*
  Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add. cl.* 595 ; *cl.* 39, 609

ELLIS, Mr. J., *Leicestershire, Bosworth*
  Marquess of Hartington—Alleged Proposed Changes in the Ministry, 1772
  Supply—Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade, 1438

ELLIS, Mr. J. E., *Nottingham, Rushcliffe*
  Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission, 335
  Ireland—Questions
    Evictions—Return of Expenses, 1878 ;—Statistics, 335
    Land Law Act, 1881—Sections I. and VIII.—Permanent Improvements, 65
    Poor Law—Distressed Unions on the West Coast, 347
    Royal Irish Constabulary — Removal of Placards, 1886
    State of Ireland—Charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at Clare Assizes, 512, 513
  Parliament — Business of the House — Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 1627
  School Fees (Non-Paupers), 2R. 1740, 1741
  Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, Motion for reporting Progress, 1446, 1447, 1448, 1492
    Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1431

ELLIS, Mr. T. E., *Merionethshire*
  Fisheries—Home Office and Boards of Conservators, 946
  Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1530, 1531
    Civil Services and Revenue Departments, Amendt. 990, 993, 994, 997, 1000
    Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 666
    Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 630, 631
    Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1432, 1434
    Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1052
  Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 626
  Wales—Questions
    Civil Service Examinations—Notices, 351, 783

[*cont.*

ELLIS, Mr. T. E.—*cont.*
    Tithe Agitation—Riots at Llangwm, 80, 505, 519, 1349, 1350, 1353, 1354 ; Motion for Adjournment, 1355, 1362 ;—Denbighshire Quarter Sessions, 81 ;—Riots at Mochdre, Inquiry into the—The Commissioner, 72

ELPHINSTONE, Lord (A Lord in Waiting)
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 1593, 1595
  Navy—H.M.S. "Impérieuse," 205

ELTON, Mr. C. I., *Somerset, Wellington*
  Irish Land Law, 2R. 361
  Temporary Dwellings, 2R. 1476

Employers' Liability Bill
  Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 800

ERNE, Earl of
  Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2.), Report, 27, 28

ESMONDE, Sir T. H. G., *Dublin Co., S.*
  British Guiana and Venezuela — Disputed Boundary, 765
  Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 264
  Criminal Lunatic Asylums (England and Ireland)—Comparative Pay, 778
  Ireland—Questions
    Kingstown Harbour Commissioners—Inclosure of Ground, 1340
    Lunatic Asylums — Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 1348
    Magistracy—Dr. Harty, Coroner, Kingstown, 501
    Martello Tower at Brighton View, Co. Dublin—Advertising Placards, 1152
    Royal Irish Constabulary—National Registration Association, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1763, 1764
    Trade and Commerce—Exports and Imports of the Port of Dublin, 1340
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 984
    Friendly Societies Registry, 1559
    Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1431
  War Office—Auxiliary Forces—Arms of the English, Irish, and Scotch Militia, 777
    Martello Towers at Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1881

ESSLEMONT, Mr. P., *Aberdeenshire, E.*
  Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1483
  Local Government, 357
  Metropolitan Police—Alleged Blackmailing at the West End, 74
  Parliament—Rules of Debate—Scotch Questions, 954
  Scotland—Fishery Board—Beam Trawling in Aberdeen Bay, 80, 790
  Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1462, 1513

EVELYN, Mr. W. J., *Deptford*
  Admiralty—Case of Bertie Wilmot Mainprise—Literary Examination, 944
  Supply—Civil Service Commission, Amendt. 1534, 1539

EWART, Mr. W., *Belfast, N.*
  Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 42, 60, 494, 495, 497
  Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1849, 1850, 1851
  Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. 2004

Extraordinary Tithe Act, 1886 — *The Land Commissioners*
  Question, Mr. Brookfield; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 15, 948

FARQUHARSON, Dr. R., *Aberdeenshire, W.*
  Hydrophobia—M. Pasteur's System of Treatment, 209
  Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1786, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, 1791

FENWICK, Mr. C., *Northumberland, Wansbeck*
  Parliament—Business of the House — Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 709
  Street Casualties (Metropolis)—Death by a Post Office Parcels Post Van, 350
  Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 627

FERGUSON, Mr. R. C. Munro, *Leith, &c.*
  Licensing Laws—Occasional Licences—Minster Branch of the Isle of Thanet Conservative Association, 1146

FERGUSSON, Right Hon. Sir J. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Manchester, N.E.*
  Africa (Central)—Expedition for Relief of Emin Pasha—Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, 1773, 1887
  Africa (West Coast)—The French Flag at Badiboo, on the River Gambia, 1149
  Alaska (North America)—Seizure of a British Ship, 1619
  Asia (Central)—Anglo-Russian Convention—Russo-Afghan Frontier, 1889
  British Guiana and Venezuela—The Boundary Question, 1887
  Bulgaria—Election of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, 219, 1347
  Egypt—Questions
    Anglo-Egyptian Convention, 82;—Ratification, 1346, 1347
    Departure of Sir H. Drummond Wolff—Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha, 950, 1890
    Great Depression in the Desert—Lake Moeris Scheme, 950
    Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission, 335, 352, 518, 787, 799, 1167, 1623;—Cost of the Ordinary Diplomatic Service in Egypt and Constantinople, 1150
  Foreign Enlistment Act—Mr. Baird, 1614

FERGUSSON, Right Hon. Sir J.—*cont.*
  Her Majesty's Titles—"Queen and Empress," —1891
  India—Indian Contagious Diseases Act — Repeal, 1616
    Public Works Department—A Mosque at Bijapur, 1616
  Madagascar—Slave Trade on the West Coast, 73
  North Sea Fisheries—Outrage to the Nets, &c. of Yarmouth Fishermen, 1769
  Paris Exhibition, 1889, 76, 1333
  Parliament—Order—Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, 226
  Russia—Arrest of Mr. Dillon, a British Subject, at Odessa, 792
  Southern Pacific, Islands of—Hawaii — Reported Revolution, 1767
  Spain—Alleged Murder of a British Seaman at Bilbao by a Spanish Sentry, 1631
    Detention of the Steamer "Carn Brea," 346
  Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 961, 962, 966, 972
    Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1374, 1375, 1376, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1383, 1387, 1389, 1390
  Trade and Commerce—British Trade in Spain and the Spanish Colonies, 67
  Zanzibar—Recall of Sir John Kirk, Her Majesty's Consul, 944

FEVERSHAM, Earl of
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 1594
  Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 39, Amendt. 16, 21

FIELD, Admiral E., *Sussex, Eastbourne*
  Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 342, 1159
  Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1283, 1284, 1286
  Spain—Alleged Murder of a British Seaman at Bilbao by a Spanish Sentry, 1631

FINLAY, Mr. R. B., *Inverness, &c.*
  Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) Comm. *cl.* 4, 1480

First Offenders Bill (No. 140)
(*The Earl of Belmore*)
l. Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill" *July* 21, 1573
  Amendt. to leave out all after ("That,") insert ("the Bill be referred to a Select Committee") (*The Earl of Milltown*); after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
  Committee; Report * *July* 22 (No. 182)

Fisheries — Home Office and Boards of Conservators — Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts
  Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 15, 946

cont.

Fishings, &c. Valuation (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Caldwell, Dr. Cameron, Dr. Clark*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 25 [Bill 114]

FitzGerald, Lord
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 2, 927
Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1327
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1580
Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment, (No. 2), Report, 28

Fitzgerald, Mr. R. U. P., *Cambridge*
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1852

Flower, Mr. C., *Bedford, Luton*
Distress in the Metropolis—Returns, 344

Foreign Affairs—Secretary of State (*see* Salisbury, Marquess of)

Foreign Affairs—Under Secretary of State (*see* Fergusson, Right Hon. Sir J.)

Foreign Enlistment Act—Mr. Baird
Question, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 21, 1614

Fortescue, Earl
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Report, 931
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1579

Forwood, Mr. A. B. (Secretary to the Admiralty), *Lancashire, Ormskirk*
Admiralty—Contracts—Contract for Neatsfoot Oil, 217
  Dockyard Apprentices at Sheerness, 1614
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1189, 1250, 1260, 1267
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 621, 622

Foster, Sir B. W., *Derby, Ilkeston*
Law and Justice—Ripley Petty Sessions—Excessive Whipping of a Child, 1760, 1761
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1515, 1516
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1080

Fowler, Right Hon. H. H., *Wolverhampton, E.*
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1964
Land Transfer—Reference to a Select Committee, 1350
Supply—Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886, 1566
  House of Lords Offices, 690
  Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 663, 671
  Rates on Government Property, 652, 655, 656
  Report, 177

Fowler, Sir R. N., *London*
Africa (South)—Zululand, 344
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 115
Panama Canal—Excessive Mortality, 1348
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1646
Supply—House of Commons Offices, 699
  House of Lords Offices, 684
  Treasury, 1046, 1049

Fulton, Mr. J. F., *West Ham, N.*
Parliament—Order—Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, 227
Water Companies (Regulation of Powers), Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 894, 895, 896

Galloway, Earl of
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1579
Mar Peerage, Postponement of Motion, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1743

Gardner, Mr. H., *Essex, Saffron Walden*
Africa (Central)—Expedition for the Relief of Emin Pasha—Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, 1629, 1773
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass, 78
Minister for Agriculture, 355
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 988

Gas and Water Provisional Orders Bill
(*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Committee * *July* 18 (No. 131)
Report * *July* 19
Read 3ª * *July* 21

Gas Provisional Orders Bill
(*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Committee * *July* 7 (No. 123)
Report * *July* 8
Read 3ª * *July* 11
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxv.]

Gedge, Mr. S., *Stockport*
Irish Land Law, Comm. 1675

Gibson, Right Hon. J. G. (Attorney General for Ireland), *Liverpool, Walton*
Distressed Unions (Ireland), Comm. 1738
Ireland—Land Law Act, 1881—Bonâ Fide Occupation—Fair Rents—Sub-Letting, 942, 1155
  Lunatic Asylums—Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum, 1757
  Magistracy—Dr. Harty, Coroner, Kingstown, 501
  Mr. V. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M.—Committal of Denis Flanagan for Wife Murder, 1758
  Irish Land Law, 2R. 548, 553, 554, 555; Comm. *cl.* 1, 1916, 1921, 1925, 1936, 1939, 1940, 1942, 1948, 1958, 1959, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1972, 1973, 1982, 1983
  Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2011
  Sheriffs (Consolidation), Comm. 1739

Gilhooly, Mr. J., *Cork, W.*
Ireland—Board of Works—Removal of the Loo Rock, Baltimore Harbour, 503

Gill, Mr. H. J., *Limerick*
Ireland — Harbours—The Floating Dock at Limerick, 606

Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E., *Edinburgh, Mid Lothian*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. Amendt. 85, 90, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 307, 309, 312
Ireland—Crime—Statistics, 1886, 776
Irish Land Law, 2R. 386, 876 ; Comm. 1684, 1685, 1686, 1688, 1691, 1697
Irish Land Law [Remuneration], Comm. 1775
Parliament—Business of the House, 798
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1183, 1185, 1188, 1646, 1647, 1648, 1650, 1651, 1652, 1653

Goldsmid, Sir J., *St. Pancras, S.*
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1638

Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T., *Hammersmith*
Irish Land Law, Comm. 1669

Gorst, Sir J. E. (Under Secretary of State for India), *Chatham*
Burmah—Revenues from Teak Forests and Monopolies of Earth Oil and Precious Stones, 945, 946
  Sale of Intoxicating Spirits and Opium, 1764, 1765
Burmah (Upper)—Ruby Mines, 69, 70, 523, 791, 949
India—Questions
  Council of India—Representation of the Bombay Presidency, 949
  Destitute Englishmen in India, and Natives in England, 1882
  Madras—Military Pay Examiner's Office—Mr. Soefeldt, 1754
  Transfer of the Province of Scinde, 938
Irish Land Law, 2R. 572
Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 680

Goschen, Rt. Hon. G. J. (Chancellor of the Exchequer), *St. George's, Hanover Square*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 301, 307, 309
Ireland—Public Works and Improvements—Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, 516, 1162
  State of Ireland—Charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at Clare Assizes, 512, 513
Irish Land Law, 2R. 853, 859, 860, 861, 862, 871 ; Comm. 1700, 1719, 1720 ; *cl.* 1, 1999
Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1565
  Treasury, &c. 1028, 1033
Trustee Savings Banks — Cardiff Trustee Savings Bank, 772

Gourley, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland*
Admiralty—Jubilee Naval Review off Spithead—Collision between H.M.SS. "Ajax" and "Devastation" off Portsmouth, 1620

Graham, Mr. R. C., *Lanark, N.W.*
War Office—Review at Aldershot—Exposure to the Heat, 71

Granville, Earl
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 1R. 326, 327 ; 2R. 724, 726 ; Comm. 899, 901, 905 ; *cl.* 6, 931 ; 3R. 1139, 1140, 1141
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 1593
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1597
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—Central Hall—Statue of the late Earl of Iddesleigh, 492, 493
  House of Lords — Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, 487
Parliament—House of Lords—Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes, Res. 890

Gray, Mr. C. W., *Essex, Maldon*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Consid. 477
Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1401
Truck, Consid. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1093
War Office—Importation of Canadian Horses, 1343

Gray, Mr. E. Dwyer, *Dublin, St. Stephen's Green*
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1418

Gunter, Colonel R., *Yorkshire, W.R., Barkston Ash*
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 623
War Office — Deaths from Sunstroke at the Curragh Camp, 72

Haldane, Mr. R. B., *Haddington*
Irish Land Law, Comm. Amendt. 1665, 1668, 1672, 1677 ; *cl.* 1, 2000
Supply—Treasury, &c. 1035
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1081, 1082

Halsbury, Lord (Lord Chancellor)
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 5, 1323
Coroners, 2R. 1580
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 1131, 1132
First Offenders, Comm. 1573
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, 1592
Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 2, 15 ; *cl.* 39, 24 ; *add. cl.* 26 ; 3R. Amendt. 330, 491
Mar Peerage, Postponement of Motion, 1572
Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension, Report, *cl.* 2, 1325
Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women, 329
Quarries, Comm. 11 ; *cl.* 3, 13

HAMILTON, Right Hon. Lord G. F. (First Lord of the Admiralty), *Middlesex, Ealing*
- Admiralty—Questions
  - Case of Bertie Wilmot Mainprise—Literary Examination, 944
  - Coastguard in the South of Ireland —H.M.S. "Shannon," 781
  - Collision between H.M.SS. "Ajax" and "Devastation" off Portsmouth, 1353, 1621
  - Devonport and other Dockyards — Discharge of Workmen, 512
  - Director of Dockyards, 1343
  - Examination in Seamanship—The Reports, 1346
  - H.M.S. "Cherub"—Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers—The Clyde Brigade, 1156
  - H.M.S. "Impérieuse," 1158
  - Her Majesty's Jubilee — Non-Combatant Officers, 210
  - Re-organization of the Secretary's Department, 347
  - Shipbuilding — Royal Dockyards, 502 ;—Sheathed Cruisers, 76
  - Use of Petroleum as Fuel for the Navy, 1602
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 415, 417, 421, 422
- Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of — Naval Review off Spithead—Questions
  - 957
  - Accommodation for Members, 1336
  - Allotment of Tickets, 1622
  - Fatal Accident, 1902
  - Newspaper Correspondents, 1622
  - "Total Complement" of the Ships, 1338
- Navy Estimates, 957
  - Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1189, 1190, 1196, 1209, 1210, 1211, 1213, 1215, 1216, 1236, 1239, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1246, 1262

HAMILTON, Lord E., *Tyrone, N.*
- Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1920

HANBURY, Mr. R. W., *Preston*
- Admiralty Contracts—Contract for Neatsfoot Oil, 217
- Army Estimates, 958
- Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Artillery Volunteers — Practice with Heavy Guns, 1752, 1753
- Hereditary Revenue of the Crown—The Receiver, 511
- Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship — Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 214, 776
- Public Service—Betrayal of Official and Confidential Information, 1164
- Supply — Civil Service Commission, 1540, 1542
  - Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1398
  - Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1380, 1387
- War Office—Questions
  - Director of Army Contracts—An Annual Report, 948
  - Government Contracts—Officials interested in Contracting Firms, 1147, 1148

[*cont.*

HANBURY, Mr. R. W.—*cont.*
  - Ordnance Department—Contract for Collar Hides for the Cavalry, 948
  - Subscriptions to Parochial Schools, 346

HARCOURT, Right Hon. Sir W. G. V., *Derby*
- Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 48
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 254, 283, 307
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1887 —The Proclamations, 1900
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 819, 820, 821, 828, 829, 831, 856 ; Comm. 1673, 1678, 1697, 1700, 1704, 1711, 1720
- Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1657, 1658, 1659
- Supply—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1375, 1376
- Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1367, 1368, 1369, 1370

HARDCASTLE, Mr. E., *Salford, N.*
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1524

HARDINGE, Viscount
- Army (Re-organization), Motion for a Paper, 1747

Hares Preservation Bill — A "Close Time"
- Question, Colonel Dawnay ; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. Edward Harrington [No reply] *July* 21, 1627

HARRINGTON, Mr. E., *Kerry, W.*
- Hares Preservation—" A Close Time," 1627
- Ireland — Land Courts — Tenants of Major Gallway, Dingle, Co. Kerry, 1607
  - Piers and Harbours — Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Commissioners, 1333, 1334

HARRINGTON, Mr. T. C., *Dublin, Harbour*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R, 132

HARRIS, Lord (Under Secretary of State for War)
- Army (Re-organization), Motion for a Paper, 1748
- Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Royal Review at Aldershot—Volunteers, 3
- New Zealand, Motion for Papers, 1587, 1591
- Review of 2nd of July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, 29, 30
- War Office (Ordnance Department)—Royal Commission on Warlike Stores, 1815

HARRIS, Mr. M., *Galway, E.*
- Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1947

HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of, *Lancashire, Rossendale*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 238, 242
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1966, 1967, 1997
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1655, 1657

HASTINGS, Mr. G. W., *Worcestershire, E.*
Willesden Local Board, Lords' Amendts. Consid. Amendt. 1596, 1597

HAYDEN, Mr. L. P., *Leitrim, S.*
Ireland—Public Works and Improvements—Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, 516

HAYNE, Mr. C. SEALE-, *Devon, Ashburton*
Railways (England and Wales)—Station Accommodation at Dartmouth (Great Western Railway), 1877

HEALY, Mr. M., *Cork*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 57, 59
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 293
Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 167
Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 447; Motion for Adjournment, 449
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), Motion for Adjournment, 1869, 1873
Ireland—Questions
  Distressed Unions, 1167
  Irish Land Commission — Purchase of Land Act, 1885—Section 23—Orders made, 1755
  Law and Justice—Leitrim Assizes—Arrest of John Melley, 498, 499
  Lunatic Asylums—Appointment of a Presbyterian Chaplain to the Cork Asylum, 499, 500
  Post Office—Communication between Skibbereen and Baltimore, 502, 503
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1911, 1921, 1931, 1932, 1933; Amendt. 1934, 1936, 1937, 1939, 1944, 1946, 1972, 1976, 1981, 1982, 1983
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass — Examination of Police Constable Endacott, 1771
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 464

HEALY, Mr. T. M., *Longford, N.*
Distressed Unions (Ireland), Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 451, 453, 454, 1738
Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 450, 589
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1850, 1851, 1856, 1861, 1862, 1867, 1871
Ireland—Questions
  Crime and Outrage—Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, 1617
  Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887—The Proclamations, 1900, 1901, 1902

[cont.

HEALY, Mr. T. M.—*cont.*
  Evictions—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, 798
  Inland Navigation and Drainage—Government Subvention of £50,000, 1161, 1162
  Irish Land Law, 1631
  Land Law Act, 1881—Bonâ Fide Occupation — Fair Rents — Sub-Letting, 943, 1155
  Magistracy—Mr. V. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M. —Committal of Denis Flanagan for Wife Murder, 1758
  National Education — Lismacaral (Derry) School, 1601
  Public Works and Improvements—Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, 516, 517
Immigration of Foreign Paupers, 521
Irish Land Law, 2R. 373, 393, 421, 422, 425, 440, 445, 540, 555, 859, 887; Comm. 1694, 1714; *cl.* 1, 1909, 1912, 1941, 1942, 1952, 1956, 1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966; Amendt. 1967, 1974, 1985, 1989, 1991, 2001
Irish Land Law [Remuneration], Comm. 1774, 2007, 2008
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Pardon of Offenders—Royal Navy, 1629
Juvenile Offenders, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 2006
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass — Examination of Police Constable Endacott, 1772
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 455; Motion for Adjournment, 458, 465, 466
Local Government, 358
London Corporation (Charges of Malversation) —Sir Robert Fowler and Mr. Howell, 1352
Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Comm. *cl.* 1, 2016
Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2009
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1169, 1170, 1176, 1184, 1633, 1634, 1635, 1639; Amendt. 1641, 1645, 1650, 1653, 1665
Parliament—Public Business—Technical Instruction (Scotland) Bill, 1889
Prison (Officers' Superannuation) (Scotland), 2R. 590
Public Libraries Acts Amendments (No. 2), Consid. 3R. 1739
Sheriffs (Consolidation), 2R. 591; Comm. 1739

HEATON, Mr. J. H., *Canterbury*
Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1158
Law and Police—Bolton Riots—Importation of Foreign Labour, 788
Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2014
Meteorological Office—Invention of Mr. B. A. Collins, 1605
Western Australia—Resignation of Mr. Hensman, Attorney General, 1605

HENEAGE, Right Hon. E., *Great Grimsby*
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass — Mr. Newton, Marlborough Street Police Court, 789

Hereditary Revenue of the Crown—The Receiver
Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 12, 511

Her Majesty's Titles—"Queen and Empress"—The Royal Proclamation, 1876
Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1890

HERSCHELL, Lord
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 5, 1323; Report, 1581
Coroners, 2R. 1580, 1581
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 1R. 325; Comm. *cl.* 2, 921, 924, 925, 926, 927; *cl.* 6, 928
High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, 1592
Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 2, Amendt. 15; 3R. 331, 491
Metropolitan Open Spaces Extension, Report, *cl.* 2, Motion for Adjournment, 1326
Quarries, Comm. *cl.* 3, 12

HILL, Colonel E. S., *Bristol, S.*
Supply—Peterhead Harbour, 645
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 624

HILL, Mr. A. S., *Staffordshire, Kingswinford*
Foreign Enlistment Act—Mr. Baird, 1614
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Consid. 480
Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 365

HOBHOUSE, Lord
Boundary Commission, The New, 774
Coyyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. 1311; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1320, 1322; *cl.* 16, Amendt. 1324
Land Transfer, 3R. 490
Police Force Enfranchisement Act—Registration, 773

HOLLAND, Right Hon. Sir H. T. (Secretary of State for the Colonies), *Hampstead*
Africa (Central)—Expedition for the Relief of Emin Pasha—Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, 1629, 1773
Africa (South)—Zululand, 344
Zulu Chief Usibepu, 345
Australia (Western)—Resignation of Mr. Hensman, Attorney General, 1605
Bahamas—Mr. L. D. Powles, a Magistrate, 1156
Barbadoes—Legislative Council—Railway and Water Companies, 334
British Columbia—Disputes with the Natives, 348
British Guiana and Venezuela—Disputed Boundary, 766
Cape Colony—Colonial Registration, 73
Ceylon—Pardon of Martinez Pereira, 1340
[*cont.*

HOLLAND, Right Hon. Sir H. T.—*cont.*
Colonial Office—Marquess of Carmarthen, 1163
Contagious Diseases Ordinances in the Colonies, 778
Cyprus—Report on the Locust Campaign, 1885 and 1886, 75
Dominion of Canada—Canadian Customs Tariff, 210
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1943
Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 214, 774, 776, 1158
Jubilee Naval Review at Portsmouth, 1768
Malta—Case of Dr. Grech, 212, 351
Panama Canal—Excessive Mortality, 1349
Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—Hornsey Election, 1489
Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1408
Report, 1729

HOME DEPARTMENT—Secretary of State (*see* MATTHEWS, Right Hon. H.)

HOME DEPARTMENT—Under Secretary of State (*see* WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART-)

HOUGHTON, Lord
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1576

HOULDSWORTH, Mr. W. H., *Manchester, N.W.*
Africa (West Coast)—French Flag at Badiboo, on the River Gambia, 1149

HOWELL, Mr. G., *Bethnal Green, N.E.*
Cyprus—Report of the Locust Campaign, 1885 and 1886, 75
Her Majesty's Titles—"Queen and Empress," 1890
London Coal and Wine Duties Continuance, 945
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1187, 1188, 1645
Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1556
Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1419, 1420
Trustee Savings Banks—Cardiff Trustee Savings Bank, 771;—A Royal Commission, 221
Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2002

HOYLE, Mr. I., *Lancashire, S.E., Heywood*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 189; *cl.* 4, 199; Consid. 482

HUBBARD, Right Hon. J. G., *London*
Africa (South)—Bechuanaland—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 212

HUGHES-HALLETT, Colonel F. C., *Rochester*
India—Transfer of the Province of Scinde, 938
[*cont.*

HUGHES-HALLETT, Colonel F. C.—*cont.*
War Office—Questions
Medical Examination of Colonels before Promotion, 762
Ordnance Department—Contract for Hides, 515, 947
Promotion—Senior Quartermasters, 349

HUNTER, Mr. W. A., *Aberdeen, N.*
Burmah—Revenues from Teak Forests and Monopolies of Earth Oil and Precious Stones, 945
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add. cl.* 593
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 470
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, Motion for reporting Progress, 1460, 1464
Report, 1734

Hydrophobia—M. Pasteur's System of Treatment
Question, Dr. Farquharson; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 8, 209

ILLINGWORTH, Mr. A., *Bradford, W.*
Irish Land Law, Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1677, 1689, 1691
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 182; Motion for reporting Progress, 190, 191; *cl.* 3, 194; *cl.* 4, 200

Immigration of Foreign Paupers
Questions, Mr. Agg-Gardner, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Mr. T. M. Healy [No reply] *July* 12, 520

Incumbents' Resignation Act (1871) Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Duke of Buckingham and Chandos*)
l. Report * *July* 7 (No. 144)
Read 3ª, after short debate *July* 8, 205
c. Read 1º * (*Mr. Tomlinson*) *July* 14
Read 2º * *July* 20 [Bill 323]
Committee *—R.P. *July* 21
Committee—R.P. *July* 25, 2015

INDIA—Secretary of State (*see* CROSS, Viscount)

INDIA—Under Secretary of State (*see* GORST, Sir J. E.)

INDIA (*Questions*)
Council of India—Representation of the Bombay Presidency, Question, Sir Richard Temple; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 15, 949
Destitute Englishmen in India, and Natives in England, Question, Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 25, 1881

INDIA—*cont.*
Indian Contagious Diseases Act—Repeal, Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 21, 1615
Public Works Department—A Mosque at Bijapur, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 21, 1616
Transfer of the Province of Scinde to the Punjaub, Question, Colonel Hughes-Hallett; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 15, 938

MADRAS
Military Pay Examiners' Office—Mr. Soefeldt, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *July* 22, 1753

International Arbitration
Moved to resolve, "That this House, in view of the yearly increasing armaments of European nations, is of opinion that the formation of an international tribunal for the reference of national disputes in the first instance is highly to be desired" (*The Marquess of Bristol*) *July* 25, 1830; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

IRELAND (*Questions*)
Arms (Ireland) Act—John Henchey, of Bodyke, Co. Clare, Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 19, 1341
Artizans' Dwellings, Kingstown, Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1603
City Charter for Belfast, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 25, 1894
Collector General of Rates, Dublin, Office of, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1880
Commissioners of Valuation — Baltinglass Union—Mr. B. Douglas, Rate Collector, Question, Mr. Byrne; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1759;—*Mr. George Craig, Valuer*, Question, Mr. Byrne; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 22, 1759
Dog Tax—Collection of the Tax, Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 15, 939
Drilling in Orange Lodges, Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 763
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of Portarlington, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 21, 1602
Tramways—Schull and Skibbereen Tramways, Question, Mr. D. Sullivan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 7, 62

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACTS

The Return, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 756

Labourers' Cottages—South Dublin Union, Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1603

LAND (IRELAND)

Land Courts—Tenants of Major Gallway, Dingle, Co. Kerry, Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1607

Landlord and Tenant—Alleged Asasult by an Emergency Man at Newton Hyland, Co. Dublin, Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1884

The O'Grady Property, Co. Tipperary, Questions, Mr. John O'Connor (Tipperary, S.), Mr. W. O'Brien, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Chance; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1765

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881

Bonâ Fide Occupation—Fair Rents—Sub-Letting, Questions, Mr. T. W. Russell, Sir Charles Lewis; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) *July* 15, 941

Sections I. and VIII.—Permanent Improvements, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 7, 65

The Sub-Commissioners—Sub-Letting to Cottiers, Questions, Sir Charles Lewis, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) *July* 18, 1154

IRISH LAND COMMISSION

Appeals—Inspection of Reports by Litigants, Questions, Mr. Mahony, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1608

Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885—*Sec.* 23—*Orders Made*, Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1755

The Court Valuer's Valuation—"Adams v. *Dunseath,"* Question, Mr. Mahony; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1883

BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)

Removal of the Loo Rock, Baltimore Harbour, Question, Mr. Gilhooly; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 12, 503

Commissioners of Irish Lights, Question, Mr. Reynolds; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 8, 210

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*cont.*

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)

Board of—The Vacant Seat, Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 11, 342

Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools, Questions, Mr. Carew, Mr. Sexton, Dr. Kenny; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 15, 932

Commissioners of—Teachers of Model Schools, Results Fees, Question, Sir Charles Lewis; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 18, 1147

Examination of Teachers, Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1763

The Lismacaral (Derry) School, Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1601

Irish National Teachers, Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1891

National Schools—Qualification for Monitorships, Question, Mr. T. W. Russell; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 8, 211

HARBOURS (IRELAND)

The Floating Dock at Limerick, Question, Mr. H. J. Gill; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 12, 506

Kingstown Harbour Commissioners—Inclosure of Grounds, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 19, 1340

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)

Tralee and Fenit Pier and Harbour Commissioners, Questions, Mr. Edward Harrington; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 19, 1333

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)

Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, Questions, Mr. W. A. Macdonald, Mr. Hayden, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *July* 12, 515; Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy, Colonel Waring; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 18, 1161

Lough Corrib Drainage Districts, Question, Mr. Pinkerton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 12, 507

The Works at Lough Erne and Beleek, Questions, Mr. W. Redmond; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 7, 64; *July* 14, 771

The River Barrow, Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 12, 517

[*cont.*

Ireland — *Inland Navigation and Drainage*—cont.

The Shannon and the Brosna, Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 18, 1145

Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)

Appointment of a Presbyterian Chaplain to the Cork Asylum, Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 12, 499

Criminal Lunatic Asylums (England and Ireland) — Comparative Pay, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 778

Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 19, 1348

Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum, Questions, Mr. Tuite, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman), The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) *July* 22, 1756

Lunacy Commissioners — The Annual Report, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 15, 935

Poor Law (Ireland)

Poor Law Guardians — The Ennistymon Union, Question, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 785

The Distressed Unions on the West Coast, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 11, 347

Poor Rate Collectors in Wicklow, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 756

Post Office (Ireland)

Co. Armagh — Dromintee, Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 8, 211

Co. Clare—Postmastership in Six Mile Bridge, Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 22, 1754

Co. Down—Increased Mail Accommodation, Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 15, 946

Co. Monaghan—The Postmistress of Annyalla, Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 11, 338

Co. Monaghan — A Telegraph Office for Smithsborough, Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 15, 937

Queen's Co.—The Postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory, Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 779

Co. Sligo—The Rural Post Office Messenger of Dromard, Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 765

[*cont.*

Ireland—*Post Office*—cont.

Mail Accommodation in the North of Ireland, Questions, Mr. M'Cartan, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 25, 1882

Skibbereen and Baltimore, Communication between, Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 12, 502

Detention of new Silver Coins, Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 769

Orange Political Meetings, Questions, Mr. W. Redmond; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 788

Railways (Ireland)

Station Accommodation, Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 8, 213

Law and Justice (Ireland)

Leitrim Assizes — Arrest of John Melley, Questions, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. Conway; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 12, 498

Reduction of the Irish Bench, Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 223

The Mayo Conspiracy Prisoners, Question, Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 11, 340

The Magistracy (Ireland)

Mr. V. Vesey Fitzgerald, R.M.—Committal of Denis Flanagan for Wife Murder, Questions, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) *July* 22, 1758

Dr. Harty, Coroner, Kingstown, Questions, Mr. P. M'Donald, Sir Thomas Esmonde, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, The Attorney General for Ireland (Mr. Gibson) *July* 12, 500

Mr. Thomas Hewson, B.L. Question, Mr. M. J. Kenny; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1606

Mr. William Tyrrell, of Ballinderry, Co. Kildare, Question, Mr. Carew; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 18, 1149

The Coroner of the Glenties Division, Co. Donegal, Question, Mr. Mac Neill; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 7, 63

The Office of High Sheriff—Mr. H. C. Levinge, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1876

Royal Irish Constabulary

Civil Employment of Police on Protection Duty, Question, Mr. Kennedy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 761

[*cont.*

IRELAND—*Royal Irish Constabulary*—cont.

Promotion of District Inspector Tilly, Questions, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 766

Removal of Placards, Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1886

Royal Irish Constabulary Fund, Question, Mr. P. M'Donald; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1604

The National Registration Association, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 22, 1763

The Police Force at Magherafelt, Question, Mr. M'Cartan; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1883

STATE OF IRELAND

Charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at Clare Assizes, Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. M. J. Kenny, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *July* 12, 513

The Summer Assizes—Charges of the Judges, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 7, 83

Orange Procession from Portadown, Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 782

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)

Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, Questions, Mr. Macartney, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Mac Neill; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1617

Statistics, 1886, Question, Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 776

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)

Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, Questions, Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 12, 522; *July* 14, 796; —*Captain Hamilton*, Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 21, 1600

Evictions at Gweedore, Co. Donegal, Questions, Mr. O'Hea; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King Harman) *July* 12, 509

Return of Expenses, Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Cox; Answers, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 25, 1878

Statistics, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 11, 335

Irish Land Law Bill

Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 799; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 20, 1491; Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 19, 1353; Questions, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1629; Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), 1631

The Glebe Purchasers, Question, Mr. Dillon; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 11, 356

Irish Land Law Bill [H.L.]

(*The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. A. J. Balfour*)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 11, 372

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House, taking into view the circumstances set forth in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Land Acts of 1881 and 1885, and the recommendations of that Commission, is of opinion that no Bill for amending the Laws relating to Land in Ireland can be satisfactory which shall not provide, not only for entitling leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for providing such means for the revision of the judicial rents under that Act, as will meet the exigencies created by the heavy fall in agricultural values since the passing of the Act" (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*), *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned [Bill 308]

Debate resumed [Second Night] *July* 12, 525; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

The Debate of July 12, Correction, Mr. T. W. Russell *July* 14, 800

Debate resumed [Third Night] *July* 14, 800; after long debate, Question put, and agreed to; Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°

Order for Committee read *July* 21, 1665; Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to provide for the reduction of family charges on Irish Land (*Mr. Haldane*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. A. J. Balfour*); Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned (*Mr. Illingworth*); after debate, Motion withdrawn

Original Question again proposed, 1692; after debate, Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P

After long time spent therein, Committee [First Night]—R.P. *July* 25, 1903

Irish Land Law [*Remuneration*]

c. Moved for "Committee to consider of authorising the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the remuneration to any barristers and valuers that may

[*cont.*

Irish Land Law [*Remuneration*]—cont.
be appointed to act with and aid the County Court Judges, under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881,' and 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' and of remuneration to certain officers for performing additional duties connected with the Court of Bankruptcy in Ireland in pursuance of the said Act" (*Mr. Jackson*) *July* 22, 1774; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Queen's Recommendation signified, upon Monday next
Order for Committee read; "Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Jackson*) *July* 25, 2007; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Matter considered in Committee; Resolution reported *July* 26

Isaacs, Mr. L. H., *Newington, Walworth*
Her Majesty's Office of Works and Buildings—Examination for Clerk of the Works, 338
Metropolitan Fire Brigade—Deficiency of Horses, 772
Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, 680
House of Commons Offices, 705
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1059

Jackson, Mr. W. L. (Secretary to the Treasury), *Leeds, N.*
Civil Service Examinations (Wales)—Notices, 351, 783
Distressed Unions (Ireland), Comm. 1738
Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 449
General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh—Attendance of Clerks, 1599
Hereditary Revenue of the Crown—The Receiver, 511
Her Majesty's Office of Works and Buildings—Examination for Clerk of the Works, 338
Ireland—Board of Works—Removal of the Loo Rock, Baltimore Harbour, 503
Commissioners of Valuation—Baltinglass Union—Mr. George Craig, Valuer, 1759
Harbours—The Floating Dock at Limerick, 506
Inland Navigation and Drainage—Lough Corrib Drainage Districts, 503;—Works at Lough Erne and Beleek, 64, 65, 771
Kingstown Harbour Commissioners—Inclosure of Grounds, 1311
Income Tax—Return of Persons Employed by Joint Stock, &c. Companies, 1598
Inland Revenue Department—"Ride" Officers, 1339
Irish Land Law [Remuneration], Comm. 2007, 2008
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Consid. Amendt. 484
Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 1570
Post Office—Mail Contracts—East India and China Mail Contract, 351
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of Portarlington, 1603
Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2), Comm. *add. cl.* 1487

Jackson, Mr. W. L.—*cont.*
Scotland—General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh—Extra Attendance of Clerks, 61
Prisons—Salary of Medical Officers at Glasgow, 514
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1530, 1534
Civil Service Commission, 1538, 1542, 1543, 1544, 1545, 1546, 1547, 1550
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 978, 981, 983, 984
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 678
Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886, 1567, 1568
Friendly Societies Registry, 1561, 1562, 1564
Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 632, 638
House of Commons Offices, 704, 705, 706
House of Lords Offices, 686, 687, 691, 697, 698, 699
Peterhead Harbour, 640, 641, 643, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652
Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1408
Public Works in Ireland, &c. 660, 664, 665, 669, 672
Rates on Government Property, 654, 655, 656
Report, 1295, 1297
Science and Art Buildings, Dublin, 674
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. Motion for reporting Progress, 1071
Treasury, &c. 1028, 1025, 1026, 1048
Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2002

Jacoby, Mr. J. A., *Derbyshire, Mid*
Parliament—Business of the House—Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 1627

James, Right Hon. Sir H., *Bury, Lancashire*
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 461, 462, 466, 468

James, Hon. W. H., *Gateshead*
Parliament—House of Commons—Reading Room—Exclusion of "United Ireland," 952
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1457
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 989
Friendly Societies Registry, 1557
House of Commons Offices, 705

Jennings, Mr. L. J., *Stockport*
Admiralty—Re-organization of the Secretary's Department, 347
Supply—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1374, 1383, 1386

Johnston, Mr. W., *Belfast, S.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 38, 52, 60
City Charter for Belfast, 1894
Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 2002, 2005

[*cont.*

Juvenile Offenders Bill
(*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 25, 2005; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*); Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned [Bill 245]

Kay-Shuttleworth, Right Hon. Sir U. J., *Lancashire, Clitheroe*
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1810

Kelly, Mr. J. R. *Camberwell, N.*
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1071, 1073

Kennedy, Mr. E. J., *Sligo, S.*
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Civil Employment of Police for Protection Duty, 761

Kenny, Dr. J. E., *Cork, S.*
Ireland—Board of National Education—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools, 934
Parliament — House of Commons — Reading Room—Exclusion of "United Ireland," 953
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1525
  Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1002, 1006, 1011; Amendt. 1012
War Office—Promotion of Pioneer Sergeants, 64

Kenny, Mr. M. J., *Tyrone, Mid*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid 39, 53
Ireland—Magistracy—Mr. Thomas Hewson, B.L. 1606, 1607
  Poor Law Guardians—Ennistymon Union, 785
  State of Ireland—Charge of Mr. Justice O'Brien at Clare Assizes, 513
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 181, 185, 189, 190, 191; *cl.* 3, 193, 195, 197; *cl.* 4, 199; *cl.* 9, 203; *cl.* 11, 204; Consid. 480, 482, 484

Kenyon, Hon. G. T., *Denbigh, &c.*
Wales — Tithe Agitation—Riots at Llangwm —Trial of the Rioters at Ruthin, 519
  Riots at Mochdre, Inquiry into the—The Commissioner, 71

Kimber, Mr. H., *Wandsworth*
Sugar Industry—Closing of Refineries, 343
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1053, 1061

Kimberley, Earl of
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—The Frontier, 1830
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. 1319; *cl.* 5, 1323
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 741; Comm. *cl.* 6, 929
Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 2, 15
Tithe Rent-Charge, 3R. 8

King, Mr. H. S., *Hull, Central*
Merchant Shipping Acts—Pilots' Certificates to Aliens—"The Queen and Trinity House Corporation," 1621

King-Harman, Right Hon. Colonel E. R. (Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland), *Kent, Isle of Thanet*
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1872, 1875
Ireland—Questions
  Arms Act—John Henchey, of Bodyke, Co. Clare, 1341, 1342
  Artizans' Dwellings—Kingstown, 1603
  Commissioners of Valuation — Baltinglass Union—Mr. B. Douglas, Rate Collector, 1759
  Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts — Pleuro-Pneumonia, 1761, 1762
  Crime and Outrage—Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, 1617, 1618
  Dog Tax—Collection of the Tax, 939
  Excise—Number of Spirit Grocers in the Metropolitan Police District, Dublin, 1879
  Inland Navigation and Drainage — River Barrow, 518
  Labourers' Acts — Labourers' Cottages — South Dublin Union, 1608
  Land Courts—Tenants of Major Gallway, Dingle, Co. Kerry, 1607
  Land Law Act, 1881—Sections I. and VIII. —Permanent Improvements, 66
  Landlord and Tenant—Alleged Assault by an Emergency Man at Newton Hyland, Co. Dublin, 1885
  Law and Justice—Leitrim Assizes—Arrest of John Melly, 498, 499;—Mayo Conspiracy Prisoners, 340
  Office of Collector General of Rates, Dublin, 1880
  O'Grady Property, Co. Tipperary, 1766
  Parliamentary Voters—A Revision Court at Ballygawley, Co. Tyrone, 212
  Poor Law—Distressed Unions on the West Coast, 348
  Public Works and Improvements—Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, 515, 516
  Tramways—Schull and Skibbereen Tramways, 62
Ireland—Evictions—Questions
  Brooke Estate, Coolgreany—Captain Hamilton, 1601
  Gweedore, Co. Donegal, 510
  Return of Expenses, 1878, 1879
  Statistics, 336
Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Questions
  Appeals—Inspection of Reports by Litigants, 1609, 1610
  Court Valuer's Valuation—"Adams *v.* Dunseath," 1884
  Purchase of Land Act, 1885—Section 23—Orders made, 1755
Ireland—Lunatic Asylums—Questions
  Appointment of a Presbyterian Chaplain to the Cork Asylum, 500
  Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum, 1348
  Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum, 1756, 1757

[*cont.*

KING-HARMAN, Right Hon. Colonel E. R.—*cont.*
Lunacy Commissioners — Annual Report, 935
Ireland—Magistracy—Questions
Coroner of the Glenties Division, Co. Donegal, 63
Mr. Thomas Hewson, B.L. 1607
Office of High Sheriff—Mr. H. C. Levinge, 1876, 1877
Ireland—National Education—Questions
Board of National Education—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools, 933, 934;—Vacant Seat, 342
Commissioners of National Education—Examination of Teachers, 1763
Irish National Teachers, 1892
Lismacaral (Derry) School, 1601
National Schools—Qualification for Monitorships, 211
Ireland—Royal Irish Constabulary—Questions
National Registration Association, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1763
Police Force at Magherafelt, 1883
Removal of Placards, 1886, 1887
Royal Irish Constabulary Fund, 1604
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1957, 1959, 1960
Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. 2003, 2005
Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 2009, 2010
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1006
Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 668
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 616, 620

KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN, Mr. H. T., *Kent, Faversham*
Admiralty—Dockyard Apprentices at Sheerness, 1614
War Office—Contracts—Supply of Meat to Lydd, Kent, 1881

Labourers Allotments Bill
(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Secretary Stanhope, Mr. W. H. Long*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Mr. Ritchie*) *July* 18, 1309; Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°
[Bill 329]

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H., *Northampton*
Colonial Office—Marquess of Carmarthen, 1163
Irish Land Law, Comm. 1691, 1692, 1707, 1709
Parks (Metropolis)—Seats in the Mall, 1160
Supply of Chairs, 1620
Parliament—Business of the House—Morning Sittings, 958
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1635
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 969
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 677
Friendly Societies Registry, 1560
House of Commons Offices, 706, 709
House of Lords Offices, Amendt. 681, 683, 693
[*cont.*

LABOUCHERE, Mr. H.—*cont.*
Local Government Board, &c. 1822
Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. Amendt. 662, 665
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Amendt. 1372, 1374, 1375, 1383, 1389, 1390
Treasury, &c. 1037; Amendt. 1038, 1048, 1050
Trade and Commerce in the East—The Suez Canal and Cape of Good Hope Route, 1616
War Office—Regimental Bands at Political Demonstrations—The Queen's Regulations, 1163

LAMINGTON, Lord
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Metropolitan Police Force, 204
Naval Review off Spithead, 1593

Land Transfer Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord Chancellor*) (No. 138)
l. Moved, "That the Report be now received" *July* 7, 14
Amendt. to leave out ("now") add ("this day three months") (*The Lord Denman*); Amendt. withdrawn; Report of Amendts. received
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *July* 11, 329; on Question? Resolved in the affirmative; Bill read 3ª (No. 161)
On Question "That the Bill do pass?" An Amendt. moved (*The Lord Chancellor*)
After short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*); Motion withdrawn; further debate on the said Amendt. adjourned
Debate resumed *July* 12, 490; Amendt. withdrawn; Amendts. made; then the Queen's consent and the consent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in right of his Duchy of Cornwall signified; Bill passed
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. Attorney General*) *July* 15
[Bill 328]

Land Transfer Bill
Inheritance, Primogeniture, and Registration of Titles, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 18, 1165
Reference to a Select Committee, Question, Mr. Henry H. Fowler; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 19, 1350

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)
(*Questions*)
Appointment in the Probate Court, Manchester, Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 793
"*Boss v. Saville*"—*Attempting to Extort Money*, Question, Mr. Addison; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 760
Court Houses—Accommodation for Prisoners awaiting Trial, Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 779
[*cont.*

Law and Justice (*England and Wales*)—cont.

Denbighshire Quarter Sessions — Riots at Llangwm, Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 81

High Court of Justice—"Billing v. Brogden," Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 21, 1606;—*The Chancery Division*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Selborne; Reply, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) *July* 21, 1591

Oaths "Without Religious Belief," Question, Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 8, 208

Ripley Petty Sessions—Excessive Whipping of a Child, Question, Sir Walter Foster; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 22, 1760

The Magistracy

List of Nominees for the new Borough Bench of West Ham, Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 783

Law and Police (England and Wales) (*Questions*)

Bolton Riots, The—Importation of Foreign Labour, Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 788

Condition of Cells at Police Stations (*Metropolis*), Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 21, 1610

Open-Air Services at Grantham—The Salvationists—Arrests, Question, Mr. Atkinson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 15, 943

Rescue from Drowning—Police Constable 483 *J*, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 21, 1626

Police Order as to Defaulter Sheet of Constables, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 8, 216; *July* 11, 352

Promotion to Sergeant, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1161

Sir Charles Warren's Letter to Sir James Ingham, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 19, 1345

Sale of Indecent Books and Pictures, Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 21, 1615

Clerkenwell Police Court

"Arbitrary Conduct of a Police Magistrate," Question, Mr. W. A. Macdonald; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 19, 1337

[*cont.*

Law and Police (*England and Wales*)—cont.

Marlborough Street Police Court

Arrest of Miss Cass, Questions, Mr. H. J. Wilson, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 76;—*Police Constable Endacott*, Questions, Mr. H. J. Wilson; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 78;—*Examination of Police Constable Endacott*, Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Maurice Healy, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 22, 1769;—Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 25, 1888;—*Mr. Newton, Marlborough Street Police Magistrate*, Questions, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 789

Metropolitan Police Act

Molesting Women and Young Girls, Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 760

Alleged "Blackmailing" at the West End, Questions, Mr. W. L. Bright, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 74

Charges made by the Hon. Member for Barrow (*Mr. Caine*), Question, Mr. W. L. Bright; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 74

Arrest of Young Women for Alleged "Soliciting," Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 222

"Solicitation" in the Public Streets, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 794

Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women, Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Earl Brownlow; Observations, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) *July* 11, 327; Personal Explanation, The Earl of Milltown; short debate thereon *July* 12, 486

Prostitutes in Manchester and Liverpool, Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 756

[See title *Metropolitan Police*]

"Bayfus v. Saville"—Summonses in the Marlborough Street Police Court, Question, Mr. Addison; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 14, 759

Marylebone Police Court

Remission of Sentences—Case of Mr. Williams, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 19, 1344; Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home De-

[*cont.*

Law and Police (*England and Wales*)—*Marylebone Police Court*—cont.
partment (Mr. Matthews) *July* 21, 1624; Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 25, 1891

Thames Police Court
Mr. Saunders, Police Magistrate, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 21, 1623

Westminster Police Court
Alleged Charge of Drunkenness—Case of Mary Williams, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 8, 215; *July* 11, 353

Law of Evidence Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Attorney General*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 316]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 11, 454; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*); after further short debate, Question put; A. 74; N. 208; M. 134 (D. L. 293)
Original Question again proposed, 462; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Mac Neill*); after short debate, Question put; A. 52, N. 201; M. 149 (D. L. 294) [1.40 A.M.]
Original Question again proposed, 466; after short debate, Debate adjourned

Lawrence, Sir J. J. Trevor, *Surrey, Reigate*
Parks (Metropolis)—Sub-Tropical Garden in Battersea Park, 1157

Lawrence, Mr. W. F., *Liverpool, Abercromby*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, Motion for Adjournment, 191: *cl.* 3, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 4, 198; *cl.* 9, Amendt. 202, 203
Supply—Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 667

Lawson, Sir W., *Cumberland, Cockermouth*
Egypt — Anglo-Egyptian Convention — Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, 519;—Departure of—Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha, 950
Excise—Number of Spirit Grocers in the Metropolitan Police District, Dublin, 1879
Jubilee Night — Publicans and Beerhouse Keepers—Extension of Hours of Opening, 337
Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), 523
Parliament—Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers at Elections—Hornsey Election, 1489, 1490, 1491
Parliament - Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 359, 361, 363, 365, 369, 371

Lawson, Mr. H. L. W., *St. Pancras, W.*
Africa (Central)—Expedition for Relief of Emin Pasha — Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, 1772
Post Office—Telegraphists on Jubilee Day, 66, 67, 770
Railways (Metropolis)—Use of Whistles at Night, 1767

Lea, Mr. T., *Londonderry, S.*
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1939, 1947

Lefevre, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw, *Bradford, Central*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 564, 572; Comm. 1724
Land Transfer—Inheritance, Primogeniture, and Registration of Titles, 1165
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1190, 1291
Parliament—Public Business—Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 796
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1462, 1513, 1533
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 675
  Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 629, 631, 634
  House of Lords Offices, 695
  Rates on Government Property, 656
  Report, 179
War Office — Chelsea Hospital — Burton's Court, 1156

Legh, Mr. T. W., *Lancashire, S.W., Newton*
Asia (Central)—Anglo-Russian Convention—Russo-Afghan Frontier, 1889
Bulgaria—Election of a Prince, 1347
Supply—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1387

Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Earl of Milltown*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 7 (No. 159)
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 19, 1327

Leighton, Mr. S., *Shropshire, Oswestry*
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of Margate, 1603

Lewis, Sir C. E., *Antrim, N.*
Ireland—Commissioners of National Education—Teachers of Model Schools—Results Fees, 1147
  Land Law Act, 1881—Bonâ Fide Occupation — Fair Rents — Sub-Letting, 942, 1154, 1155
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1946

Licences (Belfast) Bill and Bankruptcy Courts (Ireland) Bill
Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 18, 1166

Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland) Bill (*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. Mark Stewart, Mr. Donald Crawford, Mr. Lyell, Mr. Provand*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *July* 8, 322; Motion withdrawn; Order for 3R. discharged
Moved, "That the Bill be re-committed" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Question put, and agreed to
Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (*Dr. Cameron*); Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 153]
Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 12, 523
Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report; Considered; read 3° *July* 19, 1476
l. Read 1ª * (*The Earl of Camperdown*) *July* 21 (No. 183)

Licensing Laws
Extension of Hours of Opening — Petty Sessions at Kingston-on-Thames, Question, Mr. Caine; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 25, 1888
Occasional Licences—Minster Branch of the Isle of Thanet Conservative Association, Question, Mr. Munro-Ferguson; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1146

Limited Liability, Law of—Legislation
Question, Mr. J. M. Maclean; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 25, 1893

LLEWELLYN, Mr. E. H., *Somerset, N.*
School Fees (Non-Paupers), 2R. 1740, 1741
War Office—Competition for the Medical Staff, 79
Officers of the Militia—Army Signalling, 1344

Lloyd's Signal Stations Bill [H.L.]
(*The Lord President*, for *The Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 7 (No. 158)

Local Government Bill
Notice, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie); Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Anderson; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), Mr. Ritchie *July* 11, 357

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—President (*see* RITCHIE, Right Hon. C. T.)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD—Secretary to (*see* LONG, Mr. W. H.)

Local Government Board
Boundary Commission, The New—Inclusion of the Metropolitan District, Questions, Mr. F. S. Stevenson, Mr. Whitmore; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 218; Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 14, 774
Local Administration—Legislation, Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 14, 773

Local Government Boundaries Bill
(*Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Long*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 324]

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Ballyshannon, &c.) Bill
(*Colonel King-Harman*)
c. Read 3° * *July* 8 [Bill 272]
l. Read 1ª * (*The Lord Privy Seal*) *July* 8 (No. 163)

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Dublin, &c.) Bill [H.L.]
(*Colonel King-Harman.*)
c. Read 2° * *July* 12 [Bill 312]
Report * *July* 21
Read 3° * *July* 22

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Killiney and Ballybrack) Bill
(*The Lord Privy Seal*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 11 (No. 149)
Read 3ª * *July* 12
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxiii]

Local Government Provisional Orders Bill (*Earl Brownlow*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 3) Bill (*Lord Balfour*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. xcix]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 4) Bill (*Lord Balfour*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 7 (No. 125)

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 6) Bill (*Lord Balfour*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 11 (No. 147)
Read 3ª * *July* 12
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxi]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 7) Bill (*Mr. Long, Mr. Ritchie*)
c. Considered * *July* 7 [Bill 282]
Read 3° * *July* 8
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Balfour*) *July* 11 (No. 166)
Read 2ª * *July* 18

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 8) Bill (*Lord Balfour*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 11 (No. 148)
Read 3ª * *July* 12
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxii]

Local Government Provisional Orders (No. 9) Bill (*Mr. Long, Mr. Ritchie*)
c. Report * *July* 21 [Bill 296]
Considered * *July* 22
Read 3° * *July* 25

LOCKWOOD, Mr. F., *York*
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 464

LONDON, Bishop of
Tithe Rent Charge, on Question "That the Bill do pass?" *cl.* 9, Amendt. 9

London Brokers' Relief Act—A Royal Commission
Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1599

London Coal and Wine Duties Continuance Bill—Legislation
Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 15, 945

London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)—Sir Robert Fowler and Mr. Howell
Question, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answer, Mr. Speaker, *July* 19, 1352

LONG, Mr. W. H. (Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Wilts, Devizes*
Metropolis—Distress—The Returns, 344
Emigration of Pauper Children—Incidence of Cost, 939
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1167, 1169, 1173, 1174, 1633, 1634, 1659
Public Libraries Act Amendment (No. 2), Comm. *add. cl.* 1488

LORD ADVOCATE, The (*see* MACDONALD, Right Hon. J. H. A.)

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND — Chief Secretary to the (*see* BALFOUR, Right Hon. A. J.)

LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND—Parliamentary Under Secretary to the (*see* KING-HARMAN, Right Hon. Colonel E. R.)

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (*see* CRANBROOK, Viscount)

LOTHIAN, Marquess of (Secretary for Scotland)
Church Patronage (Scotland), Motion for Returns, 898
Crofters Holdings (Scotland), Commons Amendts. Consid. 207
Secretary for Scotland, 1830
Teinds (Scotland), Motion for Returns, 897; Motion for a Paper, 1846
Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment, 2R. 1326

LOWTHER, Hon. W., *Westmoreland, Appleby*
Supply—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1377

LOWTHER, Mr. J. W., *Cumberland, Penrith*
India—Destitute Englishmen in India, and Natives in England, 1881
Irish Land Law, 2R. 410
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl*, 4, 193
Supply—Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1379

LUBBOCK, Sir J., *London University*
Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2), Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1485; *cl.* 4, Amendt. 1486; *cl.* 6, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 7, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 8, Amendt. 1487; *add. cl. ib.*; Schedule, Amendt. 1485; Consid. 3R. 1740
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1461
Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 671
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1382

Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill — Legislation
Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 795

Lunacy Commissioners (England and Wales—The Annual Report
Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 15, 935

Lunacy Districts (Scotland) Bill (*The Lord Advocate*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 11 [Bill 318]

Lunatic Asylums (England and Ireland) —Comparative Pay
Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) *July* 14, 778

MCARTHUR, Mr. A., *Leicester*
Africa (South)—Zulu Chief Usibepu, 345
Cape Colony—Colonial Registration, 73
Madagascar—Slave Trade on the West Coast, 73
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1808

McArthur, Mr. W. A., *Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell*
- British Columbia—Disputes with the Natives, 318

Macartney, Mr. W. G. E., *Antrim, S.*
- Ireland—Crime and Outrage—Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, 1617
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 848

McCartan, Mr. M., *Down, S.*
- Education Department (England and Wales)—Elementary School Teachers—Purchases of School Requisites, 340
- Ireland—Questions
  - Landlord and Tenant—Alleged Assault by an Emergency Man at Newton Hyland, Co. Dublin, 1881
  - Post Office—Increased Mail Accommodation, Co. Down, 946, 1882
  - Royal Irish Constabulary—Police Force at Magherafelt, 1883

Macdonald, Right Hon. J. H. A. (Lord Advocate), *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *add. cl.* 596, 599; Amendt. 600; *cl.* 3, Amendt. 601; *cl.* 15, 602; *cl.* 17, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 18, 603; *cl.* 30, 604; *cl.* 33, *ib.*; *cl.* 34, 605; *cl.* 36, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 39, *ib.*, 887; *cl.* 44, Amendt. 888, 889; *cl.* 47, Amendt. *ib.*; *cl.* 56, 890; *cl.* 64, 891; *cl.* 69, Amendt. 893; *cl.* 72, *ib.*; Amendt. 894; 3R. 1298
- Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. 1481, 1482; *cl.* 5, Amendt. 1485
- Parliament—Rules of Debate—Scotch Business, 954
- Prison (Officers' Superannuation) (Scotland), 2R. 589
- Scotland—Questions
  - Crofters' Holdings Act, 1886—Evasion of the Act—Barcaldine Estate, 941
  - Excise—Illegal Searching at Slumbay, 786
  - Law and Police—Assault on C. Robertson, Kinreachie, Inverness-shire, 1879
  - Lunacy—Loans Contracted by the District Boards of Lunacy, 1613
  - Universities (Scotland) Bill, 217, 756
  - Water Supply—Rating of Machinery—Value of Waterworks of Municipal Corporations—A Select Committee, 1153, 1619
- Scotland—Fishery Board—Questions
  - Beam Trawling in Aberdeen Bay, 80, 790
  - Loans to Fishermen under the Crofters' Act, 497, 498
  - Private Rights in Mussel Beds, 336
  - Scientific Committee—Expenditure, 764

McDonald, Mr. P., *Sligo, N.*
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways)—Suspension of Standing Orders, 1752, 1848
- Ireland—Questions
  - Commissioners of National Education—Examination of Teachers, 1763

McDonald, Mr. P.—*cont.*
  - Drilling in Orange Lodges, 763
  - Magistracy—Dr. Harty, Coroner, Kingstown, 500
  - Post Office—Detention of New Silver Coins, 769;—Rural Post Office Messenger of Dromard, Co. Sligo, 765
  - Royal Irish Constabulary Fund, 1604
- Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 617

McDonald, Dr. R., *Ross and Cromarty*
- Scotland—Crofters' Holdings Act, 1886—Evasion of the Act—Barcaldine Estate, 940
  - Excise—Illegal Searching at Slumbay, 786
- Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1817
  - Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1053, 1055, 1059, 1065

Macdonald, Mr. W. A., *Queen's Co., Ossory*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 116
- Ireland—Questions
  - Inland Navigation and Drainage—River Barrow, 517
  - Post Office—Postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's Co. 779, 780
  - Public Works and Improvements—Allocation of the Government Subvention of £50,000, 515
- Law and Police (Metropolis)—Clerkenwell Police Court—Arbitrary Conduct of a Police Magistrate, 1337

McEwan, Mr. W., *Edinburgh, Central*
- Malta—Case of Dr. Grech, 212, 350, 351
- Supply, Report, Amendt. 1726

McKenna, Sir J. N., *Monaghan, S.*
- Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1011

Mackintosh, Mr. C. Fraser-, *Inverness-shire*
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. 593; *cl.* 39, Amendt. 605; *cl.* 44, 885; *cl.* 56, Amendt. 889; *cl.* 64, Amendt. 891; *cl.* 72, Amendt. 893; 3R. 1298
- Scotland—General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh—Extra Attendance of Clerks, 61, 1598
  - Law and Police—Assault on C. Robertson, Kinreachie, Inverness-shire, 1879

McLaren, Mr. W. S. B., *Cheshire, Crewe*
- Law and Police (Metropolis)—"Solicitation" in the Public Streets, 767, 794
- Margarine, Consid. 483
- Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1054, 1060

Maclean, Mr. J. M., *Oldham*
- Law of Limited Liability, 1893

MACLURE, Mr. J. W., *Lancashire, S.E., Stretford*
Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Appointment in the Probate Court, Manchester, 793
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 3, 194; Consid. Amendt. 475, 481
Post Office—Conveyance of Mails to Australia and the East *viâ* Canada, 781
War Office (Ordnance Department)—" Boxer " Martini-Henry Cartridge, 1148

MACNAGHTEN, Lord
Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2), 493

MAC NEILL, Mr. J. G. S., *Donegal, S.*
Ireland—Questions
Crime and Outrage—Attack on the Children of the Westport Protestant Sunday School, Co. Mayo, 1618
Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887—Proclamations, 1897, 1898
Magistracy—Coroner of the Glenties Division, Co. Donegal, 63
Irish Land Law, Comm. 1678
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 462
Parliamentary Elections — Contested Elections—Lords Justices as Governors of Ireland, 221, 222
Trinity College, Dublin—Votes of the Irish Judges, 956

Madagascar—The Slave Trade on the West Coast
Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 7, 73

MADDEN, Mr. Serjeant D. H., *Dublin University*
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1975

MAHONY, Mr. P., *Meath, N.*
Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Appeals—Inspection of Reports by Litigants, 1608
Irish Land Commissioners—Court Valuer's Valuation—" Adams *v.* Dunseath," 1883
Irish Land Law, 2R. 381, 557; Comm. *cl.* 1; 1971

MAKINS, Colonel W. T., *Essex, S.E.*
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of the Thames, 784

MALCOLM, Colonel J. W., *Argyllshire*
Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4; Amendt. 1476
Post Office—Telegraph Cables in the Western Isles (Islay), 336

MALLOCK, Mr. R., *Devon, Torquay*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Artillery Volunteers—Practice with Heavy Guns, 1752

Malta—Case of Dr. Grech
Questions, Mr. M'Ewan; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 8, 212; *July* 11, 350

MAR, Earl of
Mar Peerage, 1741

Margarine (Fraudulent Sale) Bill
(*Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Elton, Mr. Mark Stewart*)
c. As amended, considered; read 3°, after debate *July* 11, 475 [Bill 309]
l. Read 1ª * (*V. Powerscourt*) *July* 12 (No. 169)
Read 2ª, after short debate *July* 21, 1575
[See title *Butterine* (*Fraudulent Sale*) *Bill*]

Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle) Bill [H.L.] (*Sir Richard Paget*)
c. Read 1° * *July* 11 [Bill 317]
Read 2° * *July* 20
Committee—R.P. *July* 25, 2016

Marriages (Attendance of Registrars Bill (*Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Order for 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn *July* 25, 2006 [Bill 164]

Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp) Bill
(*Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Picton*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 326]
Moved, " That the Bill be now read 2° " *July* 25, 2011; Moved, " That the Debate be now adjourned " (*Mr. Tomlinson*); after short debate, Question put; A. 75, N. 75 [Mr. Speaker gave his voice with the Ayes] (D. L. 321); Debate adjourned

MARUM, Mr. E. P. M., *Kilkenny, N.*
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1978, 1981, 1989

MASKELYNE, Mr. M. H. N. STORY-, *Wilts, Cricklade*
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1462, 1503

MASON, Mr. S., *Lanark, Mid*
Coal Mines—Udston Colliery Explosion, Lanarkshire—The Inquiry, 349
Parliament — Business of the House — Coal, Mines, &c. Regulation, 709
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1059
Technical Instruction, Motion for Leave, 1475
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1080
Universities (Scotland), 216, 755

MATTHEWS, Right Hon. H. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Birmingham, E.*
Burials Act, 1880—Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed, 79

[*cont.*

Matthews, Right Hon. H.—*cont.*

Coal Mines—Udston Colliery Explosion, Lanarkshire—The Inquiry, 349

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act—Outbreaks of Pleuro-Pneumonia in England and Scotland, 1164

Extraordinary Tithe Act, 1886—The Land Commissioners, 948

Indecent Books and Pictures, Sale of, 1615

Jubilee Day in London—Medals for the Metropolitan Police, 514, 792, 951

Jubilee of Her Majesty's Reign—Naval Review off Spithead—Overcrowding, 1159

Jubilee Week—Metropolitan Fire Brigade and Police, 339, 519

Law and Justice—Questions
- Court Houses — Accommodation for Prisoners awaiting Trial, 771
- Ripley Petty Sessions—Excessive Whipping of a Child, 1760
- "Ross *v.* Saville"—Attempting to Extort Money, 760

Law and Police—Questions
- Alleged Charge of Drunkenness—Case of Mary Williams, 216, 353, 354
- Bolton Riots — Importation of Foreign Labour, 789
- Molesting Women and Young Girls, 760, 761
- Open Air Services at Grantham—Arrests, 943
- Prostitutes in Manchester and Liverpool, 756

Law and Police (Metropolis)—Questions
- Arrest of Miss Cass, 77, 1888;—Marlborough Street Police Court—Mr. Newton, 789, 790;—Police Constable Endacott, 78, 1770, 1771, 1772
- Clerkenwell Police Court—Arbitrary Conduct of a Police Magistrate, 1337
- Condition of Cells at Police Stations, 1611
- Marylebone Police Court — Remission of Sentences, 1344, 1345, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1891
- Mr. Saunders, Police Magistrate, 1624, 1625, 1626
- Rescue from Drowning—Police Constable 483 J, 1626
- Sir Charles Warren's Letter to Sir James Ingham, 1345

Licensing Laws—Questions
- Extension of Hours of Opening—Kingston-on-Thames, 1889
- Jubilee Night—Publicans and Beerhouse Keepers—Extension of Hours of Opening, 337
- Occasional Licences—Minster Branch of the Isle of Thanet Conservative Association, 1146

London Coal and Wine Duties Continuance, 945

Lunacy Commission (England and Wales)—Annual Report, 935

Magistracy (England and Wales)—List of Nominees for the New Borough Bench, 783

Metropolitan Board of Works—Architect's Department, 1160
- Representation in this House, 1886

Metropolitan Commons—Tooting Bec Common, 1152

[*cont.*

Matthews, Right Hon. H.—*cont.*

Metropolitan Fire Brigade — Deficiency of Horses, 773

Metropolitan Police—Questions
- Alleged "Blackmailing" at the West End, 74
- Charges made by the Honourable Member for Barrow (Mr. Caine), 75
- Commissioners of the Metropolitan Police—Office of Legal Adviser, 1345
- Helmets and Clothing for Summer Wear, 517
- Police Order as to Defaulter Sheet of Constables, 216, 352
- Promotion to Sergeant, 1161

Mines Regulation Acts—William Shaw, Fireman at the Park Mine, Tawd Park Colliery, Skelmersdale, 1335

Parks (Metropolis)—Sub-Tropical Garden in Battersea Park, 1157

Prisons (England and Wales)—Alleged Ill-Treatment of a Lunatic in Stafford County Gaol, 508, 1317
- Death of a Convict from Sunstroke, 1773

Public Health—Insanitary Condition of the Thames, 784

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 986, 987, 988, 992, 993, 994, 997, 998, 1001
- Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1056, 1060, 1061, 1067, 1069

Vaccination Acts—Imprisonment of Robert Essam, of Kettering, 341

Wales — Tithe Agitation — Inquiry into the Mochdre Riot—The Commissioners, 71, 72
- Riot at Llangwn, 80, 81, 224, 505, 511, 520, 1369, 1370

Mauritius, Island of—The Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy

Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 8, 214; Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Chance, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Mundella, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland); Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor [No reply] *July* 14, 774; Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answers, Mr. Speaker, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 18, 1157

Maxwell, Sir H. E. (A Lord of the Treasury), *Wigton*

Civil Service—Notice of Examinations, 71

Mayne, Admiral R. C., *Pembroke and Haverfordwest*

Admiralty—Shipbuilding—Sheathed Cruisers 76

Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1226, 1238

erchandise Marks Law Consolidation and Amendment Bill
(*Mr. Attorney General, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*)
c. Committee (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 8, 321 [Bill 304]
Considered*; read 3º *July* 11
l. Read 1ª* (*Lord Stanley of Preston*) *July* 12 (No. 170)

Merchant Shipping—Prevention of Collisions at Sea — The Regulations—Article 19
Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 14, 767

Merchant Shipping Acts—Pilots' Certificates to Aliens — "The Queen v. Trinity House Corporation"
Question, Mr. King; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 21, 1621

Mersey Dock and Harbour Board—Ferry Communication between Bootle and New Brighton
Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 21, 1611

Meteorological Office — Invention of Mr. B. A. Collins
Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 21, 1605

METROPOLIS (*Questions*)
Burials — Brompton Cemetery, Question, Sir Algernon Borthwick; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 21, 1612
Distress in the Metropolis, Question, Mr. Cyril Flower; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) *July* 11, 344
Emigration of Pauper Children—Incidence of Cost, Question, Mr. Rankin; Answer, The Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) *July* 15, 939
Street Casualties — Death by a Post Office Parcels Post Van, Questions, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 11, 350
Street Improvements—Steps of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 14, 793

The Parks
The Sub-Tropical Gardens in Battersea Park, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1157
The Bathing Lake in Victoria Park, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 7, 65

[*cont.*

METROPOLIS—*The Parks—cont.*
Seats in the Mall, Questions, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 18, 1159
Supply of Chairs, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 21, 1620

Metropolis (Cable Street, Shadwell) Provisional Order Bill (*Earl Brownlow*)
l. Read 3ª* *July* 7 (No. 134)
Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. ci]

Metropolis Management (Battersea and Westminster) Bill (*Earl Fortescue*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 17]

Metropolis (Shelton Street, St. Giles) Provisional Order Bill
(*Earl Brownlow*)
l. Read 3ª *July* 7 (No. 135)
Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cii]

Metropolitan Board of Works, The
Representation in this House, Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 25, 1885
The Architect's Department, Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1160

Metropolitan Commons — Tooting Bec Common
Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1151

Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses Bill —Legislation
Questions, Mr. Webster, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 18, 1165

Metropolitan Fire Brigade, The — Deficiency of Horses
Questions, Mr. Isaacs, Mr. Webster; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 772

Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension Bill (*Lord Mount-Temple*)
l. Committee *July* 12, 489 (No. 69)
Report *July* 19, 1324; after short debate, further debate adjourned (No. 168)

Metropolitan Police, The
Alleged "Blackmailing" at the West End, Questions, Mr. W. L. Bright, Mr. Esslemont; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 74

[*cont.*

Metropolitan Police, The—cont.

Charges made by the Hon. Member for Barrow (*Mr. Caine*), Question, Mr. W. L. Bright; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 74

Commissioners of Metropolitan Police—The Office of Legal Adviser, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 19, 1345

Helmets and Clothing for Summer Wear, Questions, Mr. Quilter; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 517

Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women, Question, Observations, The Earl of Milltown; Reply, Earl Brownlow; Observations, The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) *July* 11, 327; Personal Explanation, The Earl of Milltown; short debate thereon *July* 12, 486

Metropolitan Police Regulation Act — The Metropolitan Magistrates, Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 12, 521

Police Force Enfranchisement Act—Registration, Question, Mr. Hobhouse; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 14, 773

Police Order as to Defaulter Sheet of Constables, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 8, 216; *July* 11, 352

Promotion to Sergeant, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1161

Rewards for Extra Service on Jubilee Day—Post Office — Telegraphists, Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 15, 951

[See title *Law and Police*]

Metropolitan Police Bill

(*Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Stuart-Wortley*) c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 12 [Bill 321]

MILLTOWN, Earl of

Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. *cl.* 5, 1322, 1323

First Offenders, Comm. Amendt. 1573

Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1327, 1328

Metropolitan Police and the Public—Arrest of Women, 327

Palace of Westminster—House of Lords—Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, 486

MILVAIN, Mr. T., *Durham*

Education Department — Reports of School Inspectors, 214

Mines Regulation Acts—William Shaw, Fireman at the Park Mine, Tawd Vale Colliery, Skelmersdale

Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 19, 1334

MINTO, Earl of

Church Patronage (Scotland), Motion for Returns, 898

Parliament—House of Lords—Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes, Res. 890

MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., *King's Co., Birr*

Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1291

Supply — House of Commons Offices, 700, 704, 705

House of Lords Offices, 693

Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1403

Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1064, 1065, 1066

Treasury, &c. 1047, 1048

Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 622

MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON, Lord

Land Transfer, Report, *add. cl.* 26, 27

MORE, Mr. R. J., *Shropshire, Ludlow*

Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1402

MORGAN, Right Hon. G. Osborne, *Denbighshire, E.*

Burials Act, 1880 — Vicar of Norham-on-Tweed, 78

Parliament—Hours of Sitting and Rising, 35

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 995, 998, 1000

House of Lords Offices, 689

Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances a Llangwm, 1359, 1361, 1363

Inquiry into the Mochdre Riot—The Commissioner, 71

Trial of the Rioters at Ruthin, 510

MORGAN, Mr. O. V., *Battersea*

Jubilee Week—Metropolitan Fire Brigade an Police, 339, 519

Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Mis Cass, 1888

Metropolitan Board of Works—Architect' Department, 1160

Public Health—A Thames Swimming Bath 1335

Public Libraries Act Amendment (No. 2 Comm. *add. cl.* 1487

Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1091

MORLEY, Earl of

War Office (Ordnance Department)—Roya Commission on Warlike Stores, 1834

MORLEY, Right Hon. J., *Newcastle-upon Tyne*

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 188—Proclamations, 1896, 1900

Irish Land Law, 2R. 1629, 1630; Comn 1690; *cl.* 1, 1910

Parliament—Arrangement of Public Busines 1570

MOUNT-TEMPLE, Lord
Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension, Comm. *cl.* 3, Amendt. 489; *add. cl. ib.*; Report, *cl.* 2; Amendt. 1324
Palace of Westminster—Central Hall—Statue of the Earl of Iddesleigh, 492

MOWBRAY, Right Hon. Sir J. R., *Oxford University*
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1644, 1645, 1646

MOWBRAY, Mr. R. G. C., *Lancashire, Prestwich*
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1067

MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J., *Sheffield, Brightside*
Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship — Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 776
Parliament—Hours of Sitting and Rising, 356
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1461
Technical Instruction, 82; Motion for Leave, 1473, 1474

Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill
(*The Earl of Erne*)
l. Report *July* 7, 27 (No. 143)
Read 3ª* *July* 8 (No. 162)
c. Lords' Amendts. considered *July* 11, 358; one disagreed to
Committee appointed, "to draw up Reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to one of the Amendments made by the Lords to the Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2) Bill;" List of the Committee, 359
l. Commons' Amendts. to Lords' Amendts. and Commons' Reason for disagreeing to one of the Lords' Amendts. considered *July* 12, 493
The Amendt. to which the Commons have disagreed, not insisted on; and the Amendts. made by the Commons to the Amendts. made by the Lords agreed to
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 118]

Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast) Bill
(*Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *July* 25, 2002; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Johnston*); after short debate, Question put, and negatived
Original Question again proposed, 2004; after short debate, Original Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 291]

MURPHY, Mr. W. M., *Dublin, St. Patrick's*
Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.), Report of Res. 451
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 624

NAPIER AND ETTRICK, Lord
War Office (Ordnance Department)—Royal Commission on Warlike Stores, 1841, 1845

NAPIER OF MAGDALA, Lord
New Zealand, Motion for Papers, 1587

National Debt and Local Loans Bill
(*The Marquess of Salisbury*)
l. Committee*; Report *July* 7 [No. 141]
Read 3ª* *July* 8
Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict. c.* 16]

NAVY (*Questions*)
Admiralty
Re-organization of the Secretary's Department, Question, Mr. Jennings; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 11, 347
Case of Bertie Wilmot Mainprise—Literary Examination, Question, Mr. Evelyn; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 15, 944
Contracts—Contract for Neatsfoot Oil, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) *July* 8, 217
Examination in Seamanship—The Reports, Question, Mr. Craig Sellar; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 19, 1346
Her Majesty's Jubilee — Non-Combatant Officers, Question, Sir William Crossman; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 8, 209
H.M.S. "Cherub"—The Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers—The Clyde Brigade, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 18, 1156
H.M.S. "Impérieuse," Question, The Earl of Dunraven; Answer, Lord Elphinstone (A Lord in Waiting) *July* 8, 205; Question, Captain Price; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 18, 1158
Shipbuilding — Sheathed Cruizers, Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 7, 76
The Royal Dockyards, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 12, 501
The Coastguard in the South of Ireland—H.M.S. "Shannon," Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 14, 781
Use of Petroleum as Fuel for the Navy, Question, Mr. Coghill; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 21, 1602
[*The Jubilee Naval Review off Spithead—* see *Queen, The*]

THE DOCKYARDS
Devonport and other Dockyards—Discharge of Workmen, Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 12, 511

[*cont.*

NAVY—*The Dockyards*—cont.
Dockyard Apprentices at Sheerness, Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, The Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Forwood) *July* 21, 1614
The Director of Dockyards, Question, Sir William Plowden; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 19, 1343

New Zealand
Moved, "That there be laid before this House, Papers relating to the emigration of Pensioners to New Zealand" (*The Lord Sandhurst*) *July* 21, 1582; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway, N.*
Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 165; Comm. 453
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1427
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. Amendt. 1068, 1069
Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Acts Amendment, 2R. 485

NORRIS, Mr. E. S., *Tower Hamlets, Limehouse*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 37
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1066

NORTHBROOK, Earl of
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), Comm. 900, 901, 904, 905, 907, 912

NORTHCOTE, Hon. H. S. (Surveyor General of Ordnance), *Exeter*
Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Artillery Volunteers—Practice with Heavy Guns, 1752
War Office—Questions
Chelsea Hospital—Burton's Court, 1157
Contracts—Supply of Meat to Lydd, Kent, 1881
Defective Weapons, 1760
Martello Towers at Blackrock, Co. Dublin, 1881
War Office (Ordnance Department)—Questions
"Boxer" Martini-Henry Cartridge, 1148
Contract for Collar Hides for the Cavalry, 339, 947, 948
Mules from Egypt for Regimental Transport Services, 1755
Supply of Leather, 1753

North Sea Fisheries—Outrage to the Nets, &c. of Yarmouth Fishermen
Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Sir Edward Birkbeck; Answers, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms), The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 22, 1768

O'BRIEN, Mr. J. F. X., *Mayo, S.*
Ireland—Law and Justice—Mayo Conspiracy Prisoners, 340

O'BRIEN, Mr. P., *Monaghan, N.*
Ireland—Post Office—Postmistress of Annyalla, Co. Monaghan, 338
Telegraph Office for Smithborough, Co. Monaghan, 937
Post Office—Pensioners from other Services under the Crown, 936

O'BRIEN, Mr. W., *Cork Co., N.E.*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 120, 127, 128
Ireland—Landlord and Tenant—The O'Grady Property, Co. Tipperary, 1766
Mr. W. O'Brien and Colonel Saunderson, Personal Explanation, 225

O'CONNOR, Mr. A., *Donegal, E.*
Agricultural Depression—Land out of Cultivation, 1895
Army Estimates, 958
Burmah—Revenues from Teak Forests and Monopolies of Earth Oil and Precious Stones, 946
Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission, 787
Employers' Liability, 800
India—Public Works Department—A Mosque at Bijapur, 1616
Ireland—Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1887—Proclamations, 1901
Public Health—Insanitary Condition of Portarlington, 1602
Island of the Mauritius—The Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 766
Local Government, 357
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 184; *cl.* 3, 196
Supply—Civil Service Commission, 1547
Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 970, 978
Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 678, 680
Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886, 1568
Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 637
House of Lords Offices, 697, 699
Local Government Board, &c. Amendt. 1776, 1787, 1788, 1789, 1803
Peterhead Harbour, 639, 641, 647, 650
Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1398, 1407
Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 659, 661, 662
Rates on Government Property, 653, 655
Report, 180
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1377, 1379, 1380
Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1050, 1062
Treasury, &c. 1016, 1018, 1019, 1026, 1027, 1029
Trustee Savings Banks — Cardiff Trustee Savings Bank, 772

O'CONNOR, Mr. J., *Tipperary, S.*
Ireland—Landlord and Tenant—The O'Grady Property, Co. Tipperary, 1765

O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Liverpool, Scotland*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1887—Proclamations, 1902
Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 610
Irish Land Law, 2R. 418; Comm. 1691
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Condition of Cells at Police Stations, 1610
Mersey Dock and Harbour Board—Ferry Communication between Bootle and New Brighton, 1611
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1654
Supply—House of Commons Offices, 702, 704, 706
  House of Lords Offices, 685, 687, 694, 697
  Treasury, &c. 1036, 1038
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 619, 620

O'Doherty, Mr. J. E., *Donegal, N.*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1887—Proclamations, 1901
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1928, 1944; Amendt. 1954, 1966, 1967

Office Under the Crown (Vacating of Seats) Bill
Mr. W. F. Lawrence, Mr. A. D. Elliot, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Tomlinson, Mr. Francis Stevenson, Mr. E. Robertson)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 13 [Bill 72]

O'Hanlon, Mr. T., *Cavan, E.*
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1636

O'Hea, Mr. P., *Donegal, W.*
Ireland—Evictions—Evictions at Gweedore, Co. Donegal, 509, 510
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1636, 1654
Supply—Civil Service Commission, 1548, 1550
  Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1431

Onslow, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for the Colonies)
New Zealand, Motion for Papers, 1590

Open Spaces (Dublin) Bill
(*Mr. William Redmond, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Dwyer Gray, Mr. Timothy Harrington*)
c. Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" *July* 25, 2008; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Colonel King-Harman*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn
Original Question put, and agreed to; Committee—R.P. [Bill 80]

Ordnance Department—see *Army*

Ordnance — Surveyor General (*see* Northcote, Hon. H. S.)

Oxenbridge, Viscount
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 754

Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order Bill (*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 7 (No. 136)
Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. c]

Paget, Sir R. H., *Somerset, Wells*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 181, 184; *cl.* 3, 192, 197; *cl.* 4, 200; *cl.* 6, 201; *cl.* 9, 203; *cl.* 11, Amendt. *ib.*; Consid. 483, 484
Markets and Fairs (Weighing of Cattle), Comm. 2016
Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, Amendt. 1391, 1405

Palmer, Sir C. M., *Durham, Jarrow*
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1273, 1284

Panama Canal, The—Excessive Mortality
Question, Sir Robert Fowler; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 19, 1318

Paris Exhibition, 1889
Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 7, 76; Questions, Sir Bernhard Samuelson; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 19, 1332

Parliament
LORDS—
The Mar Peerage, Postponement of Motion, The Earl of Galloway; short debate thereon *July* 21, 1571; Observations, The Earl of Mar; short debate thereon *July* 22, 1741

The Secretary for Scotland — Legislation, Question, The Earl of Rosebery; Answer, The Secretary for Scotland (The Marquess of Lothian) *July* 25, 1830

House of Lords—Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, The Earl of Milltown; short debate thereon *July* 12, 486
The Central Hall—The Statue of the late Earl of Iddesleigh, Question, Observations, Lord Mount-Temple; Reply, Lord Aveland *July* 12, 492

COMMONS—
Alleged Changes in the Ministry—The Marquess of Hartington, Question, Mr. J. Ellis; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 22, 1772
Mr. W. O'Brien and Colonel Saunderson, Personal Explanation, Mr. W. O'Brien *July* 8, 225

[*cont*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

ORDER

The Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, Question, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson); Answer, Mr. Schwann; Observations, Mr. Speaker *July* 8, 226

RULES OF DEBATE

Scotch Questions, Questions, Mr. Esslemont, Mr. Anderson, Sir George Campbell, Mr. A. L. Brown, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 15, 954

ADJOURNMENT

Moved, "That this House now adjourn" (*Mr. Jackson*) *July* 18, 1310; Question put, and agreed to

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Questions, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Burt; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 224; Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 12, 522; Question, Mr. W. E. Gladstone; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 798; Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. John Morley, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 20, 1570;—*Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Bill*, Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. Fenwick; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 13, 709; Questions, Mr. Jacoby, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1627;—*Criminal Law Amendment* (*Ireland*) *Bill*, Question, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 796;—*The Oaths Bill*, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 15, 953;—*Betrayal of Official and Confidential Information — Legislation*, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 18, 1161;—*The Motions on "London Corporation (Charges of Malversation),"* Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 19, 1350;—*Legal Proceedings Reports Bill*, Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1627;—*The Naval Review off Spithead*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 22, 1773;— *Technical Instruction* (*Scotland*) *Bill*, Questions, Mr. Bryce, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *July* 25, 1889; Question, Mr. R. Preston Bruce; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 25, 1896

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Contested Elections — Powers of the Lords Justices in the Absence of the Lord Lieutenant, Questions, Mr. Mac Neill; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 221

Trinity College, Dublin—Votes of the Irish Judges, Question, Mr. Mac Neill; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 15, 956

Parliamentary Voters—A Revision Court at Ballygawley, Co. Tyrone, Question, Mr. Reynolds; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman) *July* 8, 211

PALACE OF WESTMINSTER

Unventilated Cellar under the House of Commons, Question, Mr. Bond; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 12, 504

Arrangements of this House—The Library, Communication with the House—The Reading Room, Exclusion of the "United Ireland," Questions, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke, Mr. W. H. James, Mr. Handel Cossham; Answers, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith); Question, Dr. Kenny [No reply] *July* 15, 952

THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE (1882)

Rule 2 (*Adjournment of the House*)

Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 82; Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 12, 522

Matter, The Tithe Agitation in Wales—Disturbances at Llangwm

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. T. E. Ellis*) *July* 19, 1353; after debate, Question put; A. 129, N. 198; M. 69 (D. L. No. 310)

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

Hours of Sitting and Rising, Questions, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Mundella; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 11, 355

Morning Sittings, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 15, 958

Parliament (*House of Lords*)—*Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes*

Moved to resolve, "That when the name of any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be entered in the Journals or Minutes of Proceedings of the House, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament; and in the event of the Motion being agreed to, to move that the Motion be declared a Standing Order of the House, and be numbered XXXIIA" (*The Earl of Minto*) *July* 15, 899; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

[*cont.*

Parliament (*House of Lords*)—*Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes*—cont.

Moved, "That when any Lord who has a higher title or dignity than that by which he sits in Parliament shall be named in any official record of the Proceedings of the House, or of any Committee thereof, the higher title or dignity shall be added in brackets after the title by which such Lord sits in Parliament" (*The Earl of Minto*) *July* 22, 1751; Motion agreed to

Ordered, That the above Resolution be declared a Standing Order of the House

Parliament—Privilege — Complaint (*Dr. Tanner*)

Moved, "That in consequence of the disgraceful and insulting words addressed in the Lobby of the House on Friday evening last, by Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, to an honourable Member of this House, Dr. Tanner be suspended from the Service of the House, and excluded from its precincts for a Month" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *July* 18, 1171; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*); after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That Dr. Tanner, Member for the Mid Division of the County of Cork, do attend in his place on Thursday next, at half-past Four o'clock" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*), 1188; Question put, and agreed to

The Entry in the Votes, 1188

Debate resumed *July* 21, 1631

After debate, Amendt. to leave out all after "That," add "this House is of opinion that, as the words complained of by Mr. W. Long were not spoken within the House, and resulted from a conversation initiated by him, the better course for the honourable Gentleman aggrieved would have been to have first claimed the good offices of Mr. Speaker, in accordance with precedent; but that this House is prepared, should the private intervention of Mr. Speaker prove ineffectual, to repress all disorders in the Lobbies as in the House itself" (*Mr. T. M. Healy*), *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further debate, Amendt. withdrawn; Motion withdrawn

Parliament — Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers at Elections

The North Paddington Election

Moved, "That the Employment of the carriages of Peers of the Realm for conveying voters to the poll at the North Paddington Election, on July 8th, was an infringement of the Sessional Order of this House" (*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*) *July* 11, 363

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House do now proceed to the Orders of the Day" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 167, N. 196; M. 29 (D. L. 292)

Words added; Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Parliament — Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—cont.

The Hornsey Election, Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland), Mr. Speaker, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 20, 1489

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

New Peers

July 11—Claude, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, in that part of the United Kingdom called Scotland, created Baron Bowes, of Streatlam Castle in the county of Durham, and of Lunedale in the county of York

Henry William Eaton, esquire, created Baron Cheylesmore, of Cheylesmore in the city of Coventry and county of Warwick

July 12—Cornwallis, Viscount Hawarden, in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created Earl de Montalt, of Dundrum in the county of Tipperary

William Henry Forester, Baron Londesborough, created Viscount Raincliffe, of Raincliffe in the North Riding of the county of York, and Earl of Londesborough in the same county

George Edmund Milnes, Viscount Galway in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created Baron Monckton, of Serlby in the county of Nottingham

Sir John St. Aubyn, baronet, created Baron Saint Levan, of St. Michael's Mount in the county of Cornwall

The Right Honourable George Sclater-Booth created Baron Basing, of Basing Byflete and of Hoddington, both in the county of Southampton

July 15—Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, G.C.B., created Baron Magheramorne, of Magheramorne in the county of Antrim

July 25—The Right Honourable John Gellibrand Hubbard, created Baron Addington, of Addington in the county of Buckingham

Sat First

July 7—The Lord Saye and Sele, after the death of his father

July 14—The Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, after the death of his brother

The Lord Gerard, after the death of his father

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writs Issued

July 12—*For* Lambeth Borough (Brixton Division), *v.* Ernest Baggallay, esquire, Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Manor of Northstead in the county of York

[*cont.*

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT — COMMONS — *New Writs Issued*—cont.
July 15—*For* Gloucester (Forest of Dean Division), *v.* Thomas Blake, esquire, Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough, and Bonenham, in the county of Buckingham
July 22—*For* the City of London, *v.* The Right honble. John Gellibrand Hubbard, now Baron Addington, called up to the House of Peers
July 25—*For* the Borough of Glasgow (Bridgeton Division), *v.* Edward Richard Russell, esquire, Manor of Northstead

New Members Sworn
July 7—William O'Brien, esquire, *North East Division of the County of Cork*
July 11—John Aird, esquire, *Borough of Paddington (North Division)*
William Henry Walter Ballantine, esquire, *Borough of Coventry*
July 12—Thomas Bedford Bolitho, esquire, *Western or St. Ives Division, Cornwall*
July 14—Dodgson Hamilton Madden, Serjeant-at-Law in Ireland, *Dublin University*
July 21—Arthur Frederick Jeffreys, esquire, *County of Hants (Northern or Basingstoke Division)*
Honble. George Godolphin Osborne, commonly called Marquess of Carmarthen, *Borough of Lambeth (Brixton Division)*
Henry Charles Stephens, esquire, *County of Middlesex (Hornsey Division)*

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 379, 381, 385, 387, 867, 869, 870, 871; Comm. 1669, 1711; *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1903, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1910, 1939, 1966, 1973, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1991, 2001
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1176, 1636

PAULTON, Mr. J. M., *Durham, Bishop Auckland*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 262

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, Barnard Castle*
Irish Land Law, 2R. 835
Truck, Consid. 611; *add. cl.* 616, 625, 627
Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1555
Local Government Board, &c. 1794, 1795

PEASE, Mr. A. E., *York*
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1075, 1082

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PENTON, Captain F. T., *Finsbury, Central*
Post Office—New Buildings (Coldbath Fields Prison), 1619

PICKERSGILL, Mr. E. H., *Bethnal Green, S.W.*
Immigration of Foreign Paupers, 520
Jubilee Day in London—Medals for the Metropolitan Police, 514, 792, 951
Law and Police—Alleged Charge of Drunkenness—Case of Mary Williams, 215, 216, 353, 354
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Questions
Arrest of Miss Cass, 77;—Police Constable Endacott, 78
Marylebone Police Court—Remission of Sentences, 1344, 1345, 1624, 1625, 1891
Mr. Saunders, Police Magistrate, 1623
Rescue from Drowning—Police Constable 483 J, 1626
Sir Charles Warren's Letter to Sir James Ingham, 1345
Metropolitan Police—Questions
Commissioners of Police—Office of Legal Adviser, 1345
Police Order as to Defaulter Sheet of Constables, 216, 352
Promotion to Sergeant, 1161
Rewards for Extra Service on Jubilee Day—Post Office—Telegraphists, 951
Parks (Metropolis)—Bathing Lake in Victoria Park, 65
Street Casualties—Death by a Post Office Parcels Post Van, 350
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 985, 987, 989
Civil Service Commission, 1540, 1544, 1546
Friendly Societies Registry, 1558
Local Government Board, &c. 1822, 1825, 1826, 1827

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester*
Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2014
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 457, 458
Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1565
Local Government Board, &c. 1789, 1790, 1791, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807
Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 666; Motion for reporting Progress, 670, 672

Pier and Harbour Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Committee* *July* 18 (No. 137)
Report* *July* 19
Read 3^{a}* *July* 21

PINKERTON, Mr. J., *Galway*
Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—Lough Corrib Drainage Districts, 507

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Leeds, S.*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Consid. 478
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1506

PLOWDEN, Sir W. C., *Wolverhampton, W.*
Admiralty—Director of Dockyards, 1343
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 998

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R. (First Commissioner of Works), *Dublin University*
Metropolis — Burials — Brompton Cemetery, 1612
Street Improvements—Steps of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 793
Parks (Metropolis)—Questions
Bathing Lake in Victoria Park, 65
Seats in the Mall, 1160
Supply of Chairs, 1620
Parliament—Palace of Westminster—House of Commons—An Unventilated Cellar under the House of Commons, 504
Reading Room — Exclusion of "United Ireland," 952
Public Health—A "Thames Swimming Bath," 1335
Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. Amendt. 675, 676, 677, 679, 680
Metropolitan Fire Brigade, 658
Report, Amendt. 175, 181

PLUNKETT, Hon. J. W., *Gloucestershire, Thornbury*
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 266

Poinding (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Watt, Mr. M'Ewan, Mr. J. C. Bolton, Mr. Baird, Mr. Howell*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 7 [Bill 314]

Poor Law Settlement and Removal Bill
(*Mr. Norton, Sir Edward Birkbeck, Mr. Pickersgill*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 18 [Bill 330]

POST OFFICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)
(*Questions*)
Facilities for the Sale of Consols to the Working Classes, Question, Mr. Bartley; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 8, 214
Irregularities at the Vere Street Post Office, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 757
Mail Contracts—The East India and China Mail Contract, Question, Mr. Provand; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 11, 351
Conveyance of Mails to Australia and the East viâ Canada, Question, Mr. Maclure; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 14, 784
Memorial of the Sorters in the London District, Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 8, 219
Sunday Service in the Sorting Departments, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 11, 345
New Buildings (Coldbath Fields Prison), Question, Captain Penton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 21, 1619

[*cont.*

POST OFFICE (*England and Wales*)—cont.
Pattern Post, Question, Mr. Schwann; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 22, 1768
Pensioners from other Services under the Crown, Question, Mr. P. O'Brien; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 15, 936
The Lord Lieutenant's Letters—"Dublin Official Paid," Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 11, 334

TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT
Forwarding and Receiving Private Telegrams—The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, Questions, Colonel Blundell, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 8, 220
Telegraphic Communication with the Western Isles (Islay), Question, Colonel Malcolm; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 11, 336
The Telegraph to the Ben Nevis Observatory, Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 18, 1152
Central Telegraph Office—Detention of Telegraphist Clerks on the Jubilee Day, Questions, Mr. Lawson; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *July* 7, 66; *July* 14, 770

POWELL, Mr. F. S., *Wigan*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 3, 195; *cl.* 11, 203; Consid. Amendt. 484
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1453
Willesden Local Board, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 1597

POWER, Mr. P. J., *Waterford, E.*
Supply—Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 667

POWERSCOURT, Viscount
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1575

POWIS, Earl of
Tithe Rent-Charge, on Question "That the Bill do pass?" *cl.* 8, Amendt. 8

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Admiralty—H.M.S. "Impérieuse," 1158
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1238, 1268, 1269

PRIME MINISTER (*see* SALISBURY, Marquess of)

Prison (Officers' Superannuation) (Scotland) Bill (*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland, Sir Herbert Maxwell*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *July* 12, 589 [Bill 233]

Prisons (*England and Wales*)
Alleged Ill-Treatment of a Lunatic in Stafford County Gaol, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 508 ; *July* 19, 1437
Death of a Convict from Sunstroke, Question, Mr. Bonsor ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 22, 1773

PROVAND, Mr. A. D., *Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.*
Post Office—Mail Contracts—East India and China Mail Contracts, 351
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1419

Public Health
Insanitary Condition of the Thames, Questions, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Colonel Makins ; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 14, 784
A "Thames Swimming Bath," Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan ; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) *July* 19, 1335
Insanitary Condition of Margate, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton ; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *July* 21, 1603

Public Health (Scotland) (Cowdenbeath Water) Bill
(*The Marquess of Lothian*)
l. Read 2ª * *July* 18 (No. 154)
Committee * ; Report *July* 19
Read 3ª * *July* 21

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Duntocher and Dalmuir Water) Bill
(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Balfour*)
c. Report * *July* 7 [Bill 288]
Considered * *July* 8
Read 3° * *July* 11
l. Read 1ª * (*M. Lothian*) *July* 11 (No. 167)
Read 2ª * *July* 18
Committee * ; Report *July* 19
Read 3ª * *July* 21

Public Libraries Acts Amendment (No. 2) Bill (*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Baggallay, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Collings, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Sir Lyon Playfair*)
c. Committee *—R.P. *July* 7 [Bill 220]
Committee ; Report *July* 19, 1485
As amended, considered ; read 3°, after short debate *July* 21, 1739 [Bill 331]
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Camperdown*) *July* 22 (No. 185)

Public Parks and Works (Metropolis) Bill (*Mr. David Plunket, Mr. Jackson*)
c. Select Comm. Mr. Baggallay *disch.*, Mr. Whitmore *added* *July* 11
Report of Select Comm. *July* 12 [No. 219]

Public Parks and Works (*Metropolis*) [*Pensions*]
Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to *July* 18, 1310

Public Worship Facilities Bill
(*Mr. Salt, Baron Dimsdale, Mr. Morrison, Mr. Whitmore*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 292]

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., *Devonport*
Admiralty—Shipbuilding—Royal Dockyards, 501
Africa (Central)—Expedition for the Relief of Emin Pasha — Reported Death of Mr. H. M. Stanley, 1887
Local Government, 357
Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1222, 1260

Qualification of Guardians of the Poor Bill
(*Mr. Henry Wilson, Mr. Stuart, Mr. M'Laren, Mr. James Rowlands*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 8 [Bill 315]

Quarries Bill (*The Lord Sudeley*)
l. Order of the Day for resuming the adjourned debate on the Amendment to the Motion for the House to be put into Committee read ; Debate resumed accordingly *July* 7, 11
On Question, "That ('now') stand part of the Motion?" Resolved in the affirmative ; Committee (No. 83)
Report * *July* 8 (No. 160)
Read 3ª *July* 11, 332
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 19]

QUEEN, THE — *Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign*
The Royal Review at Aldershot—The Volunteers, Question, Observations, Lord Dorchester ; Reply, The Under Secretary of State for War (Lord Harris) *July* 7, 2
The Metropolitan Police Force, Question, Observations, Lord Lamington ; Reply, Earl Brownlow *July* 8, 204
The Jubilee Night—Publicans and Beerhouse Keepers—Extension of Hours of Opening, Questions, Sir Wilfrid Lawson ; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 11, 337
The Jubilee Week—The Metropolitan Fire Brigade and Police, Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan ; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews), Mr. Tatton Egerton *July* 11, 339
The Metropolitan Fire Brigade, Question, Mr. O. V. Morgan ; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 519
Medals for the Metropolitan Police, Questions, Mr. Pickersgill ; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 514 ; *July* 14, 792 ; *July* 15, 951

[*cont.*

Queen, The—*Celebration of the Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign*—cont.

Address to Her Majesty from the Ladies of the Grand Council of the Primrose League, Questions, Mr. P. Stanhope; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 14, 795; *July* 21, 1629

The Royal Navy—Pardon of Offenders, Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 21, 1628

The Naval Review off Spithead

Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 11, 342; Question, Mr. F. S. Stevenson; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 15, 957; Question, Observations, Lord Lamington; Reply, Lord Elphinstone (A Lord in Waiting) *July* 21, 1593; Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 22, 1768

Overcrowding, Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 18, 1159

Accommodation for Members, Questions, Captain Colomb; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 19, 1336

"*Total Complement*" *of the Ships*, Question, Captain Colomb; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 19, 1338

Collision between H.M.SS. "*Ajax*" *and* "*Devastation*" *off Portsmouth*, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 19, 1353; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 21, 1620

Newspaper Correspondents, Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 21, 1622

Allotment of Tickets, Question, Sir Joseph Bailey; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 21, 1622

Fatal Accident, Questions, Mr. Woodall; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty Lord George Hamilton) *July* 25, 1902

Her Majesty's Titles—"*Queen and Empress*," Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1890

Quilter, Mr. W. C., *Suffolk, S.*

Metropolitan Police Force — Helmets and Clothing for Summer Wear, 517

Raikes, Right Hon. H. C. (Postmaster General), *Cambridge University*

Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1853

Metropolitan Police — Rewards for Extra Service on Jubilee Day—Post Office—Telegraphists, 951

Raikes, Right Hon. H. C.—*cont.*

Post Office—Questions

Conveyance of Mails to Australia and the East *viâ* Canada, 784

Facilities for the Sale of Consols to the Working Classes, 215

Irregularities at the Vere Street Post Office, 757

Lord Lieutenant's Letters —"Dublin Official Paid," 335

New Buildings (Coldbath Fields Prison), 1620

Pattern Post, 1763

Pensioners from other Services under the Crown, 936

Sunday Service in the Sorting Departments, 345

Post Office—Telegraph Department—Questions

Forwarding and Receiving Private Telegrams—Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, 220

Telegraph to the Ben Nevis Observatory, 1152

Telegraph Cables in the Western Isles (Islay), 336

Telegraphists on the Jubilee Day, 66, 67, 770

Post Office (Ireland)—Questions

Communication between Skibbereen and Baltimore, 502, 503

Detention of New Silver Coins, 769

Dromintee, Co. Armagh, 211

Increased Mail Accommodation, Co. Down, 946, 1882, 1883

Orange Political Meetings, 783

Postmaster at Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's Co. 779, 780

Postmastership in Six Mile Bridge, Co. Clare, 1754

Postmistress of Annyalla, Co. Monaghan, 338

Rural Post Office Messenger of Dromard, Co. Sligo, 765

Telegraph Office for Smithborough, Co. Monaghan, 937

Street Casualties (Metropolis)—Death by a Post Office Parcels Post Van, 350

Railways (England and Wales) (*Questions*)

Station Accommodation at Dartmouth (*Great Western Railway*), Question, Mr. Seale-Hayne; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 25, 1877

The Londonderry Railway (*Sunderland and Seaham Harbour*), Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 14, 761

Use of Whistles at Night, Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 22, 1767

Rankin, Mr. J., *Herefordshire, Leominster*

Agricultural Returns—Acreage of Woods and Forests, 939

Emigration of Pauper Children (Metropolis)—Incidence of Cost, 939

Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1085

[*cont.*

Rasch, Major F. C., *Essex, S.E.*
- Supply—Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1399
- War Office—Defective Weapons, 1760

Rathbone, Mr. W., *Carnarvonshire, Arfon*
- Distressed Unions (Ireland), 2R. 174
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 845

Rating of Machinery Bill
(*Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Peacock, Sir Frederick Thorpe Mappin*)
- *c.* Reported from the Select Committee; Special Report, with Minutes of Evidence, brought up, and read; Report and Special Report to lie upon the Table, and to be printed [No. 231]
- Bill, as amended, to be printed [Bill 335]; re-committed to a Committee of the Whole House for Wednesday next *July* 20

Rating of Machinery Bill
- *Valuation of Municipal Waterworks*, Question, Mr. J. C. Bolton; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 21, 1618

Redmond, Mr. W. H. K., *Fermanagh, N.*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) 3R. 315
- Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—Works at Lough Erne and Beleek, 64, 65, 771
  - Post Office — Orange Political Meetings, 788
- Supply—Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 676

Reed, Sir E. J., *Cardiff*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 134
- Navy Estimates—Dockyards and Naval Yards at Home and Abroad, 1232, 1240, 1241, 1245, 1246, 1263, 1282, 1286

Reid, Mr. R. T., *Dumfries, &c.*
- Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1914, 1951
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1463, 1464
  - House of Lords Offices, 699
- Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1366, 1370

Reynolds, Mr. W. J., *Tyrone, E.*
- Commissioners of Irish Lights, 210
- Parliamentary Voters—A Revision Court at Ballygawley, Co. Tyrone, 211

Ritchie, Right Hon. C. T. (President of the Local Government Board), *Tower Hamlets, St. George's*
- Hydrophobia—M. Pasteur's System of Treatment, 209
- Labourers Allotments, Leave, 1302
- Local Government Bill, 357

[cont.

Ritchie, Right Hon. C. T.—*cont.*
- Local Government Board—Institution of a Boundary Commission—Inclusion of the Metropolitan District, 218, 774
  - Local Administration, 773
- Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 186, 190, 191
- Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2010
- Public Health—Insanitary Condition of Margate, 1604
- Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1797, 1799, 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, 1807, 1814, 1816, 1817, 1825, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829
- Water Companies (Regulation of Powers), Comm. *cl.* 4, 895

Roberts, Mr. J. B., *Carnarvonshire, Eifion*
- Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 470

Robertson, Mr. E., *Dundee*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 257
- Paris Exhibition, 1889, 76
- Parliament—New Rules of Procedure (1882)—Motions for Adjournment at Question Time, 82
- Scotland — Water Supply — Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities, Motion for a Select Committee, 1153, 1569
- Supply—Report, 1735

Robinson, Mr. B., *Dudley*
- Education Department — Emigration to the Colonies—Technical Education, 940

Rosebery, Earl of
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) 1R. 326, 327; Comm. 904, 908, 912, 915
- Egypt—Anglo-Egyptian Convention—Ratification, 324, 325; — Debate of Monday, June 11, Correction, 710
- New Zealand, Motion for Papers, 1589
- Secretary for Scotland, 1830

Rowlands, Mr. J., *Finsbury, E.*
- Post Office—Memorial of the Sorters in the London District, 219
- Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1459
  - Friendly Societies Registry, 1550
- War Office — Election for the Basingstoke Division of Hants—Passes, 1626

Rowlands, Mr. W. Bowen, *Cardiganshire*
- Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1371;—Trial of the Rioters, 504, 505, 520
  - Riot at Mochdre, 224

Rowntree, Mr. J., *Scarborough*
- Supply — Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. Amendt. 1421, 1431

Russell, Sir C., *Hackney, S.*
- Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1918

RUSSELL, Mr. T. W., *Tyrone, S.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 41
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1869
Ireland—Questions
Board of National Education — The Vacant Seat, 342
Irish Land Law Bill — Debate of July 12, Correction, 800
Land Law Act, 1881—Bonâ Fide Occupation—Fair Rents — Sub-Letting, 941, 943
National Schools—Qualifications for Monitorships, 211
Irish Land Law 2R. 379, 526, 539, 540, 541, 820, 859; Comm. 1697, 1725; *cl.* 1, 1906, 1909, 1912, 1916, 1930, 1931, 1936, 1938, 1944, 1961, 1964, 1993
Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2010
Supply—Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, &c. 1415; Amendt. 1420
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 612

Russia—Arrest of Mr. Dillon, a British Subject, at Odessa
Questions, Mr. Dillon; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 14, 792

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill (*Mr. James Stevenson, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Cozens-Hardy*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 8 [Bill 41]

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (No. 2) Bill (*Sir Joseph Pease, Sir Charles Palmer, Mr. Isaac Wilson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 13 [Bill 97]

SALISBURY, Marquess of (Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)
Asia (Central)—Afghanistan—Frontier Question, 1830
Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. 1320; *cl.* 5, 1324
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 1R. 326, 327; Comm. 915; *cl.* 2, 926; 3R. 1126, 1141, 1143
Egypt—Anglo-Egyptian Convention—Ratification, 324, 325
International Arbitration, Res. 1832
Land Transfer, Report, *cl.* 39, 21, 22; 3R. Motion for Adjournment, 331, 332
Mar Peerage, Postponement of Motion, 1573, 1743
Palace of Westminster—House of Lords—Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, 487
Parliament (House of Lords)—Titles of Peers—Entries in the Journals or Minutes, Res. 890
Quarries, Comm. *cl.* 4, Amendt. 13
Tithe Rent-Charge, 3R. 6; on Question, "That the Bill do pass?" *cl.* 3, Amendt. 9

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Income Tax—Returns of Persons Employed by Joint Stock, &c. Companies, 1598
Local Government Board — Local Administration, 773
Lunacy Acts Amendment, 795

SAMUELSON, Sir B., *Oxfordshire, Banbury*
Paris Exhibition, 1889, 1332, 1333
Supply—Friendly Societies Registry, 1556, 1562

SANDHURST, Lord
New Zealand, Motion for Papers, 1582, 1591

SAUNDERSON, Colonel E. J., *Armagh, N.*
Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 50
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 125, 128, 131, 132, 287

School Fees (Non-Paupers) Bill
(*Mr. Llewellyn, Sir Richard Paget, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Quilter*)
c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *July* 21, 1740 [Bill 106]

SCHWANN, Mr. C. E., *Manchester, N.*
Order—Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, 227
Post Office—Pattern Post, 1768

SCOTLAND—Secretary for (*see* LOTHIAN, Marquess of)

SCOTLAND (*Questions*)
Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Act, 1886—Evasion of the Act—The Barcaldine Estate, Question, Dr. R. Macdonald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 15, 940
Excise—Illegal Searching at Slumbay, Question, Dr. R. Macdonald; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 14, 786
General Register of Sasines, Edinburgh—Extra Attendance of Clerks, Questions, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 7, 61; *July* 21, 1598
Local Taxation Returns, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 11, 354
Lunacy—Loans Contracted by the District Boards of Lunacy, Question, Mr. R. Preston Bruce; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 21, 1613
Water Supply—Value of Waterworks of Municipal Corporations—A Select Committee, Questions, Mr. E. Robertson; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 18, 1153; *July* 20, 1569

[cont.

Scotland—*cont.*

Fishery Board (Scotland)

Beam Trawling in Aberdeen Bay, Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 7, 80; —*The Report*, Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 14, 790

Loans to Fishermen under the Crofters Act, Questions, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 12, 497

Private Rights in Mussel Beds, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 11, 336

The Scientific Committee—Expenditure, Questions, Mr. A. L. Brown; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald), Mr. Speaker *July* 14, 763

Law and Police (Scotland)

Assault on C. Robertson, Kinreachie, Inverness-shire, Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 25, 1879

Prisons (Scotland)

Salary of Medical Officers of Glasgow, Questions, Mr. Caldwell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 12, 513

Scotland—Church Patronage

Motion for Returns (*The Earl of Minto*) *July* 15, 897; after short debate, Motion amended, and agreed to

Scotland—Teinds

Moved for, "Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881)" (*The Earl of Minto*) *July* 15, 896; Motion amended, and agreed to

Moved, "That there be laid before this House Returns of the rental of each county and each parish in Scotland, and of the value of the teinds appertaining thereto, and the value of such portion of them as is now appropriated to the payment of stipend and communion elements, and the value of such of them as are unexhausted by such payments, and which still remain available for the future augmentation of ministers' stipends (in part continuation of Return 235, 1881)" (*The Earl of Minto*) *July* 25, 1816; Motion agreed to

Scotland—Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities

Questions, Mr. E. Robertson; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 18, 1153

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the Law relating to the Valuation and Rating of Waterworks belonging to Local Authorities in Scotland, and to report what alterations are necessary therein" (*Mr. Edmund Robertson*) *July* 20, 1569; Debate adjourned

Secretary for Scotland Bill

Question, Mr. D. Crawford; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 81; Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), *July* 19, 1351

Selborne, Earl of

Copyhold Enfranchisement, Comm. 1320; *cl.* 5, 1323

Coroners, 2R. 1581

Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 2R. 752; Comm. *cl.* 2, 927; *cl.* 6, 930; 3R. 1103

First Offenders, Comm. 1573

High Court of Justice—Chancery Division, 1591

Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1327

Mar Peerage, Postponement of Motion, 1571

Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts (Extension), Report, *cl.* 2, 1325

Sellar, Mr. A. C., *Lanarkshire, Partick*

Admiralty — Examination in Seamenship—Reports, 1346

Selwin-Ibbetson, Right Hon. Sir H. J., *Essex, Epping*

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 982

Harbours, &c. under the Board of Trade, 634

Metropolitan Fire Brigade, 658

Seton-Karr, Mr. H., *St. Helen's*

Bulgaria—Election of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, 219

Sexton, Mr. T., *Belfast, W.*

Bankruptcy Courts (Ireland) 2R. 2017

Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid. 33, 36, 46, 56, 60, 225, 491, 495

Ireland—Questions

Board of National Education—Dismissal of Mr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Inspector of National Schools, 933, 934

City Charter for Belfast, 1894

Criminal Law Amendment, 1887—Proclamations, 1899, 1902

Irish Land Law, 1353

Licences (Belfast) Bill and Bankruptcy Courts, 1166

Lunatic Asylums — Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum, 1757

Post Office—Increased Mail Accommodation, Co. Down, 947, 1882

Royal Irish Constabulary—Removal of Placards, 1886

Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, Amendt. 1923, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1997, 1999

Sexton, Mr. T.—*cont.*
- Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1158
- London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)—Sir Robert Fowler and Mr. Howell, 1352
- Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2015
- Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2), Lords' Amendts. Consid. 358
- Municipal Regulation (Constabulary, &c.) (Belfast), 2R. 2003, 2004
- Parliament—Adjournment, 1310
  - Business of the House—Naval Review off Spithead, 1773
- Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1171, 1173, 1174; Motion for Adjournment, 1175, 1176, 1648, 1651, 1652
- Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 974, 981, 1007, 1011
  - House of Commons Offices, 1014
  - Report, 1295, 1296
  - Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1051, 1060
  - Treasury, &c. 1021, 1022, 1024, 1045
- Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 611, 616, 620; Amendt. 625
- Wales—Tithe Agitation—Disturbances at Llangwm, 1362

Sheriffs (Consolidation) Bill [H.L]
(*Mr. Solicitor General*)
- *c.* Read 2°, after short debate *July* 12, 590
- Committee deferred, after short debate *July* 21, 1739

Sinclair, Mr. W. P., *Falkirk, &c.*
- Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 618, 1083

Smith, Right Hon. W. H. (First Lord of the Treasury), *Strand, Westminster*
- Agricultural Depression—Land out of Cultivation, 1895
- Army Estimates, 957, 958
- Belfast Main Drainage, Lords' Amendts. Consid., Amendt. 60, 61, 225
- Burmah (Upper)—Ruby Mines, 525
- Cardiff Savings Bank—A Royal Commission, 221
- Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 84, 800, 1351
- Contested Elections—Lords Justices as Governors of Ireland, 221, 222
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 270, 271
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. *cl.* 39, 609; Motion for Adjournment, 610
- Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 589
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1370
- Duchy of Lancaster—Chancellor of the Duchy, 1628
- Egypt—Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's Mission, 799
- Employers' Liability, 800
- Hares Preservation—A "Close Time," 1627
- Immigration of Foreign Paupers, 521

[*cont.*

Smith, Right Hon. W. H.—*cont.*
- Ireland—Questions
  - City Charter for Belfast, 1894
  - Irish Land Law, 1353, 1491, 1630
  - Law and Justice—Reduction of the Irish Bench, 224
  - Licences (Belfast) Bill and Bankruptcy Courts, 1166
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 883, 887; Comm. 1688, 1689; *cl.* 1, 1907, 1933, 2000
- Irish Land Law [Remuneration], Comm. 1774
- Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Address to Her Majesty from Ladies of the Grand Council of the Primrose League, 796, 1629
  - Pardon of Offenders—Royal Navy, 1628, 1629
- Land Transfer—Inheritance, Primogeniture, and Registration of Titles, 1166
  - Reference to a Select Committee, 1350
- Law and Justice—Appointment in the Probate Court, Manchester, 793
- Law and Police (Metropolis)—Questions
  - Arrest of Miss Cass, 78, 223
  - Metropolitan Magistrates, 521
  - "Solicitation" in the Public Streets, 794
- Law of Limited Liability, 1893
- Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), 3R. 322, 523
- Local Government, 357, 358
- Local Government Board—Institution of a Boundary Commission—Inclusion of the Metropolitan District, 219
- London Brokers' Relief Act—A Royal Commission, 1600
- Lunacy Acts Amendment, 795
- Marquess of Hartington—Alleged Proposed Changes in the Ministry, 1772
- "Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses Bill," 1165
- Minister for Agriculture, 354, 355
- Navy Estimates, 1352
- Parliament—Questions
  - Hours of Sitting and Rising, 355, 356
  - House of Commons—Reading Room—"United Ireland," Exclusion of, 953
  - Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—Hornsey Election, 1491
- Parliament—Business of the House—Questions
  - 224, 225, 522, 709, 710, 798
  - Arrangement of Public Business, 1570
  - Coal Mines, &c. Regulation, 1628
  - Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 796
  - Legal Proceedings Reports, 1627
  - Morning Sittings, 958
  - Motions on "London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)," 1351
  - Naval Review off Spithead, 1773
  - New Rules of Procedure (1882)—Motions for Adjournment at Question Time, 82
  - New Rules of Procedure, 522
  - Oaths Bill, 953
  - Rules of Debate—Scotch Business, 954, 955
  - Technical Instruction (Scotland), 1896
  - Technical Education, 82, 83
  - Truck, 357
- Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1170, 1175, 1176, 1187, 1188, 1639, 1640, 1665

[*cont.*

Smith, Right Hon. W. H.—*cont.*
- Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 363; Amendt. 364
- Parliamentary Elections—Trinity College, Dublin—Votes of the Irish Judges, 956
- Public Service—Betrayal of Official and Confidential Information, 1165
- Scotland—Local Taxation Returns, 354
  - Secretary for Scotland, 81, 1351
- Supply—Questions
  - Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1447, 1460, 1461, 1463, 1464
  - Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 989, 990, 1013
  - House of Lords Offices, 692, 693, 697
  - Local Government Board, &c. 1822
  - Privy Council and Subordinate Departments, 1399, 1407
  - Treasury, &c. 1032, 1046

Smith, Mr. S., *Flintshire*
- Education Department—Technical Education—Evening Schools, 220
- Indecent Books and Pictures, Sale of, 1615
- Irish Land Law, Comm. 1673
- Law and Police—Molesting Women and Young Girls, 760, 761
- Parliament—Business of the House—Legal Proceedings Reports, 1627

Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis) Bill
(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*)
- *l.* Report of Select Comm. *July* 15 [No. 174]
- Bill reported * *July* 15 (Nos. 43-175)
- Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill" *July* 21, 1574; after short debate, Committee put off
- Order for Committee discharged *July* 25, 1845

Solicitor General (*see* Clarke, Sir E. G.)

Southern Pacific, Islands of the—Hawaii—Reported Revolution
- Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 22, 1766

Spain
- *Alleged Murder of a British Seaman at Bilbao by a Spanish Sentry,* Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 21, 1631
- *Detention of the Steamer "Carn Brea,"* Question, Mr. Donkin; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 11, 346

Speaker, The (Right Hon. Arthur Wellesley Peel), *Warwick and Leamington*
- Belfast Main Drainage, Lords Amendts. Consid. 32, 36, 37, 59, 60, 494, 495
- Burmah (Upper)—Ruby Mines, 524

Speaker, The—*cont.*
- Criminal Law (Scotland) Procedure (No. 2), Consid. 593; *cl.* 44, 888, 889
- Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 449
- Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways)—Suspension of Standing Orders, 1752, 1861, 1868, 1871
- Ireland—Distressed Unions, 358
  - Dog Tax, 939
- Irish Land Law, 2R. 425, 540; Comm. 1668, 1684, 1686, 1692
- Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1158
- Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 462, 468
- London Corporation (Charges of Malversation)—Sir Robert Fowler and Mr. Howell, 1352
- Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2015
- Parliament—Order—Case of Miss Cass—The Members for Lancashire, 227
  - Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—Hornsey Election, 1489, 1490
- Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1169, 1170, 1184, 1185, 1188, 1633, 1635, 1636, 1639, 1646, 1650, 1651, 1663, 1665
- Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 361, 363, 365, 366, 367
- School Fees (Non-Paupers), 2R. 1741
- Scotland—Fishery Board—Scientific Committee—Expediture, 765
- Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 1078, 1088, 1091; *cl.* 4, 1098
- Trustee Savings Banks, 2R. 2001
- Wales—Tithe Agitation—Disturbances at Llangwm, 1354, 1362

Spencer, Earl
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 1125, 1127, 1132, 1142
- Municipal Corporations Acts (Ireland) Amendment (No. 2), Report, Amendt. 27

Spencer, Hon. C. R., *Northamptonshire, Mid*
- Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) 2R. 112

Stanhope, Earl
- Palace of Westminster—Central Hall—Acoustic Properties of this House, Personal Explanation, 488

Stanhope, Right Hon. E. (Secretary of State for War), *Lincolnshire, Horncastle*
- Africa (South)—Bechuanaland—Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 212
- Army—Promotions in the Royal Artillery, 498
  - Ireland—Martello Tower at Brighton View, Co. Dublin—Advertising Placards, 1153
  - Review of the 2nd July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, 68
- Trade and Commerce in the East—Suez Canal and the Cape of Good Hope Route, 1616

[*cont.*

Stanhope, Right Hon. E.—*cont.*
War Office—Questions
Auxiliary Forces—Arms of the English, Irish, and Scotch Militia, 777
Competition for the Medical Staff, 79
Deaths from Sunstroke at the Curragh Camp, 72
Election for the Basingstoke Division of Hants—Passes, 1626
Garrison Chaplain in Cork, 782
Government Contracts—Officials interested in Contracting Firms, 1148
Importation of Canadian Horses, 1343
Medical Examination of Colonels before Promotion, 762
Medical Officers in Cork Barracks, 780
Officers of the Militia—Army Signalling, 1344
Promotion—Senior Quartermasters, 349
Promotion of Pioneer Sergeants, 64
Regimental Bands at Political Demonstrations—Queen's Regulations, 1163
Review at Aldershot—Exposure to the Heat, 71, 509
Small Arms—Magazine Rifle, 1890
Subscriptions to Parochial Schools, 347

Stanhope, Hon. P. J., *Wednesbury*
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Address to Her Majesty from the Ladies of the Grand Council of the Primrose League, 795, 796, 1629
Parliament—Sessional Orders—Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 368, 369

Stanley of Alderley, Lord
International Arbitration, Res. 1831

Stevenson, Mr. F. S., *Suffolk, Eye*
Egypt—Departure of Sir H. Drummond Wolff—Ahmed Mouhktar Pasha, 949, 950, 1890
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 957
Local Government Board—Institution of a Boundary Commission—Inclusion of the Metropolitan District, 218
Parliament—Business of the House—New Rules of Procedure, 522

Stevenson, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1), 3R. 1331

Stewart, Mr. H., *Lincolnshire, Spalding*
Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Outbreaks of Pleuro-Pneumonia in England and Scotland, 1164

Stewart, Mr. M. J., *Kirkcudbright*
Licensed Premises (Earlier Closing) (Scotland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 1480

Stratheden and Campbell, Lord
Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis), Comm. 1575, 1815

Stuart, Mr. J., *Shoreditch, Hoxton*
Contagious Diseases Ordinances in the Colonies, 778
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 112
Indian Contagious Diseases Act Repeal, 1615
Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2011, 2015
Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1526

Sudeley, Lord
Quarries, Comm. 11; *cl.* 3, 13
Review of the 2nd of July—The Honourable Artillery Company and the Royal Naval Volunteers—Precedence at Reviews, 29

Sugar Industry, The—Closing of Refineries
Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry De Worms) *July* 11, 313

Sullivan, Right Hon. T. D. (Lord Mayor of Dublin), *Dublin, College Green*
Dublin, Wicklow and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1864

Sullivan, Mr. D., *Westmeath, S.*
Ireland—Tramways—Schull and Skibbereen Tramways, 62

SUPPLY
The Army Estimates, Questions, Sir Walter B. Barttelot, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 15, 957
The Navy Estimates, Observations, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *July* 15, 957; Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 19, 1352

SUPPLY
Consideration of Postponed Resolutions [20th June] read *July* 7, 174
(3.) Royal Parks and Pleasure Gardens Resolution [4th July] reported; Resolution amended, and agreed to
(4.) Houses of Parliament; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
Considered in Committee *July* 13, 629—Civil Service Estimates; Class I.—Public Works and Buildings, Votes 13 to 16, 18 to 20, 25, 26; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Vote 1
Resolutions reported *July* 14
Considered in Committee *July* 15, 958—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, Further Vote on Account, £1,885,100
Resolution reported *July* 18; and, after short debate, agreed to
Considered in Committee *July* 15, 1014—Civil Service Estimates; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 2, 3, & 4
Resolutions reported *July* 18, 1295
First Resolution agreed to

[*cont.*

Supply—*cont.*
  Second Resolution read a first and second time ; after short debate, Resolution agreed to
  Third Resolution agreed to
 Considered in Committee *July* 18, 1183—Navy Estimates, Votes 6 to 9
 Resolutions reported *July* 19
 Considered in Committee *July* 19, 1372—Civil Service Estimates ; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 5 to 9
 Resolutions reported *July* 20, 1569
 Considered in Committee *July* 20, 1491—Civil Service Estimates ; Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 10 to 13
 Resolutions reported *July* 21
 Considered in Committee *July* 22, 1776—Civil Service Estimates ; Class II.—Salaries abd Expenses of Civil Departments, Votes 14 to 16
 Resolutions reported *July* 25

Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Amendmedt Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)
c. Ordered ; read 1° * *July* 15 [Bill 325]

Swetenham, Mr. E., *Carnarvon, &c.*
 Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1364, 1368, 1369

Swinburne, Sir J., *Staffordshire, Lichfield*
 Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 1001
  House of Lords Offices, 696
  Peterhead Harbour, 648, 650, 651
  Treasury, &c. 1030, 1047

Talbot, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*
 Supply—Charity Commission for England and Wales, 1508, 1514

Tanner, Dr. C. K., *Cork Co., Mid*
 Admiralty—The Coastguard in the South of Ireland—H.M.S. "Shannon," 781
 Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 110
 Distressed Unions (Ireland) [Salary, Advances, &c.], Report of Res. 451
 Ireland—Questions
  Dog Tax—Collection of the Tax, 939
  Evictions—Evictions on the Brooke Estate, Coolgreany, Co. Wexford, 798
  State of Ireland—Orange Procession from Portadown, 782
 Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 462
 Open Spaces (Dublin), Comm. 2010
 Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1632, 1634
 Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 989, 1013
  Diplomatic and Consular Buildings, &c. 678
  Lighthouses Abroad, 674
  Local Government Board, &c. 1804, 1819, 1820, 1828
  Peterhead Harbour, 645, 647, 649, 651
[*cont.*

Tanner, Dr. C. K.—*cont.*
  Public Buildings in the Department of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, &c. 665
  Science and Art Buildings, Dublin, 672
  Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1071
 War Office—Garrison Chaplain in Cork, 781, 782
  Medical Officers in Cork Barracks, 780

Technical Instruction Bill
 Questions, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Bryce ; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 7, 82

Technical Instruction Bill
(*Sir William Hart Dyke, Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Jackson*)
c. Motion for Leave (*Sir William Hart Dyke*) *July* 18, 1310 ; Debate adjourned
 Debate resumed *July* 19, 1464 ; after debate, Question put, and agreed to ; Bill ordered ; read 1° * [Bill 332]

Temple, Sir R., *Worcester, Evesham*
 Council of India—Representation of the Bombay Presidency, 949
 Technical Instruction, Motion for Leave, 1475

Temporary Dwellings Bill
(*Mr. Elton, Mr. Burt, Mr. Caine, Mr. Matthew Kenny, Colonel Makins*)
c. Read 2°, and committed to a Select Committee *July* 19, 1476 [Bill 256]

Thorburn, Mr. W., *Peebles and Selkirk*
 Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1055

Thring, Lord
 Coroners, 2R. 1580
 Quarries, Comm. *cl.* 3, 13 ; 3R. 332

Tithe Rent-Charge Bill
(*The Marquess of Salisbury*)
l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ᵃ" *July* 7, 3
 Amendt. To leave out all after ("That,") insert ("no measure with regard to tithe rent-charge will be satisfactory to the country which does not provide for the revaluation and re-adjustment of the said charge") (*The Lord Brabourne*) ; after short debate, on Question, "That the words, &c.?" Resolved in the affirmative ; Bill read 3ᵃ (No. 115)
 On Question, "That the Bill do pass?" Amendts. made ; Then the Queen's consent and the Duke of Cornwall's consent signified by The Marquess of Salisbury ; and Bill passed, and sent to the Commons
c. Read 1° * (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *July* 22 [Bill 336]

TOMLINSON, Mr. W. E. M., *Preston*
Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 2, 2015
Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 2013
Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Forwarding and Receiving Private Telegrams—The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company, 220
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1065
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 617, 627, 1086, 1090

Trade and Commerce
British Trade in Spain and the Spanish Colonies, Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 7, 67
Exports and Imports of the Port of Dublin, Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde [Not put] *July* 19, 1340
Trade and Commerce in the East—The Suez Canal and the Cape of Good Hope Route, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *July* 21, 1616

Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill
(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. James O'Brien, Mr. Foley, Mr. Sheehy*)
c. Read 2° *July* 11, 485 [Bill 252]

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1) Bill (*Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Jackson*)
c. Read 3°, after short debate *July* 19, 1329 [Bill 257]
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Stanley of Preston*) *July* 21 (No. 181)

Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 2) Bill (*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Read 3ª * *July* 7 (No. 133)
Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxiii]

TREASURY—First Lord (*see* SMITH, Right Hon. W. H.)

TREASURY, A Lord of (*see* MAXWELL, Sir H. E.)

TREASURY—Secretary to (*see* JACKSON, Mr. W. L.)

Truck Bill
Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 11, 356

Truck Bill (*Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Warmington, Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Arthur Williams, Mr. Howard Vincent, Mr. Esslemont*)
c. As amended, considered *July* 12, 610; after debate, Further Proceeding on Consideration, as amended, deferred [Bill 299]
[*cont*

Truck Bill—cont.
Further Proceeding resumed *July* 15, 1071
Read 3°, after short debate *July* 18, 1298
l. Read 1ª * (*Lord Macnaghten*) *July* 19 (No. 179)

Trustee Savings Banks—Cardiff Trustee Savings Bank—A Royal Commission
Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *July* 8, 221; Questions, Mr. Howell, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *July* 14, 771

Trustee Savings Banks Bill
(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, The First Lord of the Treasury*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 19 [Bill 334]
Read 2° *July* 25, 2001

Trusts (Scotland) Act (1867) Amendment Bill
(*The Marquess of Lothian*)
l. Committee *; Report *July* 8 (No. 117)
Read 3ª * *July* 11
Royal Assent *July* 12 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c 18]

TUITE, Mr. J., *Westmeath, N.*
Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—Rivers Shannon and Brosna, 1145
Lunatic Asylums — Mullingar District Lunatic Asylum, 1756
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1970

Turnpike Roads (South Wales) Bill
(*Mr. Maitland, Sir Joseph Bailey*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 19 [Bill 333]

TYLER, Sir H. W., *Great Yarmouth*
Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 1157
North Sea Fisheries—Outrage to the Nets, &c. of Yarmouth Fishermen, 1768, 1769

Ulster Canal and Tyrone Navigation Bill (*Mr. Jackson, Colonel King-Harman, Sir Herbert Maxwell*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *July* 7 [Bill 313]

United States—Seizure of the British Steam Schooner "Annie Beck" in Alaskan Waters
Question, Mr. Baden-Powell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 21, 1619

Universities (Scotland) Bill
Legislation, Questions, Mr. Mason; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) *July* 8, 216; *July* 14, 755

Vaccination Acts—Imprisonment of Robert Essam, of Kettering
Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 11, 311

Vagrant Act Amendment Bill
(*Mr. C. Dyke Acland, Mr. Caine, Mr. Harry Davenport, Sir Robert Fowler, Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Henry Wilson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *July* 18 [Bill 192]
Street Solicitation, Question, Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Mr. C. T. D. Acland *July* 14, 767

Valuation of Lands (Scotland) Amendment Bill [H.L.]
(*The Marquess of Lothian*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *July* 15 (No. 176)
Read 2ª *July* 19, 1326
Committee *; Report *July* 21
Committee * (*on re-comm.*); Report *July* 25

Venezuela and British Guiana—The Disputed Boundary
Question, Sir Thomas Esmonde; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 14, 765; Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 25, 1887

VINCENT, Mr. C. E. H., *Sheffield, Central*
Island of the Mauritius—Lieutenant Governorship—Charges against Sir John Pope Hennessy, 774
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass — Examination of Police Constable Endacott, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772
Parks (Metropolis)—Seats in the Mall, 1159
Technical and Commercial Education—Employment of Foreigners in London, 1312

Wales
Civil Service Examinations — Notices, Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 11, 351; *July* 14, 783

The Tithe Agitation
Inquiry into the Mochdre Riot—The Commissioner, Questions, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 71; Question, Mr. Bowen Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 8, 224
Riots at Llangwm, Question, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 7, 80
The Trial of the Rioters, Questions, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. T. E. Ellis; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 504
[*cont.*

Wales—The Tithe Agitation—cont.
Trial of the Rioters at Ruthin, Question, Mr Osborne Morgan; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 510; Questions, Mr. T. E. Ellis, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Bowen Rowlands, Mr. Puleston; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *July* 12, 519; Questions, Mr. T. E. Ellis, Mr. T. M. Healy; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) *July* 19, 1349

War Department—see *Army*

WAR DEPARTMENT—Secretary of State (*see* STANHOPE, Right Hon. E.)

WAR DEPARTMENT—Under Secretary of State (*see* HARRIS, Lord)

WAR DEPARTMENT—Financial Secretary (*see* BRODRICK, Hon. W. St. J. F.)

WARING, Colonel T., *Down, N.*
Ireland—Inland Navigation and Drainage—Government Subvention of £50,000, 1162
Irish Land Law, Comm. 1667

Water Companies (Regulation of Powers) Bill (*Mr. Fulton, Captain Colomb, Mr. C. R. Spencer*)
c. Committee; Report *July* 14, 894 [Bill 141]
Considered *; read 3° *July* 15
l. Read 1ª * (*Earl of Camperdown*) *July* 18
Read 2ª * *July* 25 (No. 172)

Water Provisional Orders Bill
(*Lord Stanley of Preston*)
l. Royal Assent *July* 19 [50 & 51 *Vict.* c. cxxiv]

WATSON, Lord
Legitimacy Declaration Act (1858) Amendment, 2R. 1327

WATT, Mr. H., *Glasgow, Camlachie*
British Guiana and Venezuela—The Boundary Question, 1887
Burmah—Ruby Mines, 790, 949
London Brokers' Relief Act—A Royal Commission, 1599
War Office (Small Arms)—Magazine Rifle, 1890

WAYS AND MEANS
Excise—Number of Spirit Grocers in the Metropolitan Police District, Dublin, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Parliamentary Under Secretary for Ireland (Colonel King-Harman); Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson [No reply] *July* 25, 1879
Income Tax—Returns of Persons Employed by Joint Stock, &c. Companies, Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 21, 1598
[*cont.*

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*
Inland Revenue Department—"Ride" Officers, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 19, 1339

WEBSTER, Sir R. E. (Attorney General), *Isle of Wight*
Corrupt Practices Act—Alleged Personation in North Hants, 1893
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 141
High Court of Justice—"Billing *v.* Brogden," 1606
Incumbents Resignation Act (1871) Amendment, Comm. 2015
Irish Land Law, Comm. *cl.* 1, 1985, 1994, 2000
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 454, 455, 458, 463, 466, 471, 474
Law and Justice—Oaths "without Religious Belief," 208
Law and Police—"Bayfus *v.* Saville"—Summonses in the Marlborough Street Police Court, 759
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 187
Marriages (Attendance of Registrars), 2R. 2006
Marriages Confirmation (Antwerp), 2R. 2014
Metropolitan Fire Brigade — Deficiency of Horses, 772
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1181, 1184, 1651, 1652, 1653, 1654
Parliament—Sessional Orders — Interference of Peers at Elections—North Paddington Election, Res. 370, 371
Police Force Enfranchisement Act—Registration, 773
Sheriffs (Consolidation), 2R. 593
Truck, Consid. *add. cl.* 613, 619, 626; Motion for Adjournment, 628, 1073, 1074, 1076, 1081, 1087; *cl.* 4, 1095; *cl.* 7, Amendt. 1099; *cl.* 11, Amendt. 1100; Schedule, Amendt. *ib.*
Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1349, 1350, 1355, 1357, 1361, 1368, 1370, 1371

WEBSTER, Mr. R. G., *St. Pancras, E.*
"Metropolitan Fire Brigade Expenses Bill," 1165
Tramways Provisional Orders (No. 1), 3R. 1329

WEMYSS, Earl of
Army (Re-organization), Postponement of Motion, 1102; Motion for a Paper, 1743, 1751
Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland), 3R. 1144
Crofters Holdings (Scotland), Commons' Amendts. Consid. 207
Jubilee Year of Her Majesty's Reign, Celebration of—Naval Review off Spithead, 1594
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), 2R. 1578
Metropolitan Open Spaces Acts Extension, Report, *cl.* 2, 1325
Palace of Westminster—Central Hall—Statue of the late Earl of Iddesleigh, 493
Quarries, 3R. 332
Smoke Nuisance Abatement (Metropolis), Comm. 1574, 1845

WEST, Colonel W. C., *Denbigh, W.*
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 999

Western Australia—Resignation of Mr. Hensman, Attorney General
Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 21, 1605

West Indies—Barbadoes—The Legislative Council—Railway and Water Companies
Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Henry Holland) *July* 11, 333

WHITBREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*
Parliament—Privilege—Complaint (Dr. Tanner), Res. 1662
Supply—Local Government Board, &c. 1796

WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool, Everton*
Margarine (Fraudulent Sale), Comm. *cl.* 1, 188; *cl.* 4, 200

WHITMORE, Mr. C. A., *Chelsea*
Local Government Board—Institution of a Boundary Commission — Inclusion of the Metropolitan District, 219

Willesden Local Board Bill (by Order)
c. Lords' Amendts. considered, amended, and agreed to *July* 21, 1596

WILLIAMS, Mr. A. J., *Glamorgan, S.*
Wales — Tithe Agitation — Disturbances at Llangwm, 1365

WILLIAMSON, Mr. S., *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 969

WILSON, Mr. H. J., *York, W.R., Holmfirth*
Law and Police (Metropolis)—Arrest of Miss Cass, 76;—Police Constable Endacott, 78

WINTERBOTHAM, Mr. A. B., *Gloucester, Cirencester*
Supply — Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1055

WOODALL, Mr. W., *Hanley*
Egypt—Great Depression in the Desert—Lake Moeris Scheme, 950
Naval Review off Spithead—Fatal Accident, 1902

Works and Buildings, Her Majesty's Office of—Examination for Clerk of the Works
Question, Mr. Isaacs; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *July* 11, 338

WORKS—First Commissioner (*see* PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R.)

WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART- (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Sheffield, Hallam*
Supply—Secretary of State for the Home Department, &c. 1061

WRIGHT, Mr. H. S., *Nottingham, S.*
Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway (City of Dublin Junction Railways), 1875

Zanzibar—Recall of Sir John Kirk, Her Majesty's Consul
Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *July* 15, 944

END OF VOLUME CCCXVII., AND EIGHTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1887.

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